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JOHN RUSSELL: "LORD JOHN" OF CHARLESTON

By MADELEINE B. STERN

In Charleston, one autumn evening in the 1850's, a group of young men might have been seen walking along narrow King Street until they paused at No. 251, a large store with handsome plate-glass windows and a name in prominent gilt letters above the main door.<sup>1</sup> The young men had already earned enviable reputations in Southern society, and whatever careers they had embarked upon, they were all, in addition, of a literary turn. There was the handsome Basil Gildersleeve, who had received his doctor's degree from Göttingen and was about to enter upon a long and honorable life as professor of Greek at the University of Virginia; there was young Dr. John Dickson Burns, soon to teach physiology at the New Orleans School of Medicine; there was the vigorous young lawyer, Samuel Lord; and there were others, who, in the leisurely fashion of Charleston in the '50's, met at No. 251 King Street, to talk perhaps of shooting and riding, of racing and the Cecilia Society, to talk surely of life and letters and the Southern culture they were themselves creating.

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<sup>1</sup> For the description of Russell's bookstore and the literary gatherings there, see Van Wyck Brooks, *The Times of Melville and Whitman* (New York, 1947), 71; Virginia P. Clare, *Harp of the South* (Oglethorpe University, Georgia, 1936), 51; Sidney J. Cohen, "Three Notable Ante-Bellum Magazines of South Carolina," *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, no. 42, part II (July, 1915), 38-39; "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News*, November 23, 1871 (courtesy Dorothy Smith, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina); Charles Duffy, *The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne* (Baton Rouge 1945), 4; Paul Hamilton Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac*, New Series, I, 6 (November 1885), 327 ff.; "The Late John Russell," *The Charleston Daily Courier*, November 23, 1871 (courtesy B. E. Powell and Mrs. Anne C. Orr, Duke University, and Kathleen Blow, University of Texas); Edgar Long, *Russell's Magazine As An Expression of Ante-Bellum South Carolina Culture* (doctoral dissertation in typescript, University of South Carolina, 1932), 42 ff.; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge, 1938), 488; Alfred T. Odell, "William Gilmore Simms in the Post-War Years," *Bulletin of Furman University*, vol. XXIX, no. 3 (May, 1946), 73; La Salle C. Pickett, *Literary Hearthstones of Dixie* (Philadelphia and London, 1912), 82-83, 109, 141; *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), VII, 453-454; Samuel G. Stoney, "The Memoirs of Frederick Augustus Porcher," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XLIV, no. 2 (April, 1943), 65; Henry T. Thompson, *Henry Timrod* (Columbia, S. C., 1928), 26; William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston and New York, 1892), 228-229.

The gilt letters above the door should have spelled the name of the "Globe" or the "Cocoa Tree," but though the store at No. 251 was in reality the mecca of culture in a city that was itself the center of the cultural South, it was, after all, only a bookstore, and the sign above the door spelled simply the name of the proprietor, John Russell.

As the young men entered, they were greeted by Russell, a brisk, active, self-confident man in his early forties, eager to show them the latest Elzevier or black-letter work imported from abroad, hospitably beckoning them past the counters and heavily laden shelves to his sanctum in the rear of the store. There the young men would see their elders gathered on chairs and sofas about a large comfortable stove, and there they would find a salon that rivaled the famous breakfasts of Poinsett or the equally famous suppers of William Gilmore Simms. Simms himself was, by the divine right of poetry, king among those who flocked to Russell's bookstore, and his tall, vigorous form dominated the scene as he played Dr. Johnson to a group of ardent versifying Boswells that included Paul Hamilton Hayne and Henry Timrod. In another corner one might see James Petigru, the social lion whose magnificent voice and dark eyes had helped make him the Nestor of the Charleston bar. The gray-headed guileless planter, William J. Grayson, was ready to discourse upon the South's "peculiar institution," slavery, while the beetle-browed Mitchell King buttonholed Russell to repeat in his Scottish brogue long passages from the Latin poets, and that man of fire and air, James W. Miles, dilated upon philosophy. Among them all, the host of No. 251 moved, accepting a pinch of snuff from Father Lynch, discussing a new botanical work with Dr. Porcher, fetching a medical tome for Dr. Dickson.

Here, in the rear room of a Charleston bookstore, seated at a fire or standing up for rhetorical effectiveness, were gathered the brightest lights in the Southern constellations. Had John Russell achieved nothing else in his life beyond drawing them together, he would have merited a claim to fame. Actually, he did considerably more than that for his patrons, and hence for Southern letters.

Who was the man who attracted the illuminati of the South, whose bookshop was their favorite rendezvous in the leisurely

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antebellum days of Charleston, who displayed to them his latest shipment from abroad during the golden afternoons and glorious evenings of the '50's? John Russell has suffered the paradoxical fate of being remembered as a famous man about whom little else is known. The Southerner recalls his celebrated bookstore, the Northerner may associate him with *Russell's Magazine*, but with these points, memory fails. In reality, Southern literature owes an important debt to John Russell, for he not only provided the literati of his time with books but supplied them with organs for self-expression by publishing their own books. He was a bookseller and publisher whose influence was felt throughout the literary South, and as such he deserves a more substantial memorial than he has received.

John Russell<sup>2</sup> was born in Charleston in 1812, just before war with England was declared, and though he was not to die until 1871, another, more dreadful war was to mark the finis to his career. After the death of his father, his mother appears to have remarried, taking the name of Rachel Jones. Two sons born of that second marriage were to be associated with Russell in the book business, and a daughter of that second marriage was to become Russell's sole heir at his death. In other words, the hospitality and generosity that the bookseller extended to his patrons were also bestowed upon his half-brothers and half-sister. According to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Russell was "educated in the book-trade" and "had mastered, at a comparatively early age, its requisitions and technicalities."<sup>3</sup> It was in the bookstore of John P. Beile, the predecessor of Samuel Hart of Charleston, that Russell learned the rudiments of the trade. Through the *Charleston Directory* his career may be followed as he rose "from grade to grade in the service." In the *Directory* for 1835-36, when Russell was in his early twenties, he was located at 172 King Street as an accountant. At the same address appeared the mili-

<sup>2</sup> "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News* (November 23, 1871) states that Russell was born in 1813. His death certificate, however, records that he died on November 21, 1871, at the age of 59 years and 8 months, thus placing his birth in March, 1812. For other biographical details about Russell, see *The Charleston Directory, 1835-1836; Charleston Directory and Strangers' Guide, 1840 and 1841* (courtesy Dorothy Smith, South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina); Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac* (November, 1885), 327 ff.; Long, *Russell's Magazine As An Expression of Ante-Bellum South Carolina Culture*, 43 ff.; information from A. S. Salley, Columbia, S. C.; William Gilmore Simms to Hon. R. T. Conrad, Charleston, October 19, 1847, and William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

<sup>3</sup> Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac* (November, 1885), 327.

tary and fancy store of John S. Bird, where Russell doubtless became acquainted not only with a general assortment of spectacles but with Bird's fine French looking glass plates and his engravings and paintings direct from Paris. His familiarity with art objects probably proved useful when he joined Jacob K. Sass to form the firm of Russell and Sass, auctioneers and commercial merchants, for it is under that heading that he is listed in the *Directory* of 1840 and 1841. When, at length, Russell acquired the necessary capital, he opened his own "literary emporium." Though he never diverged from King Street, he did move at least three times, appearing in 1848 at No. 256, moving later to No. 251, and still later to No. 285. He strayed farther, however, in his travels. As early as 1847 he was in Philadelphia on a business trip, two years later he traveled to New York bearing a letter of introduction from William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, and at least once he journeyed to Europe, for on the Channel packet he was mistaken for Lord John Russell, and the sobriquet, "Lord John," clung to him for the remainder of his life. In 1859 he seems to have planned an extended absence from the country, but perhaps the growing antislavery excitement dissuaded him from the project. The Civil War itself was not only to change his plans, but was to have a most disastrous effect upon his business as well.

Before that time, however, Russell had developed business methods that were to provide him with a notable reputation. He was a man of bright, quick mind, in whom native shrewdness joined with a kind heart and generosity.<sup>4</sup> The information he had acquired made him a clever and witty conversationalist, suited to be "Lord John" of the Charleston literati. Enterprising, intelligent, popular, he could preside easily over the illustrious group that met in the rear of his store. What is more, his knowledge of books made him one of the most successful booksellers of the South, until Augustus Flagg of Little, Brown could state that he sold more fine books in proportion to the population than almost any other,<sup>5</sup> and Trübner of London declared him one of

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<sup>4</sup> For Russell's personal characteristics, see Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," 330, 335; Paul H. Hayne, ed., *The Poems of Henry Timrod* (New York, 1873), 23; Long, *Russell's Magazine*, 43-44; Mott, *History of American Magazines, 1850-1865*, 488; A. S. Salley, Jr., "Southern Magazines," *The (Charleston) Sunday News*, August 27, 1899 (courtesy John Cook Wyllie, University of Virginia).

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1884), 674.

the most accomplished bibliopoles in the United States.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps more telling than any other token to his reputation is that letter of introduction that Russell carried in September, 1849, from Simms to Duyckinck, a letter bringing its recipient "to a personal knowledge of my friend, Mr. John Russell, of this city, whom you perhaps already know as a bookseller of great worth and intelligence."<sup>7</sup> Simms was to write again to Duyckinck, describing Russell as "a very worthy gentleman and a first rate Bookseller," "a worthy and intelligent person upon whom you can rely."<sup>8</sup> Simms spoke authoritatively, for Russell was not only his friend, but his bookseller and his publisher.

As a bookseller, Russell had earned his reputation. His store was not merely a rendezvous for his illustrious patrons, but a post office as well. The poet Simms, in writing to Northern bookmen, wished to be addressed in care of Russell, and other facilities were also provided for customers.<sup>9</sup> At a table in the back of the store the literary folk of Charleston were welcome to sit and examine new books, while careful young men were given the privilege of taking home a new book over-night to look it over and decide if they wished to keep it. But perhaps, in addition to such bookstore delights, the greatest advantage of trading with Russell arose from the wide range and variety of his stock. From a single extant catalogue<sup>10</sup> and from his newspaper advertisements,<sup>11</sup> the latter-day scholar may return the lost books to the shelves, brush off the dust of a century, and walk again through the King Street emporium.

Basil Gildersleeve probably found the most interesting section of Russell's bookstore that devoted to the classics, and even within that category the range was great. Lemaire's *Collection of the Latin Classics*, consisting of 144 calf-bound volumes, might be his for \$250, while Bodoni's edition of the *Iliad*, in three royal

<sup>6</sup> "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News*, November 23, 1871.

<sup>7</sup> Simms to Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

<sup>8</sup> Simms to Duyckinck, Charleston, September 27, 1849, and Woodlands, February 25, n.y. Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

<sup>9</sup> For these facilities, see Simms to Conrad, Charleston, October 19, 1847, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library; information from Ellen M. Fitzsimons, Charleston Library Society, and A. S. Salley.

<sup>10</sup> *Part First Of A Catalogue of rare, curious, and useful Books! For Sale By Russell & Jones, No. 251 King Street*, University of Chicago, (courtesy B. E. Powell, Duke University Library).

<sup>11</sup> See Russell's advertisements in *The Charleston Mercury* May 3, 1855-September 5, 1855, May 12, 1857, December 8-29, 1860, April 17, 1861-June 14, 1862 (courtesy Oscar Wegelin, New York Historical Society).

folio volumes, was offered for \$50, and the first volume of Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus* sold for only \$2.50.

For young Dr. Burns, or Dr. Porcher, or any other of the medicos who strolled through the King Street emporium, there was a fine selection of medical works, from Carpenter on *The Microscope* to Rokitansky's *Manual of Pathological Anatomy*, from Guthrie's *Surgical Commentaries* to Tomes's *Dental Surgery*. Those of a turn for pure science might consider Hugh Miller's *Sketch Book of Popular Geology* cheap at \$1.50, or Loomis's *Recent Progress of Astronomy* a most enlightening acquisition.

There was a happy hunting ground for Father Lynch and his colleagues in other denominations in Russell's excellent assortment of theological works, for the firm acted as agents for the Protestant Episcopal Church Book Society and the Evangelical Knowledge Society, carrying a full stock of all their publications. In addition, Russell received from London a wide variety of foreign theological works, from the *Liturgies of Queen Elizabeth* to Maimbourg's *History of Arianism*. Strickland's *History of the American Bible Society*, Baird's *Religion in America*, catechisms, psalms, hymns, and sermons gave Russell's theological section the air of a complete Bibliotheca Biblica for all patrons of a clerical turn. James W. Miles and those who like him indulged in metaphysical speculation would find more to their interest in the shelves devoted to philosophy, from which Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of the Mind* could be taken down for \$9 or Sir William Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics* for \$3.

As grandson of the famous historian, young David Ramsay might have found much to interest him in Russell's historical selections, where the original subscriber's copy of Hume's *History of England* at \$150 vied with Brougham's *Historical Sketches of Statesmen under George III* and Gurowski's *Russia As It Is*. For only \$1 he might own a *Life of Peter the Great*, for \$1.25 Gretton's *Vicissitudes of Italy Since the Congress of Vienna*, and for \$2 White's *History of France*.

Young Ramsay did not know, when he visited Russell's, that he was destined to lose his life at Fort Wagner, but perhaps he was attracted none the less by the growing collection of military works which in the early '60's found their way to the bookstore—manuals for volunteers, instructions for field artillery, Mahan's

*Treatise on Field Fortification*, books on rifle practice, outpost duties, and cavalry tactics.

Young scholars returned from Göttingen might have enjoyed Russell's display of travel books in which they might browse, transported by Richard H. Dana to Cuba, by Kane to the Arctic, by others to the mysteries of Fiji.

Charles Fraser, the celebrated miniaturist, doubtless headed directly for the fine collection of art books that included a brilliantly illustrated four-volume *Galerie de Florence* for \$125, and a select variety of other *Galleries*, from that of the *Pictures at Grosvenor House* to the finely engraved *Galerie de Dusseldorf*. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Drawing* and Mrs. Ellett on *Women Artists in All Ages* probably pleased him also, giving him food for interesting talk of art with the proprietor, who as early as 1849 had taken in charge Mr. Fraser's own exquisite paintings, which Russell wished to place in the gallery of the Art Union.<sup>12</sup> It was not without reason that the King Street dealer advertised his firm as importers of books, stationery, and works of art.

Of all the books, however, that were offered by Russell, probably the most popular were his literary works. Hayne and Simms and Timrod, with all the Southern brotherhood of poets, must have found their keenest pleasure in turning the pages of Tennyson's latest verses or Duyckinck's *Encyclopedia of American Literature*, in browsing through Sir William Temple's *Works* or seeing proudly displayed on the shelves the tales and poems of William Gilmore Simms himself.

In selling books Russell believed in a varied stock. For the numismatic addict he could provide Humphrey's *Manual for Coin Collectors*; for the children there was a delightful array of juveniles among which *Granny's Wonderful Chair* vied with *Pussy's Road to Ruin*. For the Southern ladies who delighted in novels there was no dearth of stories by Charles Reade or "Marion Harland." For readers who wanted the latest in periodicals there was *Harper's* or *Blackwood's* or the *English Quarterly Review*.

Even in selling books, however, Russell never forgot that he himself was a Southerner and that, in the wide range of works

<sup>12</sup> William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

he offered, Southern books would always be given a place of distinction. W. J. Rivers' *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, *The Old Plantation* by James Hungerford of Maryland, *Gardening for the South* found their proud place, therefore, among John Russell's varied wares.

Selling Southern books was one way of encouraging Southern letters, but providing an organ for the expression of Southern thought was perhaps a more effective way. Out of the *petits soupers* at which Simms presided, and out of the enthusiastic meetings in the rear of Russell's bookstore there emerged finally the suggestion for launching a magazine that would defend Southern institutions and reflect Southern sentiment.<sup>13</sup> Paul Hamilton Hayne and W. B. Carlisle, the Charleston journalist, were ready to serve as editors, and Russell, approached with the idea, eagerly agreed to act as publisher, taking on the business management of the new scheme. On January 1, 1857—the same year that saw the launching of the *Atlantic Monthly*—an announcement appeared in the *Charleston Daily Courier* regarding the new venture, which was to be dubbed *Russell's Magazine*. "We hope to make it a faithful representative Organ of Southern Genius, Taste and Opinions in every branch of Literature, Art, and General Politics. . . .

"In regard to its *form*, we shall make Blackwood's Magazine the model of our own, . . .

"Having adopted a system of liberal remuneration, we can ensue the services of the ablest writers."

The price would be \$3 a year, and single numbers would be furnished and subscriptions received by agents throughout the Southern states.

<sup>13</sup> For details about *Russell's Magazine*, see Cohen, *Three Notable Ante-Bellum Magazines of South Carolina*, *passim*; Information from Georgia H. Faison, University of North Carolina; Irving Garwood, *American Periodicals From 1850 To 1860* (Macomb, Illinois, 1931), 72; William S. Hoole, *A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals 1732-1864* (Durham, N. C., 1936), 5, 63-64; Jay B. Hubbell, *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867* (Durham, N. C., 1941), 4; Fronde Kennedy, "Russell's Magazine," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, no. 2 (April 1919), 125-144; Long, *Russell's Magazine*, *passim*; Daniel M. McKeithan, *A Collection of Hayne Letters* (Austin, Texas, 1944), *passim*; Frank McLean, *Periodicals Published in the South Before the Civil War*, University of Virginia dissertation 1928 (courtesy Jack Dalton, University of Virginia); Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1850-1865*, 488 ff.; *Russell's Magazine* I, 1-VI, 6 (April, 1857-March, 1860), annotated copy in New York Public Library; "Russell's Magazine," *The Charleston Daily Courier*, January 1, 1857, 2 (courtesy B. E. Powell, Duke University, and Kathleen Blow, University of Texas); *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VII, 453; *The Southern Literary Messenger* (October 1856), 306 and (May 1857), 392; George A. Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1910), 15.

The magazine fulfilled its promise, though its career was destined to be short. In April, 1857, backed by a joint stock concern organized by Russell, the first number appeared, a neat thin octavo by, for, and of the South. The issue was introduced by an attack on antislavery doctrines by William J. Grayson and included the first part of J. E. Cooke's "Estcourt," a poem by Timrod, and Hayne's review of Poe's "Arthur Gordon Pym." Throughout its three years of existence *Russell's Magazine* served as a "depository for Southern genius, and a new incentive, . . . for its active exercise." "Believing that an organ of Southern genius and opinion was imperatively demanded, . . . we have undertaken to supply this great want."<sup>14</sup> In publishing the best of Timrod's earlier poems and essays, the works of Samuel Henry Dickson, King, and Simms, the magazine became an excellent organ of expression for the habitués of Russell's bookstore and hence for the literati of the South.

Russell's part in the enterprise was more than that of publisher. With the second number, after Carlisle had proved a disappointment to the staff, Russell became connected with the editorial management also, and at least one letter from the proprietor of the bookstore to a contributor survives, expressing his appreciation and acceptance of a review of *Aurora Leigh*.<sup>15</sup> The publisher's keen interest in the enterprise is indicated by the fact that he kept an annotated copy of the issues in bound volumes on his desk, in which he recorded the names of authors over their articles, and that very set, having survived the Civil War, at length found its way to the New York Public Library, where it serves as a reminder of John Russell's close connection with the magazine that bore his name.

In October, 1859, Russell, planning a protracted absence from the country, offered the periodical for sale,<sup>16</sup> but there seems to have been no purchaser for what was described as "a highly profitable investment in the hands of a person of energy and talent." In the last number of March, 1860, the publisher yielded "to the necessity which constrains us to discontinue . . . publication." He had provided the South with an important vehicle

<sup>14</sup> *Russell's Magazine* I, 1 (April, 1857), 82, and I, 2 (May, 1857), 178.

<sup>15</sup> John Russell to Miss Dickson, May 4, n. y. (Duke University, courtesy B. E. Powell).

<sup>16</sup> Slip dated October 1, 1859, and sent out with the October, 1859, issue of *Russell's Magazine* (courtesy A. S. Salley, Columbia, S. C.).

for self-expression and posterity with a notable record of sectional thought. But though his scheme was short-lived, there were other means, John Russell knew from experience, for supplying Southern literati with an audience.

Though Russell's connection with the magazine is still remembered, there are few who recall that in his day he was also a book publisher of no small influence. The South had need of such a publisher. In 1858 *Russell's Magazine* itself expressed that need. "The papers have recently been filled with articles in reference to Southern Publishing Houses; and much regret has been expressed that the expenses of book-printing at the South should be so great, as to deter an author from patronizing the publishers in his own section."<sup>17</sup> The events of every week indicated to Southern writers the need for the South "to declare, and to attempt to establish, her literary independence." As early as 1852, Walker, Richards of Charleston had tried to establish a large Southern publishing house for the encouragement of Southern authors and the dissemination of Southern books, but the plan had not materialized. By the time the Civil War began, the difficulty of importing Northern and European publications into the Confederate states, coupled with the increased demand for reading matter, heightened the need for a substantial Southern publisher. The ideas that characterized Southern society needed not only the exposition of a new literature, but the underwriting of a Southern publisher.

It cannot be said that John Russell supplied that great need. By branching out into publishing he did, however, serve the South, issuing—in a spasmodic fashion to be sure—the works of some of its most illustrious citizens. Every book bearing his imprint was, like his magazine, by, for, and of the South. The names of his authors read like a roll-call of those who frequented the literary sessions in the rear of his store, and since they were also the names of the most eminent among Southern literati, Russell's service in publishing their works is far from negligible. Between 1846 and 1855 he lent his name to a series of books in

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<sup>17</sup> *Russell's Magazine*, vol. II, no. 6 (March, 1858), 566. For other details on the status of Southern publishing, see *Russell's Magazine*, vol. IV, no. 4 (January, 1859), 370 and vol. V, no. 5 (August, 1859), 395; Yates Snowden, *Confederate Books*, no. t. p., unpagged; "Southern Publications," *De Bow's Review*, New Series, vol. I, no. 2 (August, 1852), 211.

neat format and dignified typography, all of which echoed the varied voices of the South.<sup>18</sup>

The first book undertaken by Russell was, characteristically, William Gilmore Simms' *Areytos: or, Songs of the South*, a duodecimo that appeared in 1846, and which was followed two years later by Simms's *Cassique of Accabee* and his *Lays of the Palmetto*, and by the publication in 1853 of Simms's two-volume *Poems Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary and Contemplative*. Poetry seems to have been a favorite literary form with Russell, for he also sent forth a curious work by Catharine Poyas entitled *Huguenot Daughters and Other Poems*, as well as *The Hireling and Slave*, a versified apology for slavery by William J. Grayson. For one of his loyal patrons, James W. Miles, Russell published a number of discourses and orations, as well as his important work, *Philosophic Theology; or, Ultimate Grounds of All Religious Belief Based in Reason*. When Russell's friend, Louisa C. McCord of South Carolina, translated Bastiat's *Sophisms of the Protective Policy*, Russell was ready to join his name with that of George P. Putnam of New York in sponsoring the undertaking. When W. H. Trescot of Charleston desired a publisher for his *Thoughts on American Foreign Policy*, when Miles or Porcher eulogized Calhoun after his death in 1850, they turned to Russell to handle publication. Russell himself was particularly interested in seeing through the press books of a local or sectional quality, publishing Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, Charles Fraser's *Reminiscences of Charleston, House and Home; or, The Carolina Housewife By a lady of Charleston*, and, replete with finely engraved colored plates, Holbrook's *Ichthyology of South Carolina*. For local societies he proved a willing publisher, lending his name to Samuel Henry Dickson's *Speech at the Dinner of the New England Society of Charleston*, or to Miles's oration before the literary societies of the South Carolina College.

<sup>18</sup> For the books published by Russell and by Russell and Jones, see, in addition to the imprints of the books themselves, *The American Catalogue—1866-1871*; Charles N. Baxter and James M. Dearborn, *Confederate Literature* (Boston, 1917), 106; *Catalogue of the Salley Collection of the Works of William Gilmore Simms* (Columbia, S. C., 1943), *passim*; William A. Courtenay, *A Catalogue of the Portraits, Books, . . . Presented to the Charleston Library Society* (Columbia, S. C., 1908), *passim*; James G. Johnson, *Southern Fiction Prior to 1860*, University of Virginia, 1909, 82; Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana 1820-1852, 1852-1855*; James F. Shearer, "French and Spanish Works Printed in Charleston, South Carolina," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIV (1940), 169; information from Robert J. Turnbull, Yemassee, S. C.; Oscar Wegelin, *A List of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms Of South Carolina 1806-1870* (Hattiesburg, 1941), *passim*.

By 1857, the year which saw the launching of *Russell's Magazine*, there had been a change in the firm name and in the imprints of Russell's publications. James C. Jones, Russell's half-brother, who had worked as a clerk in the bookstore, apparently had become a partner, and the firm's name was changed to Russell and Jones. It is possible, too, that another half-brother, Edward C. Jones, the Charleston architect, also entered the firm at this period, perhaps to supervise its fine arts department.<sup>19</sup> At any rate, it was the name of Russell and Jones that appeared as publishers of *Russell's Magazine*, and, between 1857 and 1860, of other Southern publications, all of which followed the trends established by Russell earlier in his career. Grayson's poem, *The Country*, took the place of *The Hireling and Slave*; *The South Carolina Jockey Club* whetted local interest, as did Simms's *History of South Carolina*, while the new firm sponsored the publications of such local organizations as the Elliott Society of Natural History of Charleston, of which John Russell was a member.<sup>20</sup>

One work, published in 1857 by Russell and Jones, typifies the firm's desire to serve as what might be called publishers indigenous to the South. *Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina* by Tuomey and Holmes had previously appeared without plates, but at the "urgent solicitation" of Agassiz, Bache, and Gould, it was published now as a folio with 29 plates. Its artistic merits would "challenge the severest criticism." What is more, the work was offered to the public as "a good specimen of what can be done by our artists at home."<sup>21</sup> The drawings on stone were executed at the College of Charleston by C. G. Platen; the letter press was, in part, the work of Halper and Calvo and James and Williams, native Charleston printers. Since there was no press for printing the plates in Charleston, that work had to be done elsewhere, but otherwise the volume, for 200 copies of which the legislature subscribed, was indeed an excellent example of Southern workmanship as well as of the publishing ideals and purposes of John Russell.

<sup>19</sup> For details about the Jones brothers, see Beatrice St. J. Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston* (Charleston, 1945), 215, 296 n. 49.

<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings of the Elliott Society of Natural History of Charleston, S. C.*, I, 4.

<sup>21</sup> M. Tuomey and F. S. Holmes, *Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina* (Charleston: Russell and Jones, 1857), preface.

By 1860, the last date when a Russell and Jones imprint appeared, the firm's stock of goods was valued at \$20,000.<sup>22</sup> Russell and Jones could afford to turn some of their profits from book-selling into book publishing, could undertake more or less unremunerative enterprises, and could give to the South such finely illustrated works as Holmes' *Post-Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina*. Their relations with Northern publishers had been established on a firm foundation, and they appear to have served as agents for the publications of Redfield, Appleton, and Harper in New York, and Bentley in London. Perhaps in time Russell and Jones might indeed have developed into that great Southern publishing house of which the region felt so sore a need. Fort Sumter, however, was soon to signify more than a name, and the year 1860 was to make way for the more eventful year of 1861. The guns were to be fired over Charleston, presaging ruin to the "Globe," the "Cocoa Tree" of King Street, and the time had come to talk of other things than books.

Just before the outbreak of the war, Russell suffered a personal loss in the death, by drowning, of his half-brother, James C. Jones.<sup>23</sup> Not long after, in December, 1861, his mother died.<sup>24</sup> No more books bearing the imprint of Russell and Jones would appear, and only a very few works remained to be published by John Russell. Those few would attest, however, his determination to carry on in the face of the havoc that surrounded him.

In order to save his stock from the effects of bombardment, Russell, like so many of the book dealers of more recent times, stored his wares beyond the reach of shot and shell.<sup>25</sup> But Camden, the town he selected, was to prove a poor choice, for it lay in the line of Sherman's march. Russell himself, besides serving as the adjutant of a battalion of reserves,<sup>26</sup> found the time and courage to publish what proved to be "the most elegant book, as to paper, printing and binding, which appeared in the South during the war."<sup>27</sup> *The Life and Times of Bertrand Du Guesclin: A History of the Fourteenth Century* by D. F. Jamison

<sup>22</sup> *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston for 1860* (Charleston, 1861), 247.

<sup>23</sup> James C. Jones died on March 17, 1861. Jones's death record, courtesy Beatrice St. J. Ravenel, Charleston.

<sup>24</sup> Information from A. M. Gayer, Superintendent, Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston.

<sup>25</sup> "The Late John Russell," *Charleston Daily Courier*, November 23, 1871.

<sup>26</sup> "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News*, November 23, 1871. According to F. M. Hutson, chief clerk, Historical Commission of South Carolina, however, the index to Confederate rolls does not list a John Russell as adjutant.

<sup>27</sup> Snowden, *Confederate Books*, unpagged.

of South Carolina was a far cry from the history of the nineteenth century in Charleston, but in that city it was published in 1864, a two-volume set with a frontispiece portrait of Sir Bertrand, dedicated by the author to William Gilmore Simms—a work that bore testimony to what a publisher could accomplish in the face of the most extreme difficulty.

Charleston, the proudest city of the South, had been bombarded and fired. By the time the war was over, it was a place of vacant houses, rotting wharves, and lifeless, grass-grown streets, where yawning walls and shattered windows were reminders of the disaster that had befallen it. John Russell, returning to Camden to claim his stock, was confronted by a sorry and disheartening sight. Sherman's soldiers had recklessly broken open the cases, scattering or destroying the contents, and when the remnants were gathered there was little left of his once valuable wares. With that meager stock John Russell set up business again, at No. 285 King Street, but the days of the "Globe" and "Cocoa Tree" were over. The proprietor himself had but five more years to live, surrounded by shadows of his former greatness. At least twice he undertook book publication, in 1867 issuing Ephraim Seabrook's *Ariel Refuted. A Complete Exposure. Of A Pamphlet Entitled "The Negro,"* and in 1870 sending forth William Trescot's *Memorial of the Life of J. Johnston Pettigrew, Brig. Gen. of the Confederate States Army.* To the end Russell remained faithful to his desire to give expression to the voice of the South. But that voice was, by 1871, all but stilled.

Few were left to recall those brilliant sessions that had taken place in the rear of another bookstore on King Street during the proud mid-century. Paul Hamilton Hayne remembered, however, and during a journey from New York to "Copse Hill," he passed through Charleston, visiting John Russell. The superb collection of beautifully bound books had disappeared, and in their place stood empty shelves. The proprietor had grown old, although he was not yet sixty. The brisk, active, confident "Lord John" had vanished. With a melancholy greeting, Russell welcomed Hayne, waving his hand around the store and by that gesture conveying a sense of the desolation that surrounded him. It was a place of ghosts, ghosts of people and ideas as well as of books.

Before his death, part of the remnants of Russell's stock was sold at a sacrifice.<sup>28</sup> On November 21, 1871, the proprietor died of heart disease, leaving his estate to his half-sister, Eliza Catherine Jones.<sup>29</sup> The stock, once assessed at \$20,000, was valued after his death at \$2,500.<sup>30</sup> There were intangibles, however, disregarded by the "Inventory of Goods and Chattels of John Russell, Deceased." There is no mention in that document of his attempt to provide an organ for Southern thought by selling and publishing Southern books and by giving to the literati of the South a meeting-place and a springboard for self-expression. Yet much of the literary work produced in the South in antebellum days owes a debt to John Russell, the bookseller-publisher who played his significant role behind the scenes. He left a more substantial estate than he realized, for he bequeathed a heritage to history.

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<sup>28</sup> Long, *Russell's Magazine*, 65.

<sup>29</sup> Copy of Russell's death certificate and abstract of Russell's Will, courtesy Ellen M. Fitzsimons, Charleston Library Society.

<sup>30</sup> Inventory of Goods and Chattels of John Russell, Deceased, in Office of Judge of Probate, Charleston.

## THE GOURD IN SOUTHERN HISTORY

By Eddie W. Wilson

According to archeologists and ethnologists, gourds were of economic importance to the earliest peoples of the South.<sup>1</sup> Then, immediately after the coming of the white man to this area, artist, historian, traveler, and diarist began to include the gourd in their delightful descriptions of this new land and its inhabitants. Finally, mention of the gourd has persisted throughout the years and today it is frequently found in Southern prose and poetry.

From numerous archeological sites have come fragments of gourds, gourd vessels, and gourd-shaped ceramics. Among those who have made such discoveries or have written concerning them are N. C. Nelson, who found gourd-cups and bits of gourd shells in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, in an age-level devoid of evidence of maize culture<sup>2</sup>; W. S. Webb and W. D. Funkhouser, who list pieces of gourds, gourd seeds, and a gourd-shaped vessel of black clay from bluff,<sup>3</sup> rock shelter,<sup>4</sup> and "ashe cave"<sup>5</sup> dwellings of pre-historic Kentuckians; F. H. Cushing, who found gourd vessels and gourd-shaped clay vessels which had been left "in profusion"<sup>6</sup> by the "pile-dwellers" on the gulf coast of Florida; and W. H. Holmes, the eminent ethnologist, who made extensive studies of early American ceramic art.

As to this art, Dr. Holmes says that in vegetal form for pottery the gourd predominated in the South. It is "probably the most varied and suggestive natural vessel. We find that the

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<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the place the gourd has held in the South's history, the Gourd Club of Cary, North Carolina—the Alpha Chapter of the Gourd Society of America whose headquarters are in Boston, Massachusetts—holds an annual Gourd Festival. Here, in addition to the displays of hard-shell and ornamental gourds grown each season by the members, are exhibits of old gourds which have served in the past in ways mentioned in this article together with surprisingly varied types of the members' gourd craftsmanship. Moreover, a broader phase of the gourd is emphasized: its significance, symbolism, and usages in many parts of the world. Thus the Festival promotes in a singular manner the spirit of internationalism.

<sup>2</sup> N. C. Nelson, "Contributions to the Archeology of Mammoth Cave and Vicinity," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, Part 1, XVII, 29.

<sup>3</sup> W. S. Webb and W. D. Funkhouser, "The McLeod Buff Site in Hickman County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, University of Kentucky, III, 29.

<sup>4</sup> "Rock Shelters in Manifee County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, III, 155.

<sup>5</sup> "The So-called 'Ash-Caves' in Lee County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, I, 57.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by W. H. Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 128.

primitive potter has often copied it in the most literal manner."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in the process of shaping such clay vessels, he states that sections of gourd shell served as molds on "the inner surface to support the wall . . . while scrapers were used to manipulate the exterior surface which rendered the walls sufficiently thin and even and polished." Then he adds that in many instances the scrapers were pieces of gourd shell.<sup>8</sup>

Again, a strikingly handsome example of a gourd dipper in pottery form, pleasingly decorated, came from a mound in southern Alabama.<sup>9</sup> And in Noel Stone Grave Cemetery in middle Tennessee was found a little terra-cotta gourd-shaped rattle, "well burned but slightly fractured in digging." Inside the rattle were clay pellets. "This may have quieted many an urchin in prehistoric days."<sup>10</sup>

Then, in later years, certain successors of these gourd-growers and potters fortunately for us were portrayed in art just as they were first seen by colonizing expeditions which came to North Carolina and Florida. Here in the wonderful water color drawings of John White and the exquisite paintings of Jacques Le Moyne we see the gourd as dish or bowl, container, water-jar, and rattle. Indeed, White's "A chieff Ladye of Pomeiooc" is carrying a "gourde full of some kinde of pleasant liquor." One wonders if this was a native perfume or a native drink!

Also, the gourd was serving certain Southern tribes as ladle, dry measure, bait container, fish carrier, strainer, funnel, flageolet, whistle, life-belt float, martin's nest, and mask.<sup>11</sup> The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia had a gourd lamp which consisted of a gourd filled with clay and slivers of "fatwood" thrust in the center of the clay.<sup>12</sup>

It was in the religious life of the early Southern Indian, however, that the gourd played its most colorful role. Here the gourd rattle was especially prized as the instrument of magic in the hands of the shaman, medicine man, or priest.

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<sup>7</sup> Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 446.

<sup>8</sup> Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound-builders*, 141.

<sup>10</sup> Gates P. Thurston, *The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States*, 164.

<sup>11</sup> Frank G. Speck, *Gourds of the Southeastern Indians*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> Frank G. Speck, "The Gourd Lamp among the Virginia Indians," *American Anthropologist*, XLIII, 676.

The Comanche medicine man was known to rattle his gourd all night long as he prayed and chanted.<sup>13</sup> The ruler of the Tejas Indians interpreted the noise of his rattle, when thrown on the ground, as the voice of God answering to grant or to refuse the ruler's petition for "a great deal of corn, good health, fleetness in chasing the deer and the buffalo, and great strength for fighting their enemies."<sup>14</sup> When Cabeza de Vaca and his companions of the Coronado Expedition were traveling through Texas, "he secured some gourds or rattles, which were greatly revered among these Indians and which never failed to produce a most respectful behavior whenever they were exhibited."<sup>15</sup> In the Green Corn Dance of the Creeks of Alabama, "the structures of the sacred square were festooned with gourd vines"; gourd rattles provided an accompaniment to the "low sustained chant" of the dancers; and the "black drink" of purification for the new year just beginning was taken "with a most reverential expression" from a gourd dipper.<sup>16</sup> William Byrd, Daniel Boone, George Washington, and many others have given us interesting descriptions of Indian festivities in which the gourd rattle was the principal musical instrument.

It is not surprising that the white settlers in the South, having seen how useful gourds were to the Indian, began to plant them in their gardens. When Anna Catharina moved from Pennsylvania to the Moravian settlement of Bethabara in North Carolina in 1762, she mentioned gourds as among the plants in the gardens there.<sup>17</sup> The agricultural and horticultural enthusiast, Thomas Jefferson, was very proud of the gourds he grew in his garden at Monticello and the gourd seeds he gave to friends both in America and in France. According to his garden diary he raised both the common varieties and unusual ones. He once sent Bernard McMahon, seedsman and florist of Philadelphia, certain seed of which McMahon wrote Jefferson on December 26, 1806:

"Of the Cucurbita you were so kind as to send me, some grew to the length of five feet five inches. I have one of them now

<sup>13</sup> J. Frank Dobie, "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas, Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society*, XIII, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXV, 291.

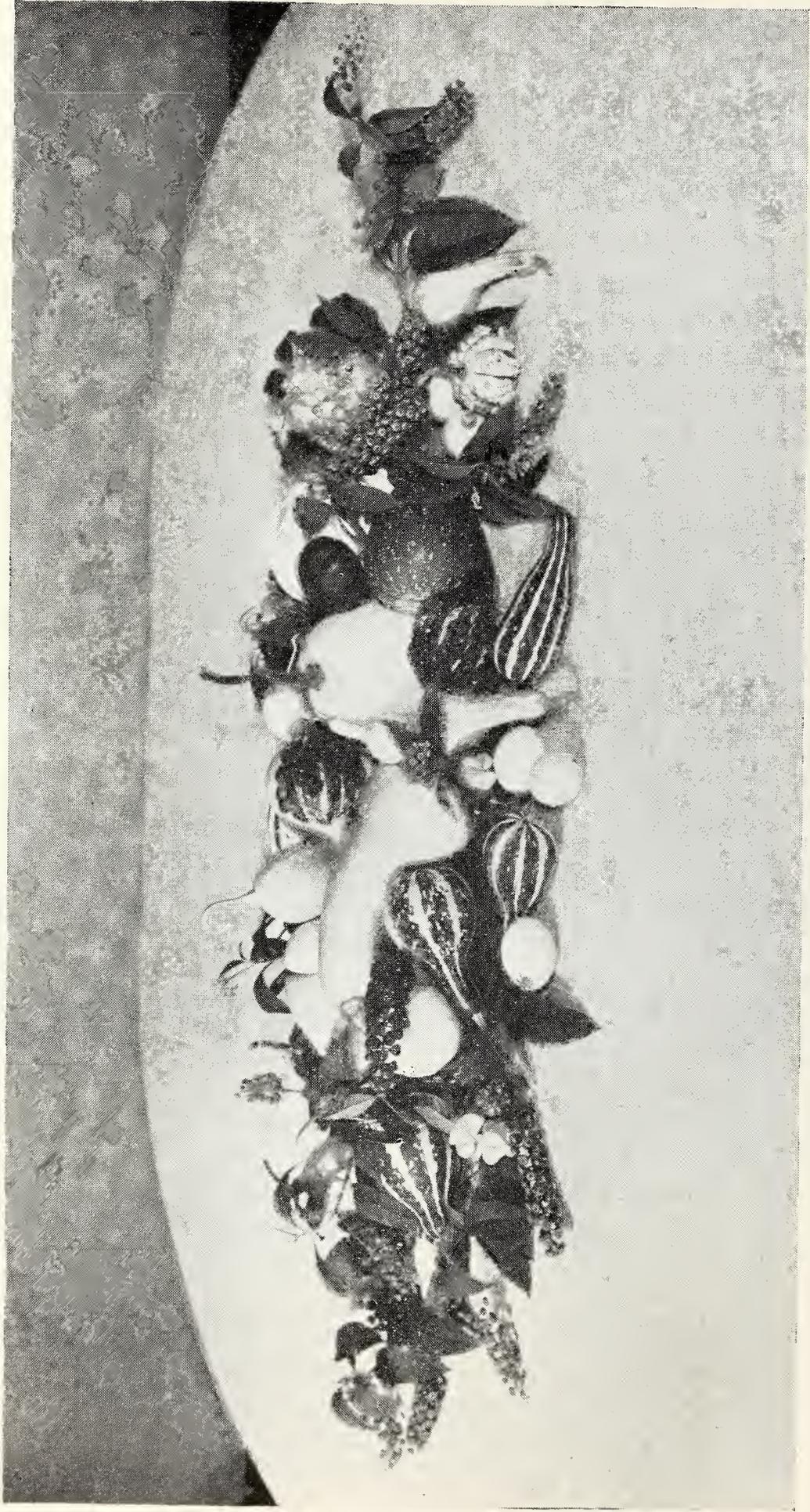
<sup>15</sup> George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1942," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, 360

<sup>16</sup> John R. Swanton, "The Green Corn Dance," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 10, 181.

<sup>17</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, *The Road to Salem*, 109.



SOAP GOURD FROM FARM OF JORDAN W. JOHNSON IN EDGECOMBE COUNTY. IN STATE MUSEUM. GIFT OF MISS LINDA JOHNSON OF TARBORO.  
ANCIENT GOURD COVERED WITH SPLIT CANE. IT HAS A WIRE HANDLE AND WOODEN STOPPER. IN STATE MUSEUM. GIFT OF JAMES F. HATCH.  
POWDER GOURD, AND MARY SLOCUMB GOURD DIPPER. IN HALL OF HISTORY.



Photograph by J. K. Coggin

ARRANGEMENT OF ORNAMENTAL GOURDS.

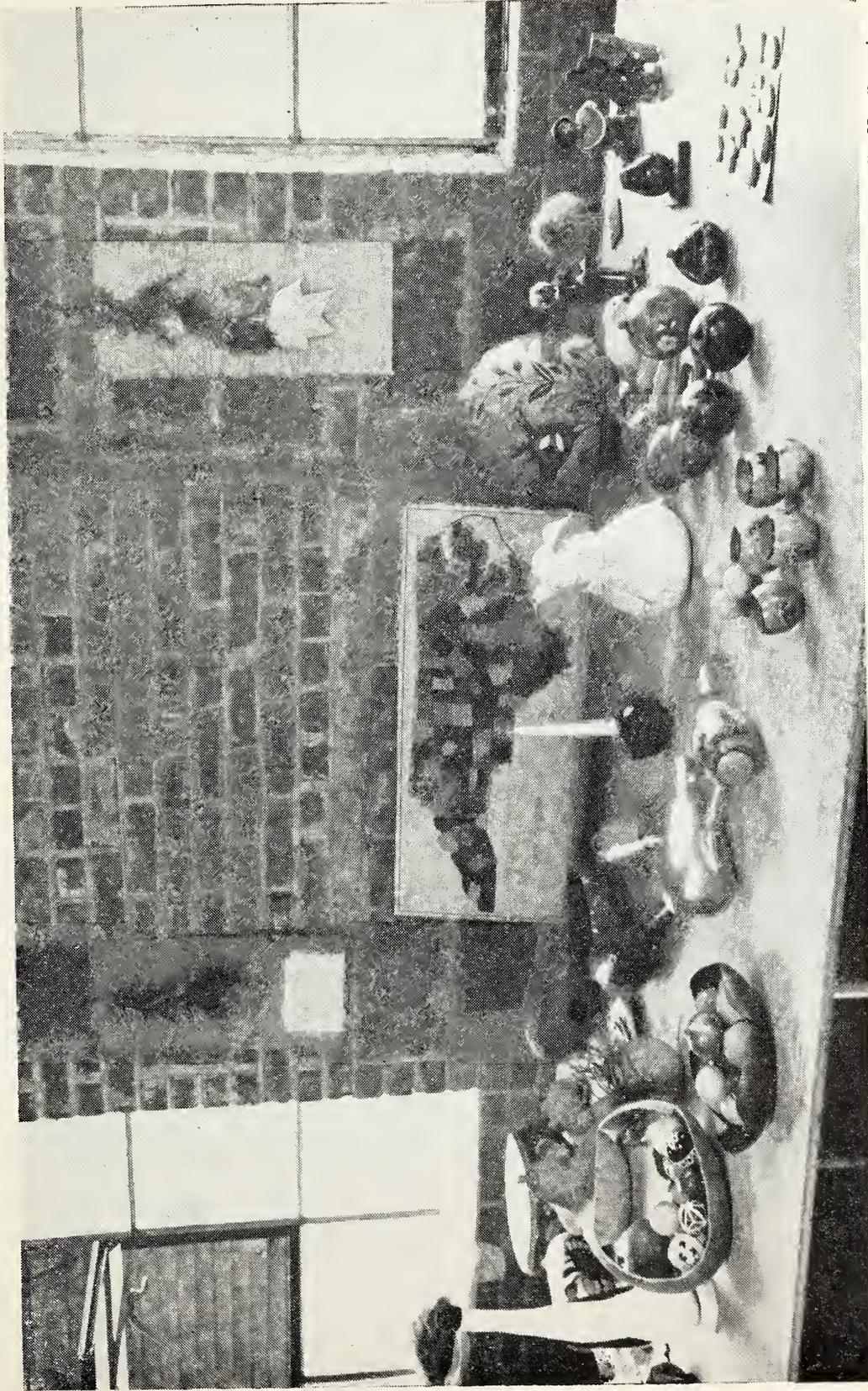
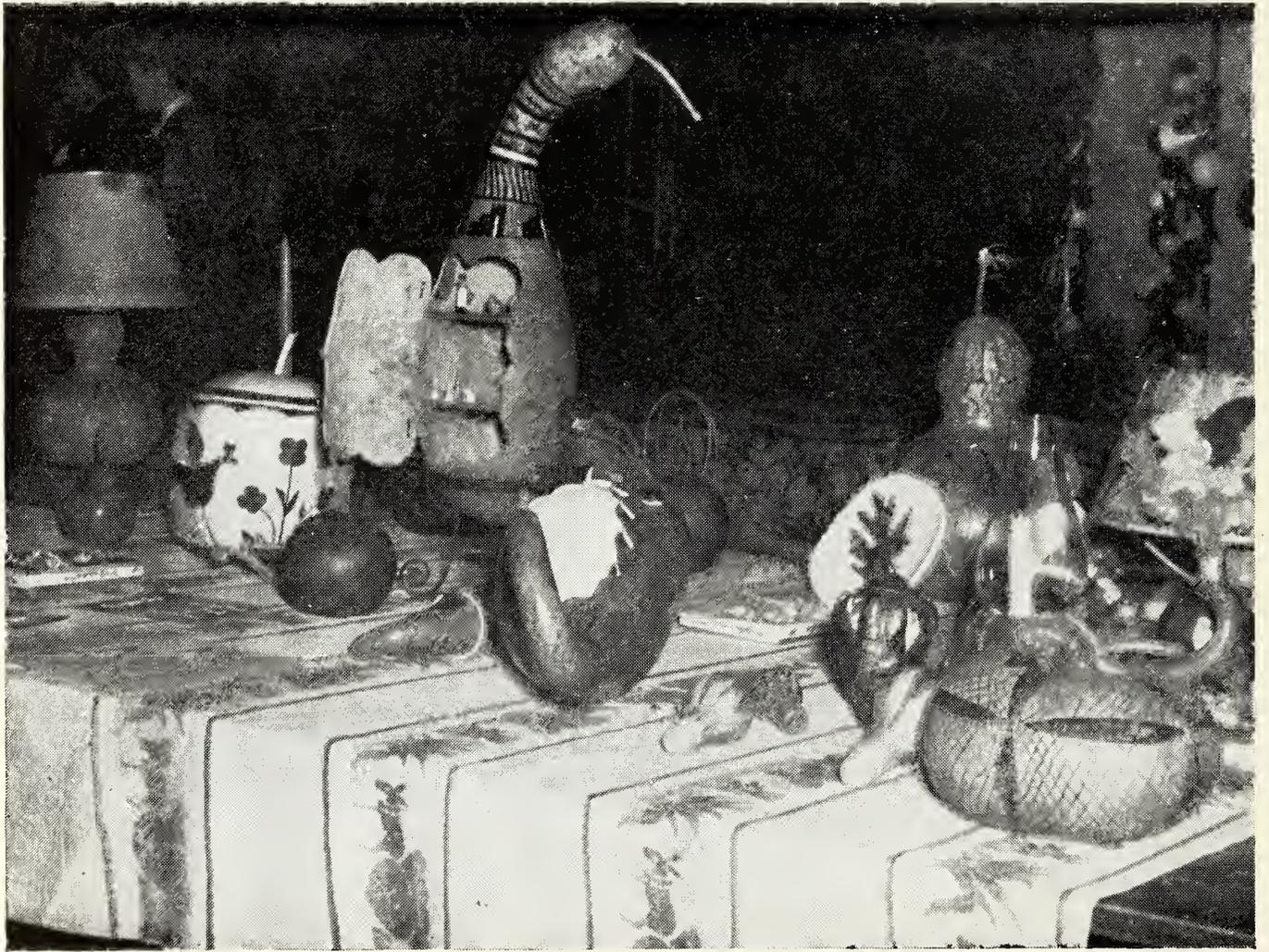


Photo by J. K. Coggin

CRAFT DISPLAY AT CARY GOURD CLUB FESTIVAL, 1948. *LEFT TO RIGHT* (UPPER) RAMONA CHARMSTRING; AUTUMN LEAF CHARMSTRING, MADE OF GOURD SHELL. (LOWER) PENGUIN; BASKET AND CONTAINERS; COUNTY MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA, MADE OF GOURD SEED; CANDLESTICK; RABBIT; CRACKER JAR WITH ANCIENT AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN; RATTLES; NEGRO PREACHER; FLAMINGO; NEGRO EATING WATERMELON; BUTTONS.



Photograph—Courtesy of Carolina Co-operator

CARY GOURD FESTIVAL. *LEFT TO RIGHT:* LAMP; BELOW LAMP—POTPOURRI JAR; CRACKER JAR WITH EARLY AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN; CONTAINER WITH COVER; WHATNOT, DECORATED WITH EARLY AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGNS; POPCORN SERVER; PLAQUE; CONTAINERS; WORK-BASKET; LAMP.

in my shop window, perfectly dry, which is five feet one inch long, perfectly straight and in every part about four inches in diameter."<sup>18</sup> Jefferson mentions gourds several times in his garden diary. Another diarist, Dr. Martin W. Phillips, owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, records that in April, 1840, "The frost on the morning of the 31st [May] killed gourd leaves."<sup>19</sup>

With like regard for the gourd, the pioneer carried it as he ventured farther westward and the place of the gourd in Southern frontier homes has been described in various instances. One writer says:

Sanitation was a little-known term, but nice home-makers knew that scalding water, soap or ashes and long hours of sunning on the high out-side shelf at the back of the kitchen brought a certain purity and sweetness to the milk crocks or gourds. . . . Short handled gourds were used for milking; and one with two holes in it, plus a square of cloth, served as a milk strainer. Nice people also hung their drinking gourds out of the cedar water-bucket. Trifling folks left the dipper in the bucket to become soggy and greenish-black with mold. Gourds also were useful for storing soft soap, coffee, brown sugar, shelled peas, beans, corn, dried peppers, popcorn, dried fruit, dried pumpkin, etc. The top of the squatty fatty gourd was cut carefully so as to make a lid. The newcomers took pride in the gourds they raised, but they were never able to grow as large fatty gourds as back in Georgia or the Carolinas. Molasses and honey did not do so well in gourds but kept better in whisky barrels. Lard kept very well in a well-cleaned gourd; and often a small one was used for the drippings, though likely to be soggy. . . . In the summer-time the family toilette was made outdoors. The tin or gourd washpan sat on its block of wood, and over it hung the family towel and comb. . . . The slovens were those who let their gourds get soggy.<sup>20</sup>

At that time the woman carried water in a large gourd to the men working in the field and she blew on a gourd horn to call them to dinner. She used the neck of a gourd as sausage stuffer. She kept the stockings to be darned in a big gourd, and she used a small, egg-shaped one when darning. She gave the baby a gourd rattle to shake as a toy and to cut his teeth on.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Garden Book, 1766-1824*, 317.

<sup>19</sup> Franklin L. Riley, "Diary of a Mississippi Planter, January 1, 1840 to April, 1863," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 319.

<sup>20</sup> Afton Wynn, "Pioneer Folk Ways," in J. Frank Dobie's *Straight Texas, Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society*, XIII, 210, 211, 232.

The man, when hunting deer or bear, sometimes carried his powder in a gourd. Then, later as a soldier of the American Revolution, he took that same powder gourd with him to the battlefield. On display in the Hall of History in Raleigh, North Carolina, there are three such gourds which were carried to battle by James Carr, Nicholas Lewis, and Captain Samuel Martin.

Moreover, the gourd of the pioneer days had a prominent place in merry-making. Music for the square dance consisted of various tunes and among these was "Sugar in the Gourd." And there was the gourd banjo. According to Miss Jean Thomas, "the Traipsin' Woman," founder of the American Folk Song Festival, this was a straight, long-necked gourd, cut flat on one side, the seed scooped out, the opening covered with paper glued down with flour paste. The strings were wire or cat gut.<sup>21</sup>

Miss Thomas also states that in sections of the Blue Ridge the gourd still serves as wassail cup from which sweet cider is drunk in the keeping of Old Christmas on January sixth.<sup>22</sup>

In the realm of story, it was the Cherokee who was the first Southerner to introduce the gourd. In one of their best-known animal myths, "Ball Game of the Birds and Animals," the martin retrieved the ball at a crucial point of the contest and for this was given a gourd "in which to build his nest, and he still has it."<sup>23</sup>

Today Paul Green treats the martin pole in his short story, "The Humble Ones," where the wind swayed the dry gourds on the martin poles and they "knocked mournfully together" on the "crossarms" which "looked like a gallows."<sup>24</sup> In his symphonic drama, *The Lost Colony*, he depicts Uppowoc, the medicine man, with a feathered gourd rattle while old Tom, the philosopher-buffoon, carries a gourd dipper with his wooden bucket of water.

Bernice Kelly Harris philosophizes in her *Sweet Beulah Land*: "Puttin' a handle to a gourd don't make it no dipper."<sup>25</sup> Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings mentions gourds many times in her descriptions of life in the "scrub-country" of Florida. Cecile Hulse Matschat, also writing of Florida, tells of drinking liquor out of a gourd at a still.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Jean Thomas, *Blue Ridge Country*, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, *Blue Ridge Country*, 159.

<sup>23</sup> James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, part I, 287.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Green, *Salvation on a String and Other Tales of the South*, 63.

<sup>25</sup> Bernice Kelly Harris, *Sweet Beulah Land*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> Cecile Hulse Matschat, *Suwannee River*, 156.

Among the poets who have sung of the gourd is John Charles McNeill. In "Tommy Smith," he sings of "the old cider-hogshead . . . with the brimming gourd."<sup>27</sup> And in "Before Bedtime" he says:

Paw bends to read his almanac  
An' study out the weather,  
An' Bud has got a gourd o' grease  
To ile his harness leather.<sup>28</sup>

This paper cites only a few references out of a vast amount of material relating to the true significance and rich tradition of the gourd in the South throughout the years. Research regarding the same gourd which hung as a dipper by the old spring or well continues to reveal new, delightful, and interesting aspects of the subject.

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<sup>27</sup> John Charles McNeill, *Songs Merry and Sad*.

<sup>28</sup> McNeill, *Songs Merry and Sad*.

## THE FOOD AND DRINK SHORTAGE ON THE CONFEDERATE HOMEFRONT

By Mary Elizabeth Massey

During the Civil War there were many commodity shortages that affected the Confederate civilian population. Insufficient housing accommodations, utilities, clothing, medicine, transportation facilities, and paper, as well as the lack of hundreds of miscellaneous items, kept the people ever alert in the search for substitutes. But no single shortage caused such grave concern among the civilians as that of food, for there were areas in which even the coarsest, most commonplace items were unobtainable. This situation became increasingly serious as the war years dragged on, until by 1865 the areas affected were widespread. There were several factors causing this shortage. The blockade, the lack of a self-sufficient economy in the South, the failure of governmental and private attempts to diversify sufficiently agricultural production, the chauvinistic generosity of many people, especially in the early days of the war, and natural phenomena such as drouth, floods, and fires—all these combined to produce a shortage of food and drink. More important than any of these causes, however, were the shortage of manpower, the breakdown of transportation facilities, the impressment policy of the Confederate government, speculation, and hoarding. Combining forces, these factors produced a grave problem that at times became insurmountable. Hunger and near starvation were the result in some parts of the Confederacy, while in all sections food and drink substitutes were forced upon the people by the absolute inability to get certain commodities.

Contemporary letters, diaries, and newspapers contain frequent reference to the food shortage. A few mention abundance of food in one section or another, but that is unusual. The rank and file seem to have felt the pinch of the times. While one family might have plenty to eat, next door there might be hunger. Such was the case in the Virginia village where Mrs. Cornelia McDonald lived during a part of the war. While she was forced to live upon the simple fare of bread and water, there were those in her

neighborhood who could dine sumptuously.<sup>1</sup> Constance Cary, later Mrs. Burton Harrison, wrote that she could not remember getting up from a single meal while she was in Richmond in 1864-1865 "without wishing there were more of it,"<sup>2</sup> while another young lady, who chanced to be visiting on a Virginia plantation that had been untouched by the war, found delicacies in bounteous quantity.<sup>3</sup> Although there were some who managed to have a sufficiency, there were others in the South who regularly felt the pangs of hunger. One writer declared that "the Confederacy was always hungry."<sup>4</sup>

While generalization is both impossible and dangerous, it may be said accurately that there was nearly always a food shortage in certain areas. Those near the battle lines were most often swept clean of all food. Foragers from both Confederate and Federal armies preyed upon the land. That section of Virginia which was a battleground for four years saw the food problem daily becoming more acute. Here the battle against starvation was fought during the entire war.<sup>5</sup> In other areas the armies swept across the land at varying times, leaving hunger in their paths. Such a destructive march was that of General Sherman's army across Georgia and thence northward into the Carolinas. That section had felt little actual hunger prior to this maneuver, but the destitution left by the Federals was widespread and severe. One girl who witnessed this march reported that the people in Georgia eagerly sought stray bits of corn left uneaten by the horses;<sup>6</sup> another told of searching for stray minie balls left on the field of battle and exchanging them for food at Confederate headquarters.<sup>7</sup> While civilians living near the battle areas keenly felt the shortage of food, those living in so called "refugee havens" likewise faced the problem. In an attempt to flee from the enemy, many thousands were swept into areas believed to be safe from invasion. As such areas contracted with each passing month, more and more people were herded into less and less space. The problem of feeding these people became immense and sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Cornelia McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay*, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Myrta Lockett Avery, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 357.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Courtney Hall, "Confederate Medicine," *Medical Life*, XLII (1935), 480.

<sup>5</sup> George Alfred Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant and His Romaunt Abroad During the War*, 240; Catherine Cooper Hopley, *Life in the South: From the Commencement of the War*, II, 108; Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 222.

<sup>6</sup> Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl*, 38.

<sup>7</sup> Mary A. H. Gay, *Life in Dixie During the War*, 248.

impossible. Then it was that the shortages became widespread and hunger appeared where it had not been before.<sup>8</sup> In cities, too, food shortages created immense problems. Depending upon the surrounding rural areas for their subsistence, the city dwellers were sometimes forced to do without even the simplest food. Farmers often refused to bring their produce to town, even when they had it. The fear of the impressment officers, coupled with the poor roads, was most frequently the cause of withholding the farm produce. So bad did the situation become in some cities that the inhabitants were seen eating the refuse from garbage cans.<sup>9</sup> One diarist wrote that the people of Richmond lived in a clean city, for "everything [is] being so cleanly consumed that no garbage or filth can accumulate." He added that the citizens of the capital were "such good scavengers" that there was "no need for buzzards."<sup>10</sup> Richmond felt the food shortage for a longer period of time, and more severely, than did any other city, for into the capital had come thousands of government workers, military figures, onlookers, seekers of favors, travelers, and men of fortune. The population grew to such an extent that even had normal amounts of produce come into Richmond they would have proved insufficient for the increased population. But normal amounts did not come during the war, so that the food problem was a grave one in the capital. Besieged towns, too, were often driven to great lengths to obtain enough food to keep the people alive. Vicksburg and Petersburg were in desperate straits during the days that they were under siege. In both these towns all sorts of food substitutes were utilized. While the food shortage was felt most severely in these and other towns and cities in the Confederacy, it was by no means absent from the rural areas. Some rural folk suffered; others did not. Some areas were without sufficient food a part of the time, while others usually had enough for their people. Few, however, were those people or places that had prewar quantities during the entire four years. The political leaders often received letters from their friends and constituents in rural areas, telling of the hardships and asking that something be done. Secretary of War Seddon received such a letter in the spring of

<sup>8</sup> Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*, 482.

<sup>9</sup> Armistead Churchill Gordon, "Hard-Times in the Confederacy," *The Century Magazine*, XXXVI (1883), 762.

<sup>10</sup> John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War-Clerk's Diary*, II, 156.

1864, written by Thomas S. Babcock for a group of citizens in Appomattox County, Virginia. It declared that corn could not be found and the situation was described as "urgent." The aid of Secretary Seddon was sought with the hope of easing a "sober and lamentable reality."<sup>11</sup> A particularly graphic plea was written by several county leaders of Rockingham County, Virginia, to the Honorable James B. Baldwin in late fall of 1864. Conditions in this county were described as "appalling and unparalleled"; there was barely enough food "to sustain life," and the people "were almost reduced to beggary."<sup>12</sup> The rural folk always evidenced much concern when there was a lack of sufficient food. They never seemed able to take it in their stride as did their city friends. One lady remarked that as she traveled about rural areas of the South, the people seemed far more interested in "the non-arrival of a jug of molasses or a sack of meal than in the issue of battles."<sup>13</sup>

In determining what groups of people felt the food shortage most keenly, it is again impossible to generalize. Evidence points to the fact that the poor people of the Confederacy found it extremely difficult to get enough to eat. Despite the generosity of many in helping the poor, most of the organized charities were found in the larger towns, and those in remote areas were unable to benefit by their charity. Others had too much pride to become beggars, so they went hungry. There was hunger, however, among those who were widely known in Confederate circles. Such outstanding people as Joseph LeConte<sup>14</sup> and his daughter, Emma, mention the scarcity of food in their pantry.<sup>15</sup> Constance Cary, one of the favorites of Richmond society during the war, went hungry many times,<sup>16</sup> while Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, wife of the Confederate general, at one time had only cornbread and sorghum molasses to eat.<sup>17</sup> There were many similar cases among the better known and more affluent members of the Confederacy, but this group, more often than any other, got the rare articles when they were available. Mrs. Jefferson Davis admitted that

<sup>11</sup> *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV, III, 285. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

<sup>12</sup> *Official Records*, Series IV, III, 845-846.

<sup>13</sup> Harrison, *Recollections*, 86.

<sup>14</sup> William Dallam Armes, *Autobiography of Joseph LeConte*, 229.

<sup>15</sup> Emma Florence LeConte, *Diary*, January 23, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>16</sup> Harrison, *Recollections*, 191.

<sup>17</sup> Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, 194.

the household of the President had fewer deprivations "than those of persons not holding such high official positions."<sup>18</sup> This is further verified by Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., wife of the South Carolina Senator, who dined with Mrs. Davis late in the war. On the presidential table she found chicken, oysters, gumbo, duck, olives, salad, lettuce, chocolate ice cream, jelly, cake, claret, and champagne.<sup>19</sup> Other persons of high rank benefitted by their "connections." Secretary of the Treasury George Trenholm assisted his friends in securing from abroad various scarce and almost forgotten items,<sup>20</sup> and Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory was accused of indulging in a diet that would delight the most critical epicure.<sup>21</sup> But these leaders and their circles of intimate friends composed only a small percentage of the Confederates. The rank and file fared simply on the most monotonous of diets; and coffee, tea, salt, and sugar made their exit early in the war. Shortages of these items continued to be fairly general, except in those parts of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi where sugar was grown. Rich or poor, famous or little known, all people had to forego their usual indulgences in these items. The more ingenious sought and found substitutes for some of the items, while others were unsuccessful.

Recognizing the food shortages, the newspapers and periodicals of the time made room for recipes and the results of culinary research. When the *Southern Illustrated News* was founded in Richmond, in September, 1862, the promise was given the readers that a place would be given "to all good recipes furnished by experienced housekeepers."<sup>22</sup> Recipe books published during the war stressed shortages and modeled the recipes to fit the times. Housewives cut these recipes from magazines and newspapers and made their own wartime recipe books. One kept by a South Carolina housewife is so typically "Confederate" that it merits description. Bound in the coarsest of homespun, the book contains recipes written on the blank side of Confederate money, old envelopes, and letters, all cut to a uniform size.<sup>23</sup> All the war

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Varina Howell Davis, *Jefferson Davis: Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir*, II, 529.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary From Dixie*, 284.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Livingston Bayne, "Life in Richmond, 1863-1865," *Confederate Veteran*, XXX (1922), 100.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 290.

<sup>22</sup> *Southern Illustrated News*, September 27, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> Confederate Recipe Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

recipes were simple, and war names were given to various concoctions, such as "Rebel Bread" and "Beaureguard Cake."<sup>24</sup>

The same periodicals that gave so much space to the recipes also encouraged the planting of food crops in place of cotton and tobacco. State legislation on this subject was a direct outgrowth of the newspaper campaign. The papers made appeals to the farmers to meet together and discuss this topic. When they did come together and decide to forsake the planting of cotton for corn, they received publicity for their actions. Not only would the hometown paper publish the news of the farmers' unselfishness, but the story would find its way into newspapers far from the scene of the action.<sup>25</sup> The newspapers urged not only the planting of food crops, but the planting of more than the family could use. A South Carolina paper thought that, if everyone would plant one-fifth more than the family could consume, the farmers could beat the famine.<sup>26</sup> The widely read *Southern Cultivator* told the southern people that the planting of food crops was not a matter of choice; it was "a matter of necessity."<sup>27</sup> And the *Wilmington Journal* subtly reminded the meat-loving and meat-hungry Confederacy that "corn is pork in rough."<sup>28</sup> Not only was the large planter urged by Southern editors to plant food crops, but the people in both city and town were encouraged to plant gardens. The practice of growing vegetables on any available plot of ground became universal during the war. J. B. Jones noted, with great satisfaction, that on his lot in Richmond "Every inch of ground is in cultivation—even the ash heap is covered all over with tomato vines."<sup>29</sup> But this did not entirely satisfy him. When he wanted to grow vegetables through the cold winter months, he made a hotbed out of a flour barrel sawed in half, and in this he planted corn, cabbage, tomatoes, beets, and eggplant. Being portable, this ingenious device could be brought indoors in cold weather.<sup>30</sup> Women as well as men cultivated gardens with an uncommon enthusiasm. By doing so they assured themselves and their families of a supply of fresh vegetables

<sup>24</sup> Susan Dabney Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 224.

<sup>25</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, April 24, 1862, quoting a resolution of farmers passed in Russell County, Alabama; *Southern Confederacy*, April 1, 1862; *Daily Express* (Petersburg), May 27, 1861, quoting the *Oxford (Mississippi) Mercury*, May 8, 1861.

<sup>26</sup> *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), February 28, 1862.

<sup>27</sup> *Southern Cultivator*, XX (1862), 80.

<sup>28</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, April 24, 1862.

<sup>29</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 135.

in time of scarcity. When Mrs. James Chesnut called on Mrs. Raphael Semmes in Richmond, she found the wife of the famous Confederate admiral working patiently with her lettuce and radishes.<sup>31</sup> Mrs. Robert Francis Withers Allston, upon the death of her husband, the former governor of South Carolina, planted a vegetable garden in order that the diet of her family might be supplemented. Her daughter proudly recorded that the products of her mother's labor were "wonderful."<sup>32</sup>

Whether a person cultivated a small plot of ground or many acres, the problem of obtaining seed was a major one. In former years many of these had been imported from the North, but with that channel of trade blocked it became necessary for the southern people to produce all of their seed. One editor rebuked his readers for having depended upon the North for this item. He wrote: "There's no real necessity for this. We grow as good seed and as many of them as any portion of Yankeedom." He urged that the people of the South be careful to save all necessary seed.<sup>33</sup> Because of the shortage, the spirit of coöperation grew up among the people. Notices were published in papers by those who had a surplus, and this surplus was sold, exchanged, or given away to those who needed it.<sup>34</sup> It became quite common to use the office of the local editor as a clearing house for these transactions. Despite such efforts to distribute seed, the shortage continued. In the spring of 1863 pea, bean, corn, and tomato seed were not to be had in Richmond,<sup>35</sup> and in February, 1865, an amateur gardener in the same city bought a quarter ounce of cabbage seed at \$10 per ounce.<sup>36</sup> While some seed came through the blockade, there were never enough to satisfy the demand.<sup>37</sup>

While the cultivation of food crops and the saving of seed were encouraged by the editors, the preservation of fruits and vegetables was also encouraged. Many papers carried instructions for the preserving and drying of surplus produce. One editor suggested that "every apple should be saved, both for food and vinegar."<sup>38</sup> The recipe books of the war years give evidence of the increased interest in methods of preserving food.

<sup>31</sup> Chestnut, *Diary*, 294.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 294.

<sup>33</sup> *Daily Express*, October 21, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> C. C. Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 293.

<sup>35</sup> Jones, *Diary*, I, 274.

<sup>36</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 293.

<sup>37</sup> Horace Smith Fulkerson, *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States*, 145.

<sup>38</sup> *Richmond Whig*, May 15, 1862

Specific food shortages began to appear early in the war, and they continued throughout the conflict. The most prevalent and serious shortages were of meat, salt, fats of all kinds, white sugar, and wheat breads. Fruit and vegetables, as well as miscellaneous foods, including condiments, were also lacking. Among the beverages which disappeared during the war were coffee, tea, imported liquors, and to a lesser extent domestic liquors, and in some areas milk. In an effort to supply themselves and their families with as nearly the genuine article as possible, the housewife constantly searched for substitutes. Much interest was stimulated among the women of the Confederacy by this amateur contest involving cooking skills and ingenuity; and the results of this research were exchanged, compared, and discussed. Some admitted failure to find substitutes for various items, while others were sure they had found a substitute that was just as satisfactory as the original. But good or poor, successful or otherwise, there were substitutes.

Among the most complained of food shortages was that of meat. The lack of this essential item of diet caused concern among many. The South was accustomed to consume quantities of pork, but even this domestic product proved scarce during the war. The lack of sufficient feed, the absence of men accustomed to preside over the butchering and curing, and the lack of sufficient salt to cure the pork properly—all combined to produce the shortage. In the years before the war, much of the beef consumed in the lower South and the seaboard area had been brought from Tennessee, Kentucky, the Mid-West, and the Trans-Mississippi region. Although these areas continued to supply the Confederacy in varying quantities through most of 1862,<sup>39</sup> by midsummer of 1863 all of these sources were lost to the Confederacy, as far as supplying it with any large amount of provisions was concerned. The people in the Cis-Mississippi region turned toward raising stock in an effort to produce their own meat.<sup>40</sup> But it took time to produce cattle for slaughter, and the lack of grain and experience, combined with the time element and war destruction, made it impossible for the eastern Confederacy to produce its

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<sup>39</sup> William S. Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, April 27, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>40</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), November 10, 1862.

own meat in sufficient quantities. The meat shortage remained serious during the entire conflict.

Many butcher shops closed their doors, and those that managed to stay opened had little or no meat.<sup>41</sup> When meat was available, it was well for the housewife or servant to arise early and rush to purchase some of the rare article. The supply was usually exhausted in the early morning.<sup>42</sup> Under these circumstances, many were forced to forego meat, but their craving for it diminished not at all. It was said that, in the prayers for daily bread, there was usually added, "And a little meat, too, O Lord."<sup>43</sup> Those who did manage to obtain meat got much less than was needed to feed the family according to prewar standards, and so a little was often made to go a long way. In 1863 in one household a pound of meat was made to serve "seven hungry children," the parents, and a servant,<sup>44</sup> but by 1864, an ounce of meat per person daily was considered ample for the times.<sup>45</sup>

Under such circumstances there was nothing to do but use substitutes. The most common were fish and fowl. One diarist wrote that "fish became the staple article of diet," but to get this, it was necessary to be at the market "before the break of day, and frequently . . . the crowd that pressed around the market was so dense that many were compelled to leave without anything."<sup>46</sup> While many were encouraged to partake of such meat substitutes as oysters, in season, and save the meat for the fighting men, oysters too were scarce. In Wilmington they were two dollars a "fry" when available,<sup>47</sup> while in Charleston an editor missed them so much that he wrote an editorial on the subject. In the course of the article he said: "One of the charmed months, bearing the mystic R has passed away and another is 1/2 spent and our eyes have not been gladdened nor our palates excited by so much as even 1 specimen of our old molluscuous favorites."<sup>48</sup> A poor substitute for oysters was offered. This was made of green corn, egg, flour, butter, salt, and pepper mixed together

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<sup>41</sup> Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrations, Incidents, Poetry, Etc.*, VII, 67. (Hereafter cited as *Rebellion Record*.)

<sup>42</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, November 2, 1863.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Hunter, "The Woman of Mosby's Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran*, XV (1907), 259.

<sup>44</sup> McDonald, *Diary*, 198.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 185; Mrs. Roger Pryor, *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, 208.

<sup>46</sup> Sallie A. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 113.

<sup>47</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, November 22, 1862.

<sup>48</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, October 16, 1862.

in a batter and fried.<sup>49</sup> This, of course could be used only when the ingredients were available, and some of these items came to be scarce. In an effort to get fish, those who could turned to fishing. One Louisiana father used to awaken his children early every morning with the call, "Get up girls, fish or no breakfast."<sup>50</sup> That more fish were not used as meat substitutes was due to the lack of equipment for catching them. There was a shortage of hooks, lines, seines, and traps, and there was difficulty in fishing off the coast during the war.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to fish there were other substitutes both palatable and nourishing. Among these were eggs. One contemporary remarked that the "hundred ways of cooking an egg became well-known in the Confederacy."<sup>52</sup> Fowl and wild game were used when obtainable, but these were not often to be had at any price. Hunting became more than a sport, for in this way the "meat" was often supplied those living in rural areas. One editor ran this in his paper: "We want to buy a coon and 'possum dog, [with which to hunt] our meat during the coming year. . . . A dog that will hunt coon, possum and kill sheep occasionally will command a good price at these 'headquarters.'"<sup>53</sup> But hunters who had fine dogs with which to hunt were often stymied by the lack of ammunition, for most of this found its way into the Army.<sup>54</sup>

With meat practically non-existent, fishing tackle scarce and ammunition for hunting purposes hard to obtain, other substitutes had to be found. By the fall of 1864 things had come to such a state that one editor suggested that his readers resort to eating rats, frogs, fried snails, young crow, snakes, locusts, earthworms, birds' nests, cats, and dogs; he added that "a word to the wise is sufficient."<sup>55</sup> By this time, however, many Confederates had already been eating these things. Rats had become an item in the diet of many. President Davis was quoted as saying that he saw no reason for not eating rats, for he thought they

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<sup>49</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book: A Compilation of Over One Hundred Receipts Adapted to the Times*, 7, 8. The recipe for artificial oyster is: "Take young green corn, grate it in a dish; to one pint of this add one egg, well-beaten, a small teacup of flour, two or three tablespoons of butter, some salt and pepper, mix them all together. A tablespoon of the batter will make the size of an oyster. Fry them light brown, and when done butter them."

<sup>50</sup> Frances Fearn, *Diary of a Refugee*, 18-19.

<sup>51</sup> *Official Records*, Series IV, II, 915-918.

<sup>52</sup> Harrison, *Recollections*, 134-135.

<sup>53</sup> *Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta), October 7, 1862.

<sup>54</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 135.

<sup>55</sup> *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, September 16, 1864.

would be as "good as squirrels."<sup>56</sup> Rats were eaten in quantity by the citizens of besieged Vicksburg. On the eve of the capitulation of that city, a lady noted that rats were "hanging dressed in the market for sale . . . there is nothing else."<sup>57</sup> Rats sometimes brought as much as \$2.50 each.<sup>58</sup> In Richmond, too, they found their way to tables, while recipes for cooking them were circulated among the women.<sup>59</sup> Rats, however, never became the item of diet that mule-meat did. In Vicksburg mules were slaughtered daily and sold to those who wanted fresh meat.<sup>60</sup> But this meat was expensive. A lady said that she sent "five dollars to market each morning, and it buys a small piece of mule meat."<sup>61</sup> Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, who spent a part of the war in Petersburg, Virginia, wrote that one morning she saw a dead mule "lying on the common, and out of its side had been cut a very neat square chunk of flesh."<sup>62</sup> Some people, in their hunger for meat, ate their pets. A resident of one of the caves in Vicksburg had her daughter's pet jay-bird killed and made into soup;<sup>63</sup> and considerable controversy arose in Savannah when a group of men were accused of rounding up dogs, slaughtering them, and selling them as lamb.<sup>64</sup> During the war the lowly peanut came into general use as a food, especially as a substitute for meat.

The meat shortage probably would never have been so serious had it not been for the shortage of salt. This was needed as a preservative, yet it was almost totally lacking in most sections of the Confederacy. Of all shortages, lack of salt received more attention from the Confederate Congress and state legislatures than any other. Salt was desperately needed, and the lack of it caused thousands of pounds of meat to spoil. Salt had been produced in the South prior to the war, but most of these sources were soon captured, and in some instances the salt mines were flooded by the Federals. The blockade made it increasingly difficult to bring salt into the Confederacy through the ports. And

<sup>56</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 175.

<sup>57</sup> George Washington Cable, ed., "A Woman's Diary of the Siege of Vicksburg," *Century Magazine*, XXX (1885), 774.

<sup>58</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 231.

<sup>59</sup> Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 104, Mrs. Pember gives the following recipe for cooking a rat: "The rat must be skinned, cleaned, his head cut off and his body laid open upon a square board, the legs stretched to their full extent and secured upon it with small tacks, then baste with bacon fat and roast before a good fire quickly like canvas back ducks."

<sup>60</sup> Mary Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 116.

<sup>61</sup> Cable, "A Woman's Diary," 771.

<sup>62</sup> Pryor, *My Day*, 204.

<sup>63</sup> Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 136-137.

<sup>64</sup> *Savannah Republican*, July 30, 1863.

no satisfactory substitute could be found. Saltpetre was sometimes used, but it, too, was always scarce, and the manufacturers of ammunition had first call on it. Wood ashes sometimes served as a substitute for salt, but this proved unsatisfactory. In the search for salt, many people scraped the dirt from the smoke-house floors, but this source was soon exhausted. Others tried boiling salt water until the salt could be extracted, but, although this was urged upon the people by the newspapers, it was a slow and expensive method, and the results were negligible. There was a shortage of kettles, barrels, and sacks needed in the making and shipping of salt. The congested and inadequate transportation facilities also made it difficult to distribute equally the available salt, as well as the basic essentials necessary to its manufacture. A student of the salt problem in the Confederacy wrote that "despite the most persistent search . . . [and] enthusiastic boring to locate subterranean brines, despite scientific testing of weak brines, no important new sources of salines were discovered, with one exception of the mine of rock at New Iberia [Louisiana]."<sup>65</sup> With only one new mine discovered, and with only one major salt producing area in the Confederacy, that of the Saltville, Virginia, works, there was need of a substitute. But an adequate substitute was never discovered, and the consequent lack of salt was one of the most serious shortages in the Confederacy.

Among the many food shortages were fats of all kinds, butter, oils, lard, and mayonnaise. Of all these, the shortage of butter seemed to be most serious. Prior to the war, a large amount of butter had been shipped into southern cities from the North. This imported butter was said to be preferred because it was neatly packaged and "more satisfactory than that of domestic production."<sup>66</sup> With the coming of the war, it became necessary for the South to produce its own butter. In an effort to stimulate production, newspapers and farm journals presented the problem to their readers. In one such article the editor of the *Southern Cultivator* stressed the point that the reliance on northern butter was great, and that so far as he knew "there is not a dairy farm in the State of Georgia," yet he insisted that southern farmers

<sup>65</sup> Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy*, 222.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily Express* (Petersburg), June 18, 1861.

must supply the demands of the Confederacy.<sup>67</sup> Despite the effort to stimulate production, there never was enough butter during the war. The words "No Butter" or "scant supply of butter" were consistently seen in the market reports of southern papers. Early in the war a Texas newspaper boasted that Texas could supply the whole Confederacy with butter. She failed to do so, however.<sup>68</sup> The scarcity continued during the entire four years of the war. When a housewife did succeed in finding a little butter, it was often rancid, but it was too precious to throw away. She, therefore, resorted to current recipes that told her how she might restore the sweetness to such butter.<sup>69</sup> Lard and cooking oils, like butter, were hard to obtain. About the only substitute for such items, but one that was given widespread publicity, was oil made from the seeds of sunflowers. It was described as an admirable substitute for olive oil. Mayonnaise, too, was an almost forgotten luxury in most homes. Because of the shortage of oils which form a base for this dressing, recipes were concocted that produced a substitute called mayonnaise only by courtesy. Even the simple ingredients needed were often lacking.<sup>70</sup>

With the possible exception of meat and salt, the food shortage most complained of was that of sugar. That part of the Confederacy lying east of the Mississippi River was almost entirely dependent on the sugar produced in Louisiana. When the Federals took control of the area around New Orleans in 1862, the sugar supply of the Confederacy became smaller and smaller. When the Confederacy was bisected and the Mississippi River lost, the sugar supply from Mississippi to Virginia almost entirely disappeared. Only that hoarded by housewives, that arriving spasmodically by blockade runners, and the little cultivated in the area of Florida and Georgia was to be had. The shortage affected all people. As early as the summer of 1862, Mrs. Kirby Smith wrote her husband apologizing because she could not find any white sugar for him in Lynchburg.<sup>71</sup> Whenever a little

<sup>67</sup> Charles Wallace Howard, "Things Worthy of Attention," *Southern Cultivator*, XIX (1861), 201-203.

<sup>68</sup> New Orleans *Picayune*, June 28, 1861, quoting the *Galveston Civilian*.

<sup>69</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17. The following directions were given for sweetening butter: "Melt the butter in hot water, skim it off as clean as possible, and work it over again in a churn, add salt and fine sugar and press well."

<sup>70</sup> *Confederate Recipe Book*, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. "Mayonnaise without oil, Mix two teaspoons of mustard, 1 tablespoon of butter or bacon grease, salt to taste, pour gently on this one pint of milk or water in which a piece of celery has been boiled to give it taste, put on fire, and when boiling, thicken with one tablespoon of flour or starch and yoke of 1 egg. When cold beat in a wine glass of vinegar."

<sup>71</sup> Mrs. Kirby Smith to General Kirby Smith, June 30, 1862, Kirby Smith Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

“real” sugar made its appearance on the table during the war, it received considerable comment, for it was among the scarcest of articles.<sup>72</sup> Because of the scant supply of white sugar, fairly satisfactory substitutes were found for the genuine article. Of all these substitutes, sorghum was most often used. It became familiar throughout the Confederacy. One lady said that “a history of the ‘Southern Confederacy’ would be incomplete without . . . mention of sorghum.”<sup>73</sup> Another contemporary wrote that “the land was submerged in sorghum.”<sup>74</sup> Sorghum mills sprang up like mushrooms throughout the South; they were, as a rule, primitive and inexpensive. They usually consisted of “three upright cylinders, of which the center one, turned by horse-power, moved the other two by means of cog-wheels. A tub set underneath the machine caught the juice,” and this juice was boiled down and clarified.<sup>75</sup> In fact, this sorghum boiling “added another to the great Southern festivals of corn shucking and hog-killing.” The result of each boiling was different. No two kettles were alike “in color, taste, or consistency.”<sup>76</sup> Much interest was stimulated in the results, however, and the makers carried around samples to compare with those made by their friends.<sup>77</sup> Whenever the planter found himself unsure of some step in the procedure of making sorghum, he would ask the advice of someone who did know. So it was that Robert F. W. Allston wrote to James Henry Hammond in the summer of 1862: “My sorgo is not yet ripe, when it is I desire to know how to proceed forewith, so as to lose neither time nor material in experimenting. With this in view, I beg you give me benefit of your experience.”<sup>78</sup> “Universal sweetner” that it was, sorghum was used whenever sugar was called for. It found its way into cake, cookies, and pies, but one of the most unusual uses was in jellies and preserves.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Andrews, *Journal*, 26, 83.

<sup>73</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>74</sup> David Dodge (pseudonym) [O. W. Blacknall], “Domestic Economy in the Confederacy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII (1886), 235.

<sup>75</sup> Mrs. M. P. Handy, “Confederate Makeshifts,” *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 577.

<sup>76</sup> Dodge, “Domestic Economy in the Confederacy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII (1886), 235.

<sup>77</sup> Parthenia Antoinette Hague, *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama During The War*, 30.

<sup>78</sup> James Harold Easterby, ed., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation As Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston*, 188.

<sup>79</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

Sorghum jelly was fairly common,<sup>80</sup> but this, as well as preserves that contained sorghum, "always had a twang."<sup>81</sup>

There were other sugar substitutes but they never became as widely used as sorghum. Among these was honey. The people were encouraged to substitute honey for sugar, but the production of honey fell off during the war, and it was never sufficient to meet the demand.<sup>82</sup> Maple sugar was used whenever it was obtainable. This sugar, and maple syrup as well, was said by some to be "as good as that produced in the North."<sup>83</sup> Most of that used during the war came from the mountain areas, but it never reached the markets in sufficient quantities to supply the demand.<sup>84</sup> Persimmons were used to make sugar,<sup>85</sup> and both watermelons<sup>86</sup> and figs<sup>87</sup> were made into syrup and used as sweetening.

Because of the shortages of sugar and syrup, desserts practically disappeared from southern tables. Usually on such important occasions as Christmas the housewives would ingeniously concoct some dessert that would be acceptable, despite the sugar shortage. But even then many felt that apologies were in order, for to indulge in such luxuries was thought to be unpatriotic by many. Edmund Ruffin's granddaughter wrote him on Christmas Day, 1862, that her family was "so unfashionable as to have a dessert."<sup>88</sup> Molasses pie, made with sorghum, flour, and walnuts, was a fairly common dessert.<sup>89</sup> There were Confederate "ginger snaps" that contained no ginger or sugar and from descriptions very little "snap."<sup>90</sup> There were "plum puddings" without plums,<sup>91</sup> but fruit cakes contained all sorts of fruit. One recipe called for dried apples, peaches, figs, walnuts, and hickory nuts, flavored with what few spices could be begged, borrowed, or stolen

<sup>80</sup> Confederate Recipe Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. "Sorghum jelly: Beat very light three eggs, and add them to 1 pint of sorghum. Set on to boil, stirring slowly until it thickens to the consistency of hominy."

<sup>81</sup> Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," 578-579.

<sup>82</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, July 25, 1864.

<sup>83</sup> D. M. Scott, "Selma and Dallas County, Alabama," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIV (1916), 217.

<sup>84</sup> N. R. H. Dawson to his fiancée, March 21, 1862, N. R. H. Dawson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. He wrote: "There is no maple sugar in town (Richmond). The soldiers eat it all up in the mountains, and none of it comes to this market."

<sup>85</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, October 1, 1863.

<sup>86</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 31-32.

<sup>87</sup> *Richmond Whig*, October 1, 1863.

<sup>88</sup> "Nannie" to her grandfather, Edmund Ruffin, Edmund Ruffin Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>89</sup> Pryor, *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, 319.

<sup>90</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. The ginger snaps contained flour, sorghum, and pepper.

<sup>91</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers. "Recipe for Plum Pudding . . . dried apples, currants, suet, a little pepper for spice, and a mixture of corn meal and flour."

and with corn whiskey "made by the government."<sup>92</sup> Another fruit cake contained "dried cherries, dried whortle berries, candied watermelon rind and molasses."<sup>93</sup> Among the simplest of desserts was that made from crushed peanuts sweetened with whatever happened to be at hand.<sup>94</sup> Many a party was given during the war "with a gallon of sorghum and some goobers."<sup>95</sup>

The shortage of white sugar and syrup prevented the making of dainty desserts and pastries, but the scarcity of flour also contributed to the lack of these delicacies. High-grade white flour was practically unobtainable during most of the war. A favorite recipe for pie crust called for white potatoes in the absence of flour;<sup>96</sup> and corn meal was often used in making pastries, cake, and waffles.<sup>97</sup> If there had been a lack of flour for dessert only, there would have been no great problem, but bread became so scarce and expensive as to prevent its being used by the rank and file. Early attempts of newspapers to persuade the southern people to grow wheat met with little success, and that customarily bought in the North was not available during the war. With outside sources closed and with the lack of proper machinery, soil, weather, and experience to grow it at home, the supply of wheat dwindled.<sup>98</sup> The little flour that was milled was darker than the prewar flour and was much coarser. When one woman found some "Number One" flour hidden in a relative's house, she was so elated that she recalled it in later years.<sup>99</sup> Both dark and light flour continued scarce during the war. Whenever anyone was so fortunate as to receive any as a gift, friends were called in to share the wonderful delicacy. These "biscuit parties" were always a success; one woman declared that some of the biscuits eaten at such an event "were more delicious than any eaten before or since."<sup>100</sup> Because of the scarcity of bread, housewives often had to resort to a sort of rationing with their families. One remarked that it was "almost ludicrous to see with what painful

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<sup>92</sup> Scott, "Selma and Dallas County, Alabama," 220.

<sup>93</sup> Lucy London Anderson, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy*, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Francis Peyre Porcher, *Resources of the Southern Fields, and Forests, Medical, Economical, and Agricultural*, 228.

<sup>95</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>96</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 7.

<sup>97</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 25.

<sup>98</sup> Frances Caldwell Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," *Confederate Veteran*, XXI (1913), 162.

<sup>99</sup> Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 185.

<sup>100</sup> Mrs. Julia W. Bell, "My Confederate Grandmother," *Confederate Veteran*, XXVIII (1920), 366-367.

solicitude . . . [she] would count rolls" or measure the bread with a string, so that no one would receive more than another.<sup>101</sup> By the spring of 1865 the price of flour had risen to \$1,200 a barrel, and even at this price it was rarely obtainable. Professional bakers continued to raise prices. In Richmond the bakers produced three sizes of loaves "which sold at one, two, and three dollars." The first was described as visible only with microscopic aid, "the second can be discerned with the naked eye, and the third can be seen with outline and shape distinct."<sup>102</sup> Because of the shortage of breadstuffs, soldiers threatened to go home and help their hungry families obtain bread.<sup>103</sup>

Substitutes had to be found for flour from which nourishing breadstuffs could be made. Apparently the most ingenious were unable to find tasty substitutes. One physician, who studied the problem of shortages and the indigenous plants that might relieve these shortages, concluded that "any substance that contained starch . . . may furnish materials for bread."<sup>104</sup> And in truth they did. Rice flour became very common in those areas where rice was grown. In one recipe book, published midway in the war, there were eleven recipes calling for the use of rice flour.<sup>105</sup> Rice bread frequently bore the name "Secession Bread,"<sup>106</sup> but, for all its merits as described by the Confederate press, one daring housewife who attempted to make it said that it resulted "only in brick-bats or sticky paste."<sup>107</sup> A majority of Southerners resorted to the use of corn meal, already a common food before the war. Many who ate it during the war, however, would have preferred wheat bread had they been able to obtain it. When the corn meal was bolted and sifted through a fine sifter or muslin cloth, it made a passable substitute for flour.<sup>108</sup> The editor of the *Houston Telegraph* urged his readers to use corn meal, by telling them that it was more patriotic to eat this domestic product.<sup>109</sup> Before the war was over, even corn meal became scarce, and those who earlier had scorned it were happy to get it. In 1862 a North Carolina farmer wrote to his son: "the corn crop

<sup>101</sup> P. Y. Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 99.

<sup>102</sup> *Richmond Examiner*, March 29, 1865.

<sup>103</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 101-102.

<sup>104</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 620.

<sup>105</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 25-27.

<sup>106</sup> Confederate Receipt Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>107</sup> Cable, "A Woman's Diary," 769.

<sup>108</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 25.

<sup>109</sup> *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, September 8, 1862.

is wretched . . . the prospect is far worse than it's been since Columbus discovered America."<sup>110</sup> With bread so difficult to obtain, it was natural that the distillers should become a target for criticism. Just how much corn went into distilled spirits is not known, but corn became so scarce in certain areas that people went along the roads and picked up stray kernels that had fallen from the wagons. The children of Charles Campbell, the historian, picked up grains from the feeding troughs of army horses. These they "washed, dried and pounded" for food.<sup>111</sup> After corn meal became difficult to obtain, hominy was suggested in its place, but hominy, too, was scarce.<sup>112</sup> Rice flour, corn meal, and hominy were delicious by comparison with some flour substitutes. Pea-meal came into fairly general use, when nothing else could be had. It was described as having a peculiar and disagreeable taste, and on the whole as "very unpalatable."<sup>113</sup> There was also sorghum flour that produced a pinkish bread comparable to buckwheat.<sup>114</sup> Pumpkin bread was made by boiling a pumpkin in water until a thick substance was obtained, running this through a sieve, and then adding a little flour or meal. The result was "excellent bread," according to the *Confederate Receipt Book*.<sup>115</sup> Acorns,<sup>116</sup> persimmons,<sup>117</sup> clover,<sup>118</sup> and lilies<sup>119</sup> were also used in making bread.

While meat, salt, sugar, and breadstuffs were among the foods most sorely missed by the people of the Confederacy, there was also a shortage of fresh vegetables, fruits, and condiments. Even in sections where fruit and vegetables were plentiful, the distance to the needy areas, the poor transportation facilities, and the lack of refrigeration en route prevented proper distribution. Most noticeable of the scarce fruits were those produced in semi-tropical climates and formerly imported into the South. These consisted of citrus fruits, pineapples, and dates. Shut off from the oranges, lemons, and limes of the West Indies, the southern

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<sup>110</sup> James Evans to James S. Evans, June 23, 1862, James S. Evans Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>111</sup> Pryor, *My Day*, 204.

<sup>112</sup> *Southern Field and Fireside*, March 14, 1863, 87.

<sup>113</sup> Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 77. The main complaint against pea-meal was that it had to be mixed with corn-meal, and it cooked so much slower than the corn-meal that a part of the bread would be burned while the other was half-done.

<sup>114</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, October 6, 1864; *Wilmington Journal*, October 4, 1864.

<sup>115</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 5.

<sup>116</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 621.

<sup>117</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 424.

<sup>118</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 204.

<sup>119</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 621.

people began to look toward Florida for these fruits. Although Florida fruits had been marketed before the war in smaller quantities, the blockade furnished a stimulus to fruit growing in this southernmost state of the Confederacy that was amazing. The newspapers frequently commented upon the deliciousness of the Florida fruit, and one young lady from Georgia pronounced the oranges "very good."<sup>120</sup> Pineapples were not grown in any abundance in the South, and there seemed to be no substitute for them. But dried persimmons were substituted for dates.<sup>121</sup> When lemons were unobtainable, even from Florida, citric acid was used instead.<sup>122</sup> Common fruits, apples, peaches, and plums, were also scarce. Pumpkin, cut into pieces and dried in the sun, was suggested as a substitute for dried apples;<sup>123</sup> and one recipe for apple pie "without apples" was circulated.<sup>124</sup> One paper published a recipe for fruit preserves "without fruit"; it was made from molasses, nutmeg, and eggs.<sup>125</sup> The fruit shortage continued throughout the war, and some areas were totally without this popular item of diet.

To a lesser extent than fruit, fresh vegetables were lacking. These could be grown in season, whereas it would take an orchard several years to mature. But vegetables were by no means plentiful. The seed shortage prevented many from raising the desired quantity; and lack of experience and preoccupation with other things were contributing factors to the small yield. Very few vegetables were for sale in the markets. At one time in 1863 only watercress was to be found in the Richmond markets.<sup>126</sup> Irish potatoes were generally scarce in most of the Confederacy,<sup>127</sup> but sweet potatoes seem to have been more plentiful.<sup>128</sup> In an effort to procure some green foods in their diets, the people of the Confederacy ate herbs and flowers.<sup>129</sup> On the whole, however, the shortage of fresh vegetables was less frequently mentioned in contemporary accounts than that of bread, meat, and sweets.

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<sup>120</sup> Andrews, *Journal*, 75.

<sup>121</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.

<sup>122</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, June 5, 1862.

<sup>123</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 69.

<sup>124</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 7. "To one small bowl of crackers that have been soaked until no hard part remains, add one teaspoon of tartaric acid, sweeten to taste, add some butter and very little nutmeg."

<sup>125</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, November 10, 1864.

<sup>126</sup> Harrison, *Recollections*, 117.

<sup>127</sup> Clay-Clopton, *A Bell of the Fifties*, 103.

<sup>128</sup> Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth*, 103.

<sup>129</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 80.

Spices, pepper, flavorings, vinegar, and baking soda were scarce during the war. Although some spices and pepper were brought through the blockade and some housewives had a quantity on hand when the war began, these seasonings were among those items which generally disappeared early in the war. Few substitutes were found for these condiments. Those who had a sufficient supply of pepper sometimes used it instead of spice, but this was not very satisfactory.<sup>130</sup> The majority "long contented" themselves without these things.<sup>131</sup> Flavorings for desserts were also scarce, but the cooks of the Confederacy found substitutes in the leaves of trees, especially fruit trees. Peach leaves were substituted for vanilla,<sup>132</sup> peach and cherry leaves combined made almond flavoring, and the rose taste could be derived from rose leaves.<sup>133</sup> Vinegar, too, was to be had only in small quantities, when at all. Recipes for making vinegar were among those most frequently seen in the newspapers of the period. Some of these are interesting because of the ingredients they recommended. One called for molasses and water mixed and permitted to stand for two months; another, in the same paper, suggested that an "excellent vinegar" might be made from blackberries, water, and molasses mixed and put in the sun for two weeks.<sup>134</sup> Beets were sometimes used as a source of vinegar.<sup>135</sup> A number of factories were established for the purpose of manufacturing vinegar. Bicarbonate of soda, used as a leavening agent in bread, was decidedly scarce and difficult to get. Ashes left after burning corn cobs became widely known as a successful substitute. Red cobs were thought to contain more alkali than white ones. The ashes were gathered and water was added, and this was placed in jars ready for use. The ashes of hickory logs were used in a similar manner, and the product was described as "quite good."<sup>136</sup>

The food shortage affected the farm animals, for there was a continuous shortage of fodder. Work animals, cattle, sheep, hogs being fattened for slaughter, and dairy cattle all suffered.

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<sup>130</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>131</sup> Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 276.

<sup>132</sup> Joseph Jacobs, "Some Drug Conditions During the War Between the States," 182.

<sup>133</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 10.

<sup>134</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, July 23, 1864.

<sup>135</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 4.

<sup>136</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 635; Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 57-58; Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," 162.

In an effort to alleviate the shortage of forage and grains, various grasses were grown in the hope of finding a substitute for northern hay,<sup>137</sup> and chinaberries were found to be a substitute for the decreasing corn supply.<sup>138</sup> Peas and peanuts were widely cultivated and used as feed for swine and cattle<sup>139</sup>, but there was never enough food for the animals of the Confederacy. Those who owned livery stables and boarded horses were forced to raise their prices as feed became scarce and more costly.<sup>140</sup> In Richmond, in March, 1863, it cost \$300 per month to board a horse. A single feeding was \$5.<sup>141</sup> Many owners were forced to close their stables and sell their animals. Those animals kept as pets were at starvation's door, and their owners were distressed over their inability to secure food for them. One diarist observed that his daughter's cat had been staggering from hunger for several days; when it finally died several months later, all was grief in the household. Yet the owner admitted that its going was probably all for the best since it cost \$200 a year to feed the cat.<sup>142</sup> Rats and mice began to disappear, both from hunger and from being killed for food.<sup>143</sup> A nurse in a Richmond hospital told of rats so hungry that they would drag poultices off the patients and eat them.<sup>144</sup> Animals of the Confederacy, like the people, were hungry.

Beverages, like food, were scarce. Of all beverages unobtainable during the war, coffee was most sorely missed. Certainly the shortage of no other beverage was responsible for such frequent complaint by contemporaries. One who lived through the war wrote that "the coffee shortage caused more actual discomfort among the people at large" than did any other.<sup>145</sup> Coffee began to disappear before the summer of 1861 had passed, and it was rarely seen after the fall of the same year. When one woman had to give up coffee, she wrote that she lost her "elasticity of spirit."<sup>146</sup> Another cried "Sour Grapes" to those who vowed that they did not miss the universal brew.<sup>147</sup> But as one saw

<sup>137</sup> Mrs. W. E. Turner, *Recollections*, 2.

<sup>138</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 643-649.

<sup>139</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 127; *Wilmington Journal*, January 15, 1863.

<sup>140</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 17.

<sup>141</sup> Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, II, 529.

<sup>142</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 173.

<sup>143</sup> Jones, *Diary*, II, 258.

<sup>144</sup> Pember, *Richmond During the War*, 102-103.

<sup>145</sup> Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 234.

<sup>146</sup> Mrs. Judith Brockenbrough McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War*, 257.

<sup>147</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 101.

apple pies without apples, one also found coffee houses where no coffee was served.<sup>148</sup> So dear did coffee become that the jewelers of Atlanta were reported to have bought all the available supply "for sets in breast pins instead of diamonds."<sup>149</sup>

There were those, however, who managed to have a little coffee from time to time. Some had hoarded a supply, and a small quantity continued to come through the blockade. Those who had coffee usually brewed a weak beverage and added other ingredients to make it go farther. These blends might include parched corn, rye, wheat, okra seed, or chicory,<sup>150</sup> and the product was not usually satisfactory. One diarist declared that such adulterated coffee was delicious,<sup>151</sup> another thought it nauseating.<sup>152</sup> Whenever real, unadulterated coffee did make its appearance, it was the signal for unrepressed glee. Sometimes it was referred to as "true-true" coffee,<sup>153</sup> and one young lady in recording the day's menu in her diary, underlined "real coffee" twice.<sup>154</sup> When a train carrying "blockade" coffee was wrecked near Sumter, South Carolina, the eager and thirsty inhabitants of the area rushed to the scene of the wreck and took home sacks of the real bean. One editor wrote that "more real coffee has been drunk in that neighborhood within a few days than for a long time."<sup>155</sup>

The civilian population attacked the problem of substitutes for coffee with a determination and energy unlike that exhibited in the search for other expedients. No other single item had more substitutes. The people worked at the problem unceasingly, with the result that "few were the substances which did not . . . find their way into the coffee pot."<sup>156</sup> Boundless was the pride of the housewife who discovered and put into use a substitute that would deceive her guests into thinking that they were drinking the real thing.<sup>157</sup> Nearly all women had their own combinations, but usually they shared the secret with those who were interested. Among the most popular, and apparently most successful, of the substitutes for coffee was rye. This was boiled, dried, then

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<sup>148</sup> Thomas Cooper DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the Sixties*, 268.

<sup>149</sup> *Southern Confederacy*, January 4, 1863.

<sup>150</sup> McGuire, *Diary*, 81-82; Porcher, *Resources*, 273.

<sup>151</sup> McGuire, *Diary*, 82.

<sup>152</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80.

<sup>153</sup> DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 201.

<sup>154</sup> Susan Gordon Waddell Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>155</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, December 17, 1863.

<sup>156</sup> Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 234.

<sup>157</sup> Francis Warrington Dawson, *Our Women in the War*, 14.

ground like coffee.<sup>158</sup> A mild debate was carried on through the newspapers as to whether or not rye thus used was harmful to the body; regardless of the points made, people continued its use. Another substitute frequently used was okra seed. More expensive and troublesome than rye,<sup>159</sup> it was nevertheless popular. Its proponents were convinced that it was by far the best substitute.<sup>160</sup> The okra seed were dried and parched in a similar manner to that used for rye. Corn, too, was used and prepared in a like manner, and there were those who preferred corn "coffee" to any other.<sup>161</sup> The dashing General J. E. B. Stuart was reported to be of this group.<sup>162</sup> Sweet potato "coffee" was another of the more popular wartime expedients.<sup>163</sup> Potatoes were peeled and cut into "chunks" about the size of coffee berries. The pieces were spread out in the sun to dry and parched until brown, after which they were ground. The grounds were mixed with water until a paste resulted, after which hot water was added. When the grounds settled to the bottom of the coffee pot, the beverage could be poured and drunk. The sediment was said to be among the best cleaning agents for carpets, curtains, and similar household accessories.<sup>164</sup> Other coffee substitutes were acorns,<sup>165</sup> dandelion roots,<sup>166</sup> sugar cane,<sup>167</sup> parched rice,<sup>168</sup> cotton seed,<sup>169</sup> sorghum molasses,<sup>170</sup> English peas,<sup>171</sup> peanuts,<sup>172</sup> wheat, and beans.<sup>173</sup>

In practically every town of any size there were those who chose to sell coffee mixtures and blends. The newspapers were filled with advertisements of these products. The following advertisement, published in an Alabama paper, was typical of hundreds of others:

#### My Coffee Substitute

has been successfully introduced to the citizens of Mobile, Atlanta, Macon and Columbus. It is a wholesome, palatable, and

<sup>158</sup> Laura Elizabeth Battle, *Forget-Me-Nots of the Civil War*, 157; Porcher, *Resources*, 681; *Southern Confederacy*, February 14, 1862.

<sup>159</sup> New Orleans *Picayune*, August 29, 1861.

<sup>160</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102; *Daily Express* (Petersburg), November 18, 1861; Gay, *Life in Dixie*, 218; Porcher, *Resources*, 477.

<sup>161</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 636; Jones, *Diary*, I, 165.

<sup>162</sup> Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 248.

<sup>163</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80; Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 196.

<sup>164</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 438.

<sup>165</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 614; *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17.

<sup>166</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 471; New Orleans *Picayune*, November 14, 1861.

<sup>167</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 661.

<sup>168</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 669.

<sup>169</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, January 21, 1862.

<sup>170</sup> *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), March 17, 1862.

<sup>171</sup> Bell Irwin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy*, 37.

<sup>172</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 228.

<sup>173</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80.

nutritious drink, more nearly approaching genuine coffee flavor than any discovered.<sup>174</sup>

Free samples were usually given away to interested persons, and the cost was reasonable. But housewives generally seemed to prefer their own mixtures.

To a lesser extent than coffee, tea was missed during the war. It was never as popular a drink as coffee, yet there were those who missed it sufficiently to search for substitutes. Most common of the expedients was sassafras tea, a beverage long familiar to many, especially Negroes.<sup>175</sup> The leaves of blackberries,<sup>176</sup> raspberries, huckleberries,<sup>177</sup> currants, willow, sage, various vegetables,<sup>178</sup> and the holly tree were used as tea substitutes.<sup>179</sup> One of the most famous substitutes was "yaupon tea." Long in use by many, it became popular in coastal regions where the yaupon grows in abundance. To make this tea, one used leaves and twigs, usually boiling them in water and adding molasses and milk. Fortunately for the times, it "was considered vulgar to use sugar for sweetening Yoapon [sic]." The story is told that the same lady who refused to use sugar remarked that yaupon tea was so healthful that it had kept her "out of heaven" for years.<sup>180</sup>

With the exception of coffee, the beverages most often mentioned as short were alcoholic stimulants. Foreign sources of supply were only slightly tapped during the war, but when choice wines, brandies, and whiskies were brought through the blockade they met with immediate sale despite their tremendous cost. The scarcity of these beverages forced people to seek substitutes. Practically everything was used to produce the distilled beverage. One editor facetiously gave this recipe for lager beer, so sure was he, after tasting some of local make, that these must have been the component parts:

Take an old bootleg, and an old cast-off red flannel shirt, and put in five gallons of rainwater. Let it stand for two weeks and ferment well. Then put it into a ten gallon keg, adding two quarts of china berries, three gallons of water from a tub used by

<sup>174</sup> *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, March 5, 1864.

<sup>175</sup> Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 103; Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," 168.

<sup>176</sup> *Richmond Whig*, October 17, 1862; *Daily Rebel* (Chattanooga), October 31, 1862.

<sup>177</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.

<sup>178</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 80.

<sup>179</sup> Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.

<sup>180</sup> Moore, *Rebellion Record*, II, 103, quoting the *Raleigh Standard*.

shoemakers to soak leather in (three months old) . . . and one pound of assafoedita. Let it stand for one week and add a couple of Florida beans.<sup>181</sup>

Brandy made during the war was so dangerous to drink that it was said that the life insurance companies refused to insure the life of an individual who was in the habit of taking occasional drinks.<sup>182</sup> It was said that the whiskey "cauterizes the mucous membrane of the windpipe; sets the brain on fire, and sends a cold tremor through the system. The soldier who indulges in a half dozen nips is likely to stay drunk for a week; and the second or third application drives the breath out of the body."<sup>183</sup>

It is interesting to note just what did go into these beverages. Whiskey, one of the most popular of the alcoholic drinks and one of the most profitable to make, was distilled from anything and everything. Regardless of the content, all whiskey found immediate sale. The Richmond *Examiner* said that of the enterprises stimulated by the war, "the manufacture and sale of whiskey" took the lead. Whiskey was sold "in back rooms of family grocers and confectionary shops . . . and in the more reputable establishments of trade."<sup>184</sup> "Moonshiners" did a good business, "running day and night, . . . finding ready sale for all they produced."<sup>185</sup> Despite rigid state legislation against the use of grain, a large amount went into whiskey. Most of this whiskey was made from corn or other grains, but it was also distilled from sweet potatoes,<sup>186</sup> rice,<sup>187</sup> sorghum seed,<sup>188</sup> and persimmons.<sup>189</sup> The descriptions given most of these whiskies ran from a mere "unpalatable"<sup>190</sup> to "vile,"<sup>191</sup> but they all agreed on the effect. One person summed up the matter as follows: "They seem to fly through the system with alacrity."<sup>192</sup> Beer, too, was made from varying and interesting substitutes. Frequently molasses and water with a little ginger, plus yeast, when it could be found, were brewed together and called "Confederate Beer." Corn<sup>193</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Natchez *Daily Courier*, April 15, 1863.

<sup>182</sup> Natchez *Daily Courier*, April 15, 1863.

<sup>183</sup> *Southern Cultivator*, XX (1862), 115.

<sup>184</sup> *Richmond Examiner*, January 27, 1862.

<sup>185</sup> Joseph Jacobs, "Some Drug Conditions During the War Between the States," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 166.

<sup>186</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, February 12, 1863.

<sup>187</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, February 16, 1863.

<sup>188</sup> *Official Records*, Series IV, III, 712.

<sup>189</sup> *Southern Confederacy*, December 14, 1862.

<sup>190</sup> E. Phillips to James J. Phillips, March 27, 1864, James J. Phillips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>191</sup> Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 198.

<sup>192</sup> *Charleston Mercury*, February 16, 1863.

<sup>193</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 635-636.

and persimmons<sup>194</sup> were also used, and the product of the latter was referred to as "possum beer."<sup>195</sup> For hops, which were very scarce, peach leaves were used extensively.<sup>196</sup> But the beer that resulted caused one editor to scream, "'Mein Got,' our German friends must raise the blockade."<sup>197</sup> Since palatable wines and brandies could be made from fruits, the results were much more satisfactory than in the case of whiskey and beer. Brandies, liqueurs, and wines were made from blackberries,<sup>198</sup> apples,<sup>199</sup> peaches,<sup>200</sup> plums,<sup>201</sup> watermelon juice,<sup>202</sup> elder-berries,<sup>203</sup> and carrots.<sup>204</sup> In Alabama brandy was made from the sweet potato; the product was described as the worst of all "liquified lightning."<sup>205</sup> Apparently only the most brazen attempted to call any of the wartime brews "champagne." But one amateur distiller made what he called champagne from three parts of water and one part corn, with enough molasses added to sweeten it properly. It was totally without effervescence, the name being the only thing that bore a resemblance to real champagne.<sup>206</sup> In Savannah, Georgia, juniper berries and whiskey blended together was sold for "imported Holland gin."<sup>207</sup> Certainly the alcoholic stimulants sold during the Civil War were among the most unique ever made. Although the poet, William Gilmore Simms, found his brew of persimmon beer "equalled to the best sparkling 'Jersey champagne,'"<sup>208</sup> most people failed to find such satisfaction in the domestic products.

Milk, too, was scarce in many parts of the Confederacy. One prominent lady recorded in her diary that her household "had not had milk more than twice in eighteen months, and then it was sent by a . . . friend."<sup>209</sup> When milk could be obtained, it was usually adulterated so that a little might go farther. It was

<sup>194</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 425.

<sup>195</sup> Gordon, "Hard Times in the Confederacy," 766.

<sup>196</sup> Gordon, "Hard Times in the Confederacy," 200; *Arkansas State Gazette* (Little Rock), July 19, 1862.

<sup>197</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, August 3, 1861.

<sup>198</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 169.

<sup>199</sup> Jones, *A Rebel War-Clerk's Diary*, II, 336; Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 578.

<sup>200</sup> Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 578.

<sup>201</sup> *Richmond Whig*, June 14, 1864; *Charleston Mercury*, July 23, 1864.

<sup>202</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 68.

<sup>203</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 449.

<sup>204</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 48-49.

<sup>205</sup> Mercer Otey, "Story of our Great War," *Confederate Veteran*, IX (1901), 154.

<sup>206</sup> Mercer Otey, "Operations of the Signal Corps," *Confederate Veteran*, VIII (1900), 129.

<sup>207</sup> E. Philips to James J. Philips, March 27, 1864, James J. Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>208</sup> Porcher, *Resources*, 425.

<sup>209</sup> McGuire, *Diary*, 324.

sometimes mixed with water,<sup>210</sup> and at other times it was mixed with ground corn.<sup>211</sup> When cream was not available to use in coffee or tea, beaten eggwhites were sometimes used.<sup>212</sup>

Even water of a drinkable quality was not always available in the Confederacy. One of the chief complaints of the people of besieged Vicksburg was that they had only the muddy water of the Mississippi River to drink.<sup>213</sup> The best hostesses of Richmond were sometimes forced to offer their guests water from the James River, "which was often thick enough and red enough" to pass as "something more nourishing."<sup>214</sup> Recognizing that such situations existed in the South, the *Confederate Receipt Book* published a formula for purifying muddy water.<sup>215</sup>

The severity of the food and beverage shortage caused institutions responsible for feeding large groups of people untold confusion. Practically all colleges and boarding schools left the board charges unannounced until the opening of school. Some schools imposed penalties on all who left any food on their plates,<sup>216</sup> while from Porcher's School in South Carolina the son of former Governor Allston wrote that nothing but squash and hominy was to be had for months at a time.<sup>217</sup> Elizabeth Allston, daughter of the former governor of South Carolina, wrote that the fare went from bad to worse at Madame Togno's School in Columbia. For tea the students had only corn dodgers and water, and they finally ceased going to supper.<sup>218</sup> Boarding houses, too, faced difficult problems. They rationed their food among the boarders so that all might be assured of a fair portion of the scanty fare.<sup>219</sup> Hotels found it necessary to go on the European plan because of the food shortage.<sup>220</sup> In crowded houses, where one cook might serve several families, there was a constant difficulty in keeping provisions separate. Coffee proved the easiest to isolate for "each house-wife had her own particular concoction."<sup>221</sup>

<sup>210</sup> W. D. Pender to Mrs. W. D. Pender, October 1, 1861, W. D. Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>211</sup> Pryor, *My Day*, 264.

<sup>212</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17.

<sup>213</sup> Loughborough, *Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 104.

<sup>214</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>215</sup> *Confederate Receipt Book*, 19. "Dissolve half an ounce of alum in a pint of water, and stirring it about in a puncheon of water from the river, all the impurities will soon settle to the bottom, and in a day or two it will become quite clear."

<sup>216</sup> Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 240.

<sup>217</sup> Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 193-194.

<sup>218</sup> Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 178.

<sup>219</sup> Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, 176.

<sup>220</sup> Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 349.

<sup>221</sup> Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

Despite grave shortages of food, people could still make light of their hardships. While there were food riots in various cities, this was not usual. Most of the civilians approached the problem with a better sense of humor. Some reported that they ate green persimmons to shrink their stomachs;<sup>222</sup> a newspaper editor wrote that the people of the Confederacy should laugh, for laughter would make them fat. He added: "With the prevailing scarcity of provisions—'laugh' is about the cheapest thing they can fatten on this spring, and we would not be surprised if they did not raise the price of that."<sup>223</sup> No group in the Confederacy suffered from the lack of food more than did the inhabitants of Vicksburg during the siege. Yet they could laugh at their troubles. When the Federal army took the town, a soldier found the following menu:

Hotel de Vicksburg, Jeff Davis Co., proprietors—

Soup: mule tail

Boiled: Mule Bacon with Polk Greens

Roast: Saddle of Mule á la teamster

Entrees: Mule head stuffed, Reb fashion; Mule Beef, jerk á la Yankee; Mule liver, hashed á la explosion.

Dessert: Cotton berry pie, en Ironclad, Chinaberry tart.

Liquors: Mississippi Water, vintage 1492, very inferior, \$3. Limestone water, late importation, very fine. Extra (black seal) Vicksburg bottled-up — \$4. Meals at Few Hours, Gentlemen to wait on themselves. Any inattention in service to be reported at the office.

Jeff. Davis and Comp., Props.<sup>224</sup>

Because of the scarcity of food and drink, refreshments at social gatherings were very simple. "Starvation Parties" were popular during the war. These were simple affairs where good fellowship and water were the only things to be had. Occasionally all would contribute money and hire a fiddler so that there might be dancing; but refreshments were "strictly forbidden."<sup>225</sup> Often in the family circle, after a scant meal, conversation would turn toward the tasty dishes enjoyed in bygone days.<sup>226</sup> One lady tells how she always kept a recipe book on her mantle, and when such

<sup>222</sup> Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 179.

<sup>223</sup> *Daily Rebel* (Chattanooga), March 3, 1863.

<sup>224</sup> DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 274. A menu in a slightly varied form was published in the *Richmond Examiner*, August 25, 1863. See also *Rebellion Records*, VII, 50-51.

<sup>225</sup> Chestnut, *Diary*, 250, 260, 270; DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 396.

<sup>226</sup> Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 315; Jones, *Diary*, II, 335.

conversation started, she read a recipe for a rich pudding or cream. She admitted that it failed to satisfy the appetite, but it was "as good for the digestion."<sup>227</sup>

Hunger was the rule in the Confederacy. While a very few had bounteous plenty and some had a sufficiency, there were many who daily felt the pangs of hunger. While the Confederate army fought the Union army on the battlefield, housewives fought another enemy, hunger, in their homes. Recognizing the presence of this second enemy, the newspapers and periodicals spread war-time recipes and the discovery of expedients throughout the land. With the cooperation of the press and the women mass starvation was averted, but hunger was never completely alleviated.

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<sup>227</sup> Chesnut, *Diary*, 376.

## THE DIARY OF JOSEPH GALES

1794-1795

Edited by WILLIAM S. POWELL

The combination diary and cashbook of Joseph Gales for 1794 and 1795,<sup>1</sup> aside from the fact that it is the record of a brief but stormy period in the career of one of early America's outstanding journalists, is of interest for its very detailed account of an Englishman's preparations for a voyage to America and the subsequent voyage itself. Its minutiae reveal the cost of such an undertaking during the last years of the eighteenth century, the vagrancies of the ship at sea, and the details of daily life with which the traveller occupied himself.

Joseph Gales (1761-1841), printer, journalist, and reformer, was born at Eckington near Sheffield, England, and at the age of thirteen was apprenticed to a Manchester printer in whose home he soon was mistreated. Young Gales returned to Eckington and shortly afterwards began work with a printer in Newark-on-Trent where he became a master printer and binder. While there he met Winifred Marshall, a novelist and student of the classics, whom he married on May 4, 1784.<sup>2</sup> Soon thereafter Gales set up his own printing and publishing establishment in Sheffield and in June, 1787, began publication of the *Sheffield Register*, a weekly.<sup>3</sup>

Gales' newspaper was noted for its liberal tone and its pleas on behalf of labor. As editor he paid tribute to the French Revolutionists and not only sold thousands of copies of *Rights of Man*, but also befriended its author, Thomas Paine. He favored the abolition of slavery and of imprisonment for debt, universal manhood suffrage, and the reform of the English judicial system.

<sup>1</sup> This manuscript, in an octavo notebook of twenty-four leaves, is in the diary collection of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Its provenance is unknown. Twenty-six pages are devoted to a cashbook with debit and credit entries on separate pages; the volume, when inverted and opened the opposite way, contains a diary of twenty-two pages with one or more pages in the beginning missing. Thin leaves of blotting paper are bound in the volume between most of the leaves. The upper portion of a fleur-de-lis watermark can be seen in the blotting paper, while a portion of a large oval watermark and the initials "G R" appear in the notepaper. Both papers have chain lines, though they run in opposite directions as the volume is constructed. No trace of any sort of binding is discernible. All entries are in ink.

<sup>2</sup> William E. Smith, "Joseph Gales," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), VII, 99.

<sup>3</sup> R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800*, (Chapel Hill, 1927), 169.

Severe criticism of the Pitt government caused Gales to be condemned by that government and ordered to be arrested. With the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* he fled to the Continent.<sup>4</sup> His cashbook under date of May, 1794, indicates that he spent £42 "in his Journey to London from thence to Holland and afterwards to Hamburgh in 15 weeks."

By September Gales had settled in Altona, Schleswig-Holstein, not far from Hamburg. In 1794<sup>5</sup> Winifred Gales sold the *Sheffield Register* and James Montgomery, the poet, who had been clerk, bookkeeper, and contributor to the paper since 1792 became its editor.<sup>6</sup> She and the four children, Joseph, Sarah, Thomas, and Winifred, then joined Gales in Germany.

The diary of Joseph Gales covers the period between September 24, 1794, and July 30, 1795, when he arrived in Philadelphia, while the cashbook contains entries made between May, 1794, and December 26, 1795. What the first page or pages of the diary, now missing, would reveal is, of course, impossible to know. The first page now remaining presents Gales and his family aboard ship leaving Germany. Cashbook entries show that early in September one Captain MacPherson had been paid £52-10-0 for their passage aboard the *Jean*.

#### Diary of Joseph Gales

The sa[me] Night<sup>7</sup> about ten o'Clock C[apt.] Macpherson<sup>8</sup> and another [man] arrived, and the next Day in the [morn?]ing we made Way as far as Luckstadt. On the Thursd[ay] M[orn]ing, about four o'Clock the Wind being S.W. we again made Way and sailed on to Sea with the same Wind and moderate Weather: but, after we had sailed about 16 or 18 Miles to Sea, the W[ind] changed to N.W. blew very hard and looked

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *D.A.B.*, VII, 99-100; Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 765-766. Gales' wife in a letter to Jared Sparks, October 16, 1821 (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat) referred to Germany as "the Country where we first sought an asylum from the oppression of a corrupt administration . . . our voluntary exile, if that can be called *voluntary*, which was forced upon us by the tyrannical proceedings against those Editors of Newspapers who advocated the cause of Reform."

<sup>5</sup> Probably late in July or early in August, as the first entry in the cashbook for August shows, £28-7-0 "expended by Wife in purchasing Cloaths & other Necessaries at Sheffd. previous to her setting out from thence."

<sup>6</sup> Richard Garnett, "James Montgomery," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1894), XXXVIII, 318. Montgomery was imprisoned for libel in 1795 and again the following year, but continued to edit the paper until 1825 when he sold it. Winifred Gales in a letter to Jared Sparks (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat) on January 24, 1828, reported that Gales sisters acquired the book-selling business at the time Montgomery took over the printing establishment.

<sup>7</sup> September 24, 1794.

<sup>8</sup> The debit page of Gales' cashbook under date of September 28, 1794, records £31-10-0 received of "Mesrs Parrish & Co on acct of Captn Macpherson of my passage money." The sum of £10-2-0 was received on the same date "of W. Van Kennel for a pr Blankets on leaving the *Jean*."

very black, so that the Captain thought it prudent to return into the Elbe to anchor. [Dur]ing the Night, the Wind blew excessively hard, and caused a very high [sea?] so much that the Captain [was n]ot without Apprehensions for [the] Anchor, though a very good one. [The] next Day, the Weather continuing stormy, and the Wind contrary, we weighed Anchor, and returned to Crookshaven, where we passed another very stormy Night: and not thinking himself yet safe, the Ship returned to Luckstadt, which place we reached on Saturday a[t] [d]inner-Time.

Whilst we were out at Sea my Wife was very sick and was sure she sh<sup>d</sup>. not be able to endure the voyage (so were all except Joseph & Winifred) and when orders were given to return into the River, on Acc<sup>t</sup>. of the stormy Weather and contrary Wind, as considering that we could now reckon upon little more than six Weeks [of] my Wife's Pregnancy, we determine[d] to give up the Voyage for the present and return to Altona for the Winter. But on informing the Captain of our Intention he insisted upon a Forfeiture of 25 Guineas. This was thought an exorbitant Sum; but a[s] my Wife had said she was sure she could not endure the Voyage, I determined at any rate to leave the Ship, and on my dwelling upon the Hardness of my Case to the Captain, he, at length, agreed to take 20 Guineas. — The Wind remaining contrary and the Wea[ther] very boisterous, we left the S[hip] on Sunday about Noon [in a] Boat, for which we [were forced to] pay six Dollars<sup>9</sup> (for the Pilots [thrive?] upon the distresses of persons upon the Water). — After having left the Ship a little way, we discovered that a small Box was left behind containing Child bed Linen; but the Weather was so rough that we could not return, so that to get this Box, though a Pilot boat had to go past the Ship, cost us seven Marks.<sup>10</sup>

We arrived safely at Altona on Sunday evening about six o'Clock & after remaining two Days at Mr. [Stain]metz's,<sup>11</sup> went into a furnished [apartment?] of Mr. Pinkures, for which we [agreed?] to pay him ten Dollars per . . . .<sup>12</sup>

On the 17th of November, about eig[ht] o'Clock in the Evening, after having been very unwell from the Time of entering into our new Habitation my Wife was safely delivered of a Daughter.<sup>13</sup> (We afterwards learnt that the Jane [*sic*] did not arrive in Philadelphia till the 2<sup>d</sup> of Dec.) So weak was she that It was six Weeks before she was able to come down Stairs, and

<sup>9</sup> The cashbook indicates that Gales spent £1-4-0 on September 28 "to a Pilot Boat to convey us from on Board the Jean from Luckstadt to Altona."

<sup>10</sup> This sum was entered in the cashbook on the first day of October as 9/. Gales' use of dollars, pounds, and marks was not consistent even in his cashbook entries.

<sup>11</sup> For these two days Gales paid 15/4.

<sup>12</sup> Illegible. On October 1 £1-18-0 was paid "for the use of Mr. Pinkres's [*sic*] Rooms & Furn during the month of Oct." Gales' rent, according to his cashbook, was always paid in advance.

<sup>13</sup> Altona, who married the Rev. Anthony Forster. She figures prominently in the letters of Winifred Gales. (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostats) Altona died in 1827. *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, November 23, 1827. It is interesting to note that another of the Gales children, Weston Raleigh Gales, bore the name of the city of his birth.

when she did come down, she was seized with a Kind of Kramp at her Stomach which continuing for a Week, we were obliged to call in a Physician, who was so skilful as to remove the Pain immediately. He paid three Visits in his Coach & only charged 5/.

From this Time all was well except my Apprentice John Clayton,<sup>14</sup> who seemed to decline in his Health daily, apparently a Consumptive, and my Wife the third [or fo]urth Time of her walking out after she returned complained of her great Toe paining her. We took little Notice of it for several Days but as it grew worse, a Poultice was put upon it, and getting no better, we called in a Surgeon who attended it sometimes daily, and sometimes omitting a Day until the Time of our quitting Altona, a Period of about 8 Weeks, for which he charged only 12/.<sup>15</sup>

Considering that we were in a Country perfectly strange to us, and that we were in other Respects uncomfortably situated the Time passed as agreeably as we could expect.<sup>16</sup> We became acquainted with Mr. Haustein, who had served the Elector of Hanover, as a Soldier 20 years (9 of which were passed at Gibraltar in the War against Spain where he learnt the English Language) but who was now an agent to the King of Denmark's Lotteries. This Mr. Haustein appeared studious [to] oblige us in every little thing which lay in his Power. Indeed the Friendly attention which he paid to us, created in me a very sincere Friendship for him, as I believed him to be an upright, honest Man.

The Winter was excessively cold, & the Frost was so severe that the River Elbe was frozen up for 16 Weeks, so that for all this Time we rec<sup>d</sup>. no Letter or Information from England.<sup>17</sup> When we did hear which was about the [blank] of March, our Friends expressed their Hopes and Wishes for our Return to England. I therefore expressed by Letter my Willingness to return to my native Land, if it were thought by my Frd<sup>s</sup>. to be safe and eligible. A Meeting was therefore held by my Frd<sup>s</sup>. at Sheffield to consult upon the Eligibility and Safety of this Step, when it was concluded that it was not safe for me to return to England whilst the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was continued, or the System of Persecution for political Practices continued. Therefore my affairs not being yet brought to a

<sup>14</sup> Referred to as Jack. See below page 339.

<sup>15</sup> Mrs. Gales later recalled in glowing terms of praise the very kind treatment which she received at the hands of her German nurse at this time. She also has recorded that when the physician who treated her toe made known his charges she asked, through an interpreter, if he had not forgotten how many times he had treated her. His answer was, she recalled in later years, "I remember the Lady is a stranger, and in a strange Land, and has many dear little children." Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, October 16, 1821 (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat).

<sup>16</sup> Entries in his cashbook during the period of his residence in Altona show how much at home Gales really was. The family had rented an apartment and regular expenditures for fuel and other household expenses are recorded and a few items of furniture were purchased. Young Joseph was enrolled in a school whose tuition rates were four marks a quarter. In May, just prior to leaving Germany, Gales had some books bound. Earlier he had bought a map of Europe and frequent expenditures for shoes and shoe repairing for the children suggest a very active group of youngsters.

<sup>17</sup> By the end of March, however, this situation was changed. The cashbook records that Gales spent 8/6 on the last day of the month "for Freight of a Box from England, &c." On April 18 he received a gift of £5-5-0 from his sisters.

Sett<sup>t</sup>. at Sheffield, and finding by my Letter, that by passing an Expensive Winter at Altona my Stock of Money was run low, it was agreed to raise me a Sum of Money, partly as a Gift, and partly as a Loan. This was done and after an uncertain suspense of many Months, on the 23 of May I recd. a Letter from Rob<sup>t</sup>. Hadfields of Sheffield (to whom I had written as my sincere & confidential Friend) inclosing a Bill for 70<sup>£</sup> 18 partly as a Gift and partly as a Loan from my Friends with an Intimation that it was intended to raise me farther, a Loan from one to 300<sup>£</sup> and that if I chose to order my Type &c. as I had proposed, from London, they would pay for it.

Thus set at Liberty from our Suspense and Difficulties, I immediately looked out for a Ship bound for New York or Philadelphia, and found the Charles & Henry, Capt. Slade, ready to sail for Philadelphia as soon as the Wind favoured him;<sup>19</sup> I therefore (accompanied by Mr. Joel Barlow, who was then [in] Altona,<sup>20</sup> and from whom & Mrs. Barlow, we rec<sup>d</sup>. many Civilities) engaged our Passage with Capt Slade for 60 Guineas — to be accommodated with every Necessary on the Voyage in his Cabbin.<sup>21</sup>

The Wind appearing likely to change, on Friday the 29th the Capt. gave us Notice to be on Board the next Morning,<sup>22</sup> which by sitting up most of the Night to pack and prepare for our Voyage we effected. The Wind did not get to the East before Monday [June 1, 1795], on which Day, about two o'Clock in the afternoon we set sail with most delightful Weather, and next Day about the same Hour got out to Sea.

When we came on Board little Thomas & Sarah were somewhat indisposed (Thomas had been so all the Spring) and on the 2<sup>d</sup>. Day my Wife was seized with a severe Fever, and lay in Bed for most of two Days. On the 3<sup>d</sup>. Day however, she seems<sup>23</sup> recovered, her Lips break out, and has been scarcely sick at all. Sarah continues poorly, but Thomas is better. Myself, Sarah & Thomas have been a little Sea Sick. The Wind & Weather continues favourable & we sail from 3 to 5 Knots an Hour.

I should have mentioned that Jack [John Clayton, his apprentice] contrived to get weaker & weaker, from Day to Day,

<sup>18</sup> Gales, of course was obliged to exchange this for German currency and received the equivalent of £66-18-9. The difference, it is presumed, was the exchange charge.

<sup>19</sup> On May 28, 1795, he paid for the passage of himself and his family "60 Guineas (which reckoning a Guinea at 16-8 is) [£] 66."

<sup>20</sup> Barlow, a native of Connecticut, had been in Europe since 1788 and like Gales had been on friendly terms with Thomas Paine. It was he who saw *The Age of Reason* through the press when Paine was imprisoned. Barlow was very influential in France and quite wealthy. In October, 1795, he was appointed United States Consul to Algiers. Theodore A. Zunder and Stanley T. Williams, "Joel Barlow," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), I, 609-613. *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832), I ("Foreign Relations," I), 723.

<sup>21</sup> Among the supplies purchased for the voyage, however, were wine, liquors, Neat's tongue, raisins, currants, sugar, a flask, cellar and glasses, swieback, eggs, a coffee mill, and "other small Provns."

<sup>22</sup> For the hire of a wagon and boat to get his family and goods aboard the *Charles and Henry*, Gales paid 10/.

<sup>23</sup> This change of tense would indicate that Gales wrote the preceding account prior to this date—June 3, 1795—probably while aboard ship waiting for a favorable wind. Subsequent entries seem to have been made daily.

and himself thinking that were he to return to England, his native Air would recover him, I paid his Passage back by a Ship to Hull, Capt. Brandt, Master, and put two Guineas into his Pocket. The Ship sailed at the same Time with us.<sup>24</sup>

- June 5 Wind yet fair & fine Weather & sail from 3 to 5 Knots.
- 6 Wind fair & brisk gale, sail from 5 to 7½ Knots.
- 7 Wind fair but not so brisk & tow<sup>ds</sup> Evening the Hemisp grew thick & the Wind calm, but about ten in the Eveng a gale of Wind came on which blew most of the Night. — about 11 A.M. we made Shetland, and lost Sight of them about five.
- 8 Wind fair & brisk, sail from 4 to 6 Knots — about 4 P.M. saw two Pieces of Land, one a small Rock, and kept to the North to miss them.
- 9 Wind fair, but very slender, in the Afternoon quite calm; about ten oClock a west Wind came on; but towards Morng it blew more to the North, so that the Ship lay her Course and sailed from 3 to 5 Knots.
- 10 Fine East Wind — sailed from five to seven Knots — clear of European Land.
- 11 Wind still fair, but not strong.
- 12 The same.
- 13 Wind fair but slender, not more than two Knots.
- Sunday 14 Wind fair & freshens — to about four Knots.
- 15 Wind fair but slender.
- 16 The same, but freshens tow<sup>ds</sup>. Eveng.
- 17 Wind good, 4 and 5 Knots.
- 18, 19 Wind fair, but slender, sometimes quite calm.
- 20 Wind very strong & mostly a-head; in the Night it blew quite a gale.
- Sunday 21 At five in the Morng. the Vessel lay to in a gale which cont<sup>d</sup>. till two: and it afterwards remained squally, blowing very hard mostly a-head.
- 22 Still blowing hard & squally — the Wind in all Quarters.
- 23 Moderate. At 8 oClock spoke the Mercury, Capt. Marshall from Philadelphia, 32 Days having had nothing but rainy & blowing Weather. He had lost his Topmast. He was bound for Hambro'. In the Evening the Wind blew stronger and more ahead and during the Night we had a perfect gale of Wind in which the Ship laid to most of the Night.
- 24 The Wind cont<sup>d</sup>. to blow fresh, but more aft, and we had a fine Run of from 6½ to 5 Knots an Hour.

<sup>24</sup> Gales also purchased a pair of shoes for his apprentice. The latter's fare to England was £1-11-6.

- 25 The Wind yet fresh, but rather a-head — sailed from 3 to 4 Knots.
- 26 The Wind not quite so fresh — sailed about 4½ Knots.
- 27 The wind the same, but grows light — 3 and 4 Knots.
- Sunday 28 (Ecks. Feast)<sup>25</sup> In the Morning very light Wind, but tow<sup>ds</sup>. Noon entirely calm, which cont<sup>d</sup>. till eleven oClock at Night, when a very light Breeze sprung from the South-West and the Vessell having been carried somewhat too far to the South by the last Wind, it was shifted to the other Tack, and steered West in order to cross the Bank of Newfoundland. In Honor of Ecks. F. Wife made all Hands P. Pudding & Punch.
- June 29 Light Breeze from South-West which freshened to 4 Knots & then dwindled away to 1.
- 30 Very light Breeze from same Quarter.
- July 1 Very light Wind — at 3 P.M. spoke the Iphigenia from N. York 16 Days bound to Bourdeaux.
- 2 Wind freshened sailed from 4 to 6 Knots — a little Rain.
- 3 Wind still fresh from 6½ to 4 in the Forenoon — about one oClock calm but afterwards it blew very fresh from the SW. so that we were obliged to take in Sail. It blew hard all Night — a little Rain.
- 4 Wind fresh till Noon, then died away to calm about six in the Eveng the Wind sprung from the N and blew fresh all Night.
- Sunday July 5 Wind fresh from N by E we sail from 6 to 4 Knots.
- 6 Wind still fair & fine Weather. Sail about 4 Knots regularly.
- 7 Wind fair & stout till Noon, then changed to S. and produced a thick Fog — sailed about 3 Knots.
- July 8 Fog continues & Wind the same till about 3 P.M. when the Fog cleared & the Wind changed to S.W. and blew pretty strong.
- 9 Little Wind quite a-head W.
- 10 The same.
- 11 Fine Weather and brisk Breeze from W.S.W. which takes us three Points from our Course of W by S. At 3 P.M. Wind changed to N. and blew strongly for a few Hours.
- Sunday July 12 Almost calm — about 10 A.M. a small Breeze from N.E. with Rain. At Midday saw a Sail going to the East, which came within about a League of us. The Breeze freshened tow<sup>ds</sup>. Eveng.

<sup>25</sup> The term "feast" was often applied to an ordinary birthday celebration and this note on "Ecks. Feast" may have referred to the birthday celebration of John Eckstein, German painter, sculptor, and engraver, who is known to have settled in Philadelphia in 1794. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), VI, 5.

- Monday July 13 Fine Breeze from E. all Day, went from 6 to 4 Knots.
- 14 Fresh Breezes from S.E. Saw a ship bearing North, which passed us at about 2 Leagues distance. Ab<sup>t</sup>. 10 A.M. Rain came on and the Wind shifted 2 or 3 Points diff<sup>t</sup>. Ways and sometimes blew hard. At five the Wind shifted right a-head, viz W. during the Night it became more favourable so that the Vessel lay her Course.
- July 15 The Wind still about N.W. but the Sea running high, made little Progress. At Night the Wind fell away and the Vessel made no Progress till
- 16 Eight in the Morng. a light Breeze sprung from the S.E. which cont<sup>d</sup>. to strengthen till Evening, when it blew almost a gale and rained considerably. The Capt<sup>n</sup>. supposed himself from the black appearance of the Weather, and the Roughness of the Sea, to be in the Gulph Stream, and steered W by N. to avoid it.
- 17 The Weather clearer and Wind, which had been strong all Night cont<sup>d</sup>. brisk at E. Saw a Sail at 5 A.M. Standg North. In the afternoon the Wind conted northerly & died away. The Night wholly calm.
- 18 At five A.M. a light Breeze sprung from the E. but kept veering round to the South and from Hence to the North till it came to N.E. at 6 P.M. when we wore Ship, and stood upon the other Tack.
- Sunday July 19 The Wind a head, made but little advance. At 6 A.M. saw a Brig apparently from an American Port bound to the West Indies. At 5 P.M. saw a Schooner in the S.E. which bearing towards us all took for a Pilot Boat & we accordingly put the Sails a-back to wait for her; but, to our great Surprize, on her nearer approach we espied a Man at the Masthead and Eng. Colours hoisted. She was then thought to be what she proved, a Privateer. She hailed us, and sent a Boat on Board with the 2<sup>d</sup>. Lieut. & a Prize Master, who, after the ord<sup>v</sup>. Salutations, demanded to see the Cap<sup>tns</sup>. Papers. He shewed them, and afterw<sup>ds</sup>. went on B<sup>d</sup>. with them to the Cap<sup>tn</sup> of the Schooner, where he remained for more than an Hour, during which Time the Lieut. & Prize Master remained with us making every Enquiry they could. When our Capt<sup>n</sup>. ret<sup>d</sup>. the Cap<sup>t</sup>. of the Schooner came with him, and desired to see his Letters, which our Capt<sup>n</sup>. hesitating to give up (having a great N<sup>o</sup>. on B<sup>d</sup>) the Hero of the Privateer positively demanded. The Lieut. & he, however, not being very apt at reading, about half a Doz<sup>n</sup>. Letters were all they opened — to get at which they broke open the Hamb. Post-office Seals. — About Midnight, the Priv. Officers returned to their Schoon-

er purposing to see us the next Day. The Schooner was named the Thetis Cap<sup>t</sup>. Hudgion. They tell us we are more than 300 miles from shore, which is 200 more than we expected.

- July 20 Wind yet a-head, being W. and rather foggy. We saw the Schooner Thetis about 3 P.M. apparently in Pursuit of a Brig standing to the South.
- 21 Morning calm & warm. Forenoon much Thunder & Lightning. At Noon a Storm of Rain, after which the Wind came from the East, and gave us a good Run till Midnight, of from 5 to 7 Miles per Hour. At 5 P.M. spoke the Brig Betsey, from Savannah to Boston, who confirmed that w<sup>ch</sup> the Privater had given us of our longitude. At 8 oClock this Morning, we struck Soundings, for the first Time, in 80 Fathoms Water. We tried for Fish, but without Effect. Saw 2 or 3 other Vessels to the North at a Distance.
- July 22 Wind again from the Westward, but changeable a few Points. In the Afternoon it became foggy and in the Night rained very fast.
- 23 Very light Wind from the East but the Rain & Fog having raised a high Sea, we made no advance with it. The wind increased, and we made a good Run for a few Hours, but a Calm came on in the Night.
- 24 Morning foggy and calm, which continued for most of the Day, with some Rain, & a small variable Wind at different Times. At Ten a Breeze sprung up, with which the Vessell just lay her Course — this cont<sup>d</sup>. tho' at Times very smal[l], during the Night.
- 25 A small, but fair Breeze, which in the afternoon freshened. Saw a Vessell steering the Northward, apparently from the W. Indies, but did not speak her though very near.
- Sunday July 25 Wind continues fair and Weather fine. At 6 P.M. we sounded in 25 Fathom Water. The Wind died away about ten and it was calm all the Night. At Midnight 20 Fathom Water.
- July 27 A fine clear Morning, and a light Breeze springs up from the East: at seven o'Clock saw a Sail to the S.E. standing towards us, which proved a Pilot Boat. We put back Part of our Sails, and took a Pilot on Board about 10 A.M. At nine we saw Land from the Mast-head and casting the Lead, found 13½ Fathom Water. At one o'Clock we passed Cape Hunlopen<sup>26</sup> with a fine Breeze, which with the Tide, carried us 15 Miles in the Hour. About 5 P.M. a Thunder Squall overtook us & we came to anchor, about 60 Miles up the Bay.

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<sup>26</sup> Cape Henlopen, Delaware Bay.

- July 28 We weighed anchor about 3 A.M. and, the Wind being contrary, tacked up with the Tide. We did the same in the Evening.
- 29 The Wind still contrary we were obliged to tack with the Tide. About Midday we came to Anchor a little above Wilmington when, after Dinner, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Slade & I took the Boat and went on Shore, and this was the first Time I put foot upon American Land, and the first House I entered was that of a Mr. James which stands close by the Shore. After procuring a Quant<sup>y</sup>. of New Potatoes, Apples, cake, Bread & Butter, &c we returned to the Ship, just in Time to weigh Anchor for the next Tide, which carried us up to the Fort on State Island.
- 30 Morning very rainy. Betwixt 7 & 8 the Physician came on Board & soon dispatched us as all on Board, Thank God! were perfectly hearty. Capt. Slade then rowed to the Fort to announce & enter his ship, &c. and we soon afterwards got under Way; at first with the Wind somewhat favorable, but afterwards contrary. We however reached Philadelphia, and put safe into Hodges Wharf about one oClock P.M. The Weather still continuing rainy I went on Shore with the Cap<sup>t</sup>. immediately & dined at Mr. Bushel's<sup>27</sup> the Cross Keys, in Front St. from when I sent my Family Dinner on Board the Ship, and having, for the present engaged Lodgings there, brought them in the Evening to the House.<sup>28</sup>

The Gales family lost no time in settling down in Philadelphia. Young Joseph hardly had time to become acquainted with his new surroundings when he was set to the task of studying; on September 11 his father spent fifty cents for a grammar and a copy book for him and before a month had passed, thirty-six cents for another book. Tuition for Joseph's schooling was \$8.00 per quarter. A servant girl name Jane was hired for the family at four dollars for six weeks.<sup>29</sup> The elder Joseph began work on August 10 as a typesetter, and later as bookkeeper and reporter

<sup>27</sup> On August 10 Gales paid Bushel \$29.00 for twelve days board for himself and family. On the same day he paid \$1.50 to have his personal property and household goods moved from Bushel's and from the customhouse where they were stored to one Scattergood's from whom he had rented a home at \$10.70 a month. The cashbook for this period shows expenditures for china, furniture, lamps, fuel, milk, books, cooking utensils, andirons, and other housekeeping expenses. A haircut in 1795 cost Gales twelve cents while a month's milk supply for his family of four children was \$4.20. A "Roma. History" for young Joseph cost .88¢.

<sup>28</sup> On August 1, before disembarking, Gales gave \$2.00 as "Presents to the Cook & Boy on Bd the Ship."

<sup>29</sup> All sums mentioned as expended or received are from the Gales cashbook.

for *The American Daily Advertiser*,<sup>30</sup> published by the firm of Dunlap and Claypoole. It was while employed here that Gales used his knowledge of shorthand to report verbatim the proceedings of Congress — a thing theretofore untried in America. His wages, at least to the end of the year 1795 when the cashbook closes, were \$10.00 per week. Young Joseph, later co-owner and editor of the powerful *National Intelligencer*, seems to have made a favorable impression upon John Dunlap of the *Daily Advertiser* because on August 15 he received a five dollar gold piece from his father's new employer.

The debit side of Gales' cashbook for this period contains frequent entries of sums for table covers sold at prices ranging from \$1.15 to \$10.00 each. One can only hazard the guess that these were the products of Winifred Gales' handwork, or else that they had been bought before leaving Germany especially to be sold in America.<sup>31</sup> The Gales family income also was supplemented by \$21.70 received for "Sundries sold," \$10.00 for a pair of pistols, \$9.36 for some books, and \$6.50 for some clothes that had belonged to his apprentice who returned to England just before Gales left Germany.

On September 10, 1796, Gales bought the Philadelphia newspaper, *Independent Gazetteer* and on September 16 the first number of *Gales's Independent Gazetteer* was published. He discontinued this paper almost exactly a year later — September 12, 1797 — and sold it to Samuel H. Smith who, on November 16, began publication of *The Universal Gazette*.<sup>32</sup>

Among Gales' friends in Philadelphia was Nathaniel Macon who, together with other Republican leaders, was responsible for his decision to remove to North Carolina.<sup>33</sup> In 1799 Gales left Philadelphia for Raleigh<sup>34</sup> and on October 22 of that year published the first number of his new newspaper, the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser*.<sup>35</sup> On December 2, 1800, the title of the newspaper was changed to *Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina State Gazette*, and on December

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 100.

<sup>31</sup> This latter supposition, however, seems less likely since no entry for such a purchase was made in the cashbook.

<sup>32</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947), I, 910, 920.

<sup>33</sup> H. M. Wagstaff, editor, *The Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh, 1924), I, 191.

<sup>34</sup> *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, August 27, 1841.

<sup>35</sup> Winifred Gregory, *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, A Union List* (New York, 1937), 506.

27, 1811, it became the *Raleigh Register, and North Carolina Gazette*.<sup>36</sup>

The North Carolina General Assembly, meeting in November and December, 1800, awarded the state's printing contract to Gales<sup>37</sup> and the volume of *Laws of North-Carolina* for that year was printed by him.

In his new home Gales' interests were directed into many channels. In 1801 he was among the petitioners seeking state aid for the establishment of an academy in Raleigh<sup>38</sup> and in 1808 he became a member of the first board of directors of a school for the deaf and dumb.<sup>39</sup> By 1806 he had opened a bookstore in Raleigh<sup>40</sup> and two years later was serving his community as a notary public.<sup>41</sup> He favored emancipation and colonization of the Negro slaves and in 1819 served as secretary to the Raleigh Auxiliary Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.<sup>42</sup> Gales also lent his support to the early efforts to establish a penitentiary.<sup>43</sup> He was a member of the board of directors of the State Bank<sup>44</sup> and served as mayor of Raleigh for nineteen years.<sup>45</sup> And finally, not out of keeping with the custom for newspaper editors of his day, he operated a paper mill.<sup>46</sup>

Gales' later years were spent in Washington where his eldest son, Joseph, and his son-in-law, William Winston Seaton, published the widely-read and influential *National Intelligencer*. Gales, while in Washington, compiled the first two volumes of the *Annals of Congress*.

Prior to his death, Gales returned to Raleigh where he owned a great deal of property. He died on August 24, 1841, and was

<sup>36</sup> Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, I, 774-775.

<sup>37</sup> Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 440.

<sup>38</sup> Charles L. Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1908), I, 26.

<sup>39</sup> Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina*, I, 382.

<sup>40</sup> John Haywood to John Steele, June 25, 1806. Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 476.

<sup>41</sup> John Haywood to John Steele, January 6, 1808. Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, II, 536.

<sup>42</sup> Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 562, 569. At the time of his death, however, Gales owned seven slaves. Wills, 1837-1841, in office of clerk of superior court, Wake County courthouse, Raleigh, N. C.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 661. In 1802 Gales published a sixteen-page pamphlet, *Dr. Jones's Speech on the Bill to amend the Penal Laws, By establishing A Penitentiary House for Criminals . . . Taken in Short Hand by J. Gales*. A copy of this report is in the pamphlet collection of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

<sup>44</sup> J. G. De R. Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1918), I, 146.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 100. Official records in the Raleigh City Hall, however, do not exist from which this statement can be verified.

<sup>46</sup> Inventory of Gales' estate accompanying his will in office of clerk of superior court, Wake County courthouse.

buried in the city cemetery near the East Street entrance. By the terms of his will he left his family<sup>47</sup> the remainder of his property not previously distributed among them.

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<sup>47</sup> His family had not been without its wayward member. Letters from Joseph Gales, the younger, to David Daggett of New Haven, Connecticut, written in 1821 and 1824, now in the Yale University Library, mention his "lost" brother's child, a girl who had been born in Louisiana, whom the family was trying to locate and receive in North Carolina. Gales' will of 1841 contains bequests to certain persons whom he considered his grandchildren.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Gallant Rebel: The Fabulous Cruise of the C. S. S. Shenandoah. By Stanley F. Horn. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 292. \$2.75.)

The *Shenandoah* was the last armed cruiser to fly the Confederate flag and the only vessel to carry this flag around the world. Next to the *Alabama* she was the most destructive of United States shipping, taking in all nearly forty prizes valued at about \$1,400,000. Originally the *Sea King*, a fast merchantman built for the India trade, the ship was purchased by Confederate agents at Liverpool in 1864 and sailed to the Madeiras where by prearrangement she was met and taken over by a crew under command of Captain James Iredell Waddell, a native of Pittsboro, North Carolina, and a graduate of the United States Naval Academy. Waddell equipped the vessel as an armed cruiser and set out for the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, taking prizes as they appeared. A defective propeller shaft and bearing necessitated dry-docking and general overhauling at Melbourne, during which some legal difficulties were encountered in regard to recruiting among neutrals. Although Waddell successfully extricated himself from these charges, his ship left Australia with forty-two welcome stowaways, who were promptly added to the short-handed crew.

Leaving Melbourne on February 18, 1865, Waddell proceeded with the execution of his orders to concentrate upon the hitherto untouched New England whaling fleet in the north Pacific. In operations that extended into Arctic waters and are remarkable for narrow escapes from icebergs and other terrors of the high latitudes, the *Shenandoah* wrought havoc upon the unsuspecting whalers. In June newspapers captured aboard a Bering Sea prize told of Lee's defeat; but since these papers also carried Davis' proclamation declaring that the war would be continued with renewed vigor, the cruise was not abandoned. At length on August 2, approximately a thousand miles west of Acapulco, Mexico, the British merchantman *Barracouta*, bound from San Francisco to Liverpool, reported beyond all doubt the complete collapse of the Confederacy. Without standing in maritime law and branded as a pirate in the United States, Waddell was urged

by junior crew members to beach the ship or to seek the nearest British colonial port. Wisely disregarding such advice, he laid a course for England by the way of Cape Horn, and on November 6, after a voyage of 17,000 miles without speaking a ship, the *Shenandoah* put in at Liverpool, where vessel and crew were surrendered to the British authorities.

The events above outlined have been woven by the author of this volume into as fine a sea yarn as one might wish to read. Mr. Horn knows how to tell a story; and if he had been content to acknowledge this as his purpose, his work would receive nothing but praise from this reviewer. Unfortunately, however, the work aspires to the character of "an authentic historical narrative," a classification that can hardly be accepted. On nearly every page there appear lengthy conversations, in direct discourse, presumably reconstructed by the author from accounts he has consulted. Reference is made to "the scattered diaries and fugitive narratives" of the *Shenandoah's* officers, but with one or two exceptions these are not further identified or located. There are no footnote citations and there is no evaluation of sources, in particular the account of Cornelius E. Hunt (*The Shenandoah; or the Last Confederate Cruiser*), which is extremely critical of Waddell's integrity. One would also like to know how "the officials of the Navy Department in Washington . . . so kindly made available" the log of the *Shenandoah* when this document is and has been for many years in the Department of Archives and History at Raleigh.

Good writing does not need to be justified by calling itself history; but when an author attempts the latter, he should observe the canons which historical scholarship has imposed upon itself. In this case the author appears to have his categories confused.

James W. Patton.

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The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929. By Nannie M. Tilley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 754. Illustrations. \$8.00).

This volume presents far more history and more history that is significant than the modest title implies. The opening chapter

sketches the story of bright tobacco from the early seventeenth century when its virtues and the reasons for them were recognized to the period of the Civil War when formulas for its production were developed. In the thirteen chapters that follow every phase of the cultivation, marketing, and manufacture of this tobacco is presented in detail. This contribution in itself is important, but further significance derives from the historic role of bright tobacco. Its ultimate large-scale utilization led to fundamental changes in the methods of preparing the seed bed, in harvesting and curing, and in crop rotation. The complicated grading system needed for this tobacco was the main reason for the rise of the loose-leaf auction sale system of marketing. Also it was the utilization of bright tobacco that led to the development of almost every mechanical device used in tobacco factories today. Yet another way of emphasizing the significance of this study is to point out that the area devoted to bright tobacco produced about forty-nine per cent of all the tobacco grown in the United States in 1929. Furthermore, since this tobacco has long dominated the economy of the region where it is grown, its history, as delineated by Dr. Tilley, is also largely the history of the life of the people of that region.

The research presented in this volume is astounding and enviable. It is doubtful if even Dr. Tilley could name an available source that she for some reason has failed to track down and utilize. In addition, looming behind this masterly research, is the author's background. Her youth in the Old Bright Belt gave her an understanding of the tobacco country which she has seemingly unconsciously made part of her study. An equally gifted and well trained historian could have executed a good history on this subject, but probably no one could have imparted the comprehension that Dr. Tilley's unique advantage facilitated.

By virtue of her background and mastery of the subject, Dr. Tilley was in a position to interpret her findings as no one else could, but in this respect there are readers who will say that she has not done as much as she could and should have done. A noteworthy exception is her conclusion that it was speculation and the loose-leaf auction system rather than the manufacturers that were responsible for the low prices received by the tobacco farmers. In addition it may be pointed out that terms peculiar to

the industry are not always explained the first time they appear. In view, however, of the monumental nature of this study, these shortcomings should be characterized as regrets rather than as criticisms.

The volume is provided with over forty pertinent illustrations. The appendices present supplementary subject matter ranging from curing formulas to firm inventories. The bibliography, although designated as "selected," takes eighteen pages. The completeness and accuracy of the index does justice to the subject in that it makes the details readily available. These features, so frequently omitted in these days of popularization, add appreciably to this great contribution to agricultural and industrial history.

Everett E. Edwards.

United States Department of Agriculture,  
Washington, D. C.

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The Common Glory. By Paul Green. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 273. \$2.75.)

This is Mr. Green's third in a series of plays based on American history, the previous two being *The Lost Colony* concerning Raleigh's unsuccessful attempt at colonization on Roanoke Island and *The Highland Call* about the glamorous career of Flora Macdonald. The Pulitzer Prize dramatist of Chapel Hill has at times contemplated many others: one dealing with the Moravians of Winston-Salem, a play of the Indians and frontiersmen of western North Carolina, a drama at Washington of our first President, and one revolving about the early history of the Southwest to be given in California. Historical pageantry is nothing new; our professional historians have long recognized its value in mass education, and chambers of commerce have been alert to other benefits. But the compositions of Paul Green have not been mere pageants. Rather, as the subtitle to *The Common Glory*, he appends "A Symphonic Drama of American History with Music, Commentary, English Folksong and Dance." The emphasis is upon the word *drama*. He realizes that the mere record of historical events may lose in unified performance, in audience interest. He is aware, too, that sheer

happenings need to be embellished with the accouterments of the theatre — pantomime, dance, music, poetry.

*The Common Glory*, given every summer at Williamsburg, Virginia, in a beautiful outdoor theater especially built for it, conforms in every respect to Mr. Green's own definition for "symphonic drama," for it calls into use all the attributes of the spoken word. Music and dance become germane to the action; for instance, on one occasion we read that the "people cheer him mightily . . . and the organ declares forth its accustomed welcoming flourish." It is as if the organ itself were a character in the story.

Historically the drama is concerned with six years in the life of Thomas Jefferson, during that time when he was a familiar figure on the streets of Williamsburg. Jefferson is shown as a member of the Continental Congress and the Virginia House of Burgesses and finally as Governor. Though the play is primarily the struggle of one man, he is clearly the symbol of American freedom and equality, and the effort to transmit those ideals into reality. Others have prominent roles: for historical authenticity, Franklin, Adams, and Patrick Henry; for pathos, Patsy Jefferson, the governor's dying wife; for love interest, Hugh Taylor, a patriot, and Eileen Gordon, the daughter of a Tory; and for humor, that delightful but fictitious thief and coward, Cephus Sicklemore.

Beyond the form and materials is the function of the dramatist. *The Common Glory* is not simply entertainment or historical instruction. Again Paul Green is reminding us of "the American dream"—the ideals which prompted it, the struggles which won it, and the endeavors which we must make to keep it alive.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh, N. C.

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A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and a History of His Brigade. By William Dobein James. (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Co., 1948. Pp. vii, 181. Appendix. \$6.00.)

In 1821 the South Carolina judge, William D. James, published this biography of his former commander, "the Swamp Fox." The book had a very limited circulation — scarcely a

fraction as much as an earlier volume about Marion written by that arch truth-twister, Parson Weems. The Weems volume went through scores of editions, thus disseminating and multiplying the Weems falsehoods throughout the land.

James began his work by viewing the first settlement of Huguenots on the Santee where settled the ancestors of Marion. Surprisingly few lines are concerned with tired genealogy, and soon the reader is in the midst of the Southern campaigns of the American Revolution. Relying on his own memory in part, James also made use of much source material which had been preserved by Marion's friends and relatives.

The bulk of the study is devoted to a history of Marion's brigade from June 1789, until it was disbanded in December 1782. A thirty-nine page appendix contains copies of letters written by many of the military characters of the time, primarily Generals Greene and Marion.

Judge James's book, something of a collector's item for many decades, has been reprinted with a short introduction by South Carolina's state historian, A. S. Salley. Outside of these four pages of introductory material, the publication is simply a reprint and offers no new material.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,  
Annapolis, Md.

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Frederick Douglass. By Benjamin Quarles. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1948. Pp. xi, 378. Bibliography, Appendix, Index. \$4.00.)

This biography of Douglass is the first to be written by a scholar trained in modern research methods, and it reveals a distinct superiority over the previous works on Douglass.

Professor Quarles, a member of the history department of Dillard University, New Orleans, selected a subject whose career was as varied as it was extensive and influential—a career full of the theme of “up from slavery” to the position of being the outstanding Negro of the slavery era.

Making use of the best of sources, the author does full justice to the remarkable career of Douglass but does not allow himself to lose a sense of objectivity when evaluating that career.

Douglass, being a very active human being, was not infallible, and Mr. Quarles does not hesitate to call attention to errors in judgment and action of his subject.

The volume contains several appropriate illustrations, suitable bibliography and index, and is well documented throughout.

Mr. Quarles has rendered a genuine service in the field of American history and biography.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,  
Annapolis, Md.

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Francis Lieber. By Frank Freidel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. 445. \$4.50.)

Of all the intellectuals who, in their flight from reaction, were bequeathed to the United States by the upheavals and turmoils of nineteenth-century Europe, Francis Lieber was surely one of the most interesting, versatile, and important. A fugitive from Prussian persecution, he came to the United States in 1827, having already experienced wounds at Waterloo, imprisonment in Prussia, a Ph.D. at Jena, and enlistment in behalf of Greek independence. He was, in the words of his friend, the historian Barthold Niebuhr, "one of the youths of the noble period . . . who lost themselves in visions, the elements of which they drew from their own hearts; and this terrible contrast between his experience and all that he had imagined — all that impelled him into distant lands, has broken his heart." He brought with him to Boston an ardent liberalism, an earnest nationalism, and an emotional nature which made it difficult for him to avoid controversy. His career in America was distinguished by its variety and by a certain intellectual eclecticism which made for him a reputation as a veritable behemoth of a scholar.

In the United States Lieber first became known as an encyclopedist who edited the *Americana*, but he is perhaps best known as professor of history and political economy at South Carolina College (1835-1857), as professor in Columbia College in New York (1857-1872), and as a publicist.

The period of more than twenty years spent in the South is of more than usual interest in Lieber's career. He went to South

Carolina College because that professorship was the only position he could get, and he went with a heavy heart, persuaded that it amounted to exile. Within a fortnight after his arrival he sounded an indictment of the South which he would never rescind: "Everything is arid here; arid soil, arid life, arid society; nor a breath of scientific air, nor a spark of intellectual electricity . . . surely, forever I could not live so. . . ." Endlessly he denounced the immaturity of his restless students, the lack of intensive scholarship among his Southern friends, and the backwardness of the economic system built around slavery. The longer he remained in South Carolina the more sour he became. His particular dislikes were teaching, slavery, and Presbyterians — and he saw a great deal of all of them as long as he was at South Carolina College. Being a practical man, and having a large family to support, he was publicly silent concerning slavery. The fact that he was an ardent free trader and at least satisfactory on religion made his position tolerable.

When Lieber went north in 1857 he reversed most of his former attitudes, evidently reveling in his release. He became a Republican, he attacked slavery, and he sacrificed his principles of civil liberty on the altar of nationalism. During the war and reconstruction period this ardent nationalism enabled him — though he was the author of a notable treatise on *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* — to support Lincoln in his *habeas corpus* struggle and to keep pace with his friend Charles Sumner in all matters of Radical Reconstruction. The death of his son Oscar while in Confederate service only added to the bitterness of the old father toward the South.

As a publicist Lieber's career was of undoubted distinction. His works on *Political Ethics* and on *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, to mention only the two which were most outstanding, mark him as a thoughtful and scholarly philosopher concerning matters of political science. His *Basic Code For the Rules of War*, done at the request of General Halleck, and his work for Secretary Stanton as Chief of the Bureau of Rebel Archives were equally notable achievements. In addition, there were numerous writings on such varied subjects as penology, free trade, statistics, and international law. There was scarcely an idea current in nineteenth-century Europe or America that

escaped the energetic attention of Lieber's fertile mind and discursive pen.

Freidel's book on Lieber is a fine biography. No student of Lieber's career will need to look further than this book for satisfactory accounts of the events of his life. The account is based on the fruits of extensive research into materials not available to older biographers such as Perry and Harley. Large manuscript collections in the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Johns Hopkins University Library, together with collections of lesser importance at Columbia, Harvard, and the Library of Congress, form the bases for this new evaluation. Nothing more is needed in order to understand the life of the subject.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said in regard to Lieber's thought. The student of ideas who wishes to discover the essence of Lieber's political theories and to decide what is valid in his thought must still read Lieber himself. This is no easy task, for his style is heavy and his prolixity is notorious. But there is still reward in the work of this Prussian intellectual who came to love America, and Mr. Freidel has given the student of intellectual history an admirable setting in which to attempt his evaluation of such a fertile mind. The life of Francis Lieber has been adequately written; the life of Lieber's mind remains to be done.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,  
Davidson, N. C.

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Rebel Raider, Being An Account of Raphael Semmes's Cruise in the C.S.S. Sumter. Composed in large part of extracts from Semmes's *Memoirs of Service Afloat*, written in the year 1869, selected and supplemented by Harpur Allen Gosnell, Lieutenant-Commander, U.S.N.R. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 204. Illustrations, appendices, and index. \$3.75.)

Raphael Semmes was one of the enigmatic figures of his age. To Southerners he was a hero whose daring raids and determined leadership as commander of the *Sumter* and the more famous *Alabama* promised to drive Yankee commerce from the high seas. To Northern newspaper readers he was a devil incarnate who inflicted needless torture on captives after burning the ships which had given them an honest livelihood. To his ship-

mates he was an austere and somewhat grim chief who had only one close associate and no confidants. Seemingly, no one of them ever attempted any explanation of the title, "Old Beeswax," bestowed upon him by the members of his crew, who were alternately outraged by his harshness and awed by his sincere solicitude for their welfare. Yet the historian finds him in his *Memoirs of Service Afloat, During the War between the States* (Baltimore, 1869) as garrulous as an old woman and extremely human in his petty vanities.

*Rebel Raider* is somewhat less in volume and slightly more in total subject-matter than Semmes's own account of the exploits of the *Sumter*. This first of the eight or nine important Confederate raiders was transformed into a reasonable approximation of a man-of-war in the harbor of New Orleans during the spring of 1861. The period of her active service as a raider was from June 30, 1861, until January 18, 1862. On the latter date she limped into the port of Gibraltar, too far spent to risk a race with her pursuers, the *Kearsarge* and the *Tuscarora*, and certainly in no condition to challenge them to a fight as later occurred in the case of *Alabama* against the *Kearsarge*. Semmes accounted for eighteen vessels captured by the *Sumter*. Of these seven were burned, seven were returned to their owners by neutral authorities, one escaped, one was recaptured, and two were released on ransom bonds. In each case, Semmes carefully considered every angle of international law and the recognized rights of neutrals and belligerents. Though he was well informed on these matters his decisions were based on the assumption that the Confederate government was to be considered as the sovereign agent of a full-fledged national state. Naturally this meant that his decisions were always wrong from the standpoint of Yankee skippers and subject to serious question by neutral port and diplomatic authorities. In general, it seems that British colonial authorities were more liberal in their treatment of Semmes than was the official policy of their government. Latin-American, Spanish, and French authorities varied from laxity that was virtual violation of neutrality to personal obstinacy that called forth Semmes's best efforts at legal sophistry and vituperation.

The editor's best work is the reduction of the original account in the *Memoirs* to a straightforward narrative with the emphasis always on action rather than on legal controversy or personal reflections by the author. There are occasional explanations of purely nautical terms, so that a landlubber such as the present reviewer is able to grasp the essential details of the narrative. Points of international law and comity are handled by bracketed insertions which peremptorily deny the validity of those acts and decisions regarded by the editor as erroneous. There are short treatments of Semmes's life before and after the Civil War. These present a fair estimate of Semmes's place in naval history, though hardly sufficient to counteract his own exaggerated opinion that the *Sumter* had single-handedly cleared the seas of American borne commerce. The entire editorial contribution to the work could have been improved by more careful proof-reading with a view to eliminating common errors in spelling and sentence structure.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,  
Greenville, North Carolina.

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Joseph Benson Foraker, An Uncompromising Republican. By Everett Walters. (Columbus: The Ohio History Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 315. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Professor Walters' study is the first volume of the Ohio Governors Series being issued by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The biography's subtitle serves as a key to an understanding of Foraker (1846-1917). His noteworthy accomplishments and traits were: to advance himself by bargaining and oratory in the rough-and-tumble of a machine-ridden state; to use his positions as governor (1886-1890) and United States Senator (1897-1909) to help strengthen *laissez-faire* and imperialistic policies of his party; to become a millionaire through activities as a corporation lawyer and lobbyist; and to stick to his conservative convictions and business connections, including that with the Standard Oil Company, even when confronted with damaging documentary evidence (forged in part by William Randolph Hearst) against his personal integrity. His

greatest mistake politically was refusal to coöperate consistently with other Ohio bosses in their efforts to nominate John Sherman for the presidency in 1888. Foraker himself aspired to the presidency; and he continued to seek a nomination. Instead he became involved, because of his ambition, in a bitter intra-party fight with more adroit politicians such as Mark Hanna, William McKinley, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt. They never forgot what they considered his duplicity in 1888. His most outstanding accomplishment was to remain actively in politics until Roosevelt and Taft read him out of office in 1908-1909.

Graduate students and professors who plan to write biographies of controversial political figures may wish to use Walters's approach as a model. His study offers a smooth chronological organization, two pertinent illustrations, a bibliography (partially annotated), an index, and close scrutiny of printing details. He strives neither to praise nor to damn his subject, but portrays him as a product of a Northern society marked by industrialism and growing imperialism and of a state that possessed more than its share of machine politics. In the first half of the book Foraker is placed in the "bloody shirt" era of Ohio and sectional politics; afterwards he is depicted as a national figure. The author's work is straight-forward, unbiased, workmanlike, scholarly, and heavily documented. The subject is important. Readers may, with pleasure, form their own conclusions about Foraker both as a state officeholder and as one of the makers of important national policies in a period when the United States first became a powerful force in international affairs.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,  
Auburn, Ala.

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The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825-1853. By Paul Murray. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, vol. XXIX. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 219.)

The history of Georgia's Whig party embraces four periods. The first began near the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century and ended in 1833. The second period lasted about

seven years, ending in 1840. Approximately a decade, that of the forties, is encompassed by the third period. The early fifties brought asphyxiation to Whiggery on both the national and local levels. Within this chronological pattern Mr. Murray presents the evolution of party organization, programs, and dogma. Georgia's Troup-State Rights-Whig party, he believes, hammered out on the level of party dogma a neat trilogy: "the relation of government to economic activity, the relation of government to the individual citizen, and the relation of the Federal government to the states of the Union." A multiplicity of forces, such as local issues, personal followings, and economic considerations, are carefully appraised. Mr. Murray holds that Georgia's semi-frontier character precluded an intelligent appraisal of "statesman-like qualities" in a candidate. Whig candidates, he asserts, were generally the more "statesman-like."

A political party is a subject of many dimensions. Human affairs are so interrelated that indeed the history of one party becomes in fact the history of the contemporary party or parties. Mr. Murray has recognized this aspect of his problem in giving to the Democratic party the attention it would seem to merit. Of the eight chapters in this work the final one, a summary interpretation, is especially noteworthy for certain of its generalizations. Among the best of these is the following: "Slave-holding as such was nowhere the economic basis for political cleavage, but the hope of prosperity by means of a political program founded on exploitation of natural resources by slave labor was the fatal mirage which lured more than one political party to its doom." It might be added that this chapter would be more readable if the narrative were not so uneven. Such a study lends itself to chronological treatment. While Mr. Murray has applied such treatment, yet too frequently he compels the reader, especially in the final chapter, to return with him for another look.

A few questions in respect to some of Mr. Murray's opinions might be raised. This reviewer would like to know *why* Whig leaders "did not initiate a single act in these commonly accepted fields of nineteenth century social legislation." Moreover, if these leaders "opposed every specific proposal offered by their opponents," can it be said that they "staked the existence of their party on the intelligence and patriotism of their fellow-citizens

and lost to those who appealed to prejudice and took advantage of ignorance of voters in Georgia?" By refusing to support public education were not Whigs partly to blame for the ignorance? Further, is it assumable that no "specific proposal" offered by Whig opponents was either intelligent or patriotic? If the Democratic party was in 1832 "an irresponsible majority drunk with power in the state and the Union," can it be demonstrated that Georgia and the Union would have fared better under Whig rule? Finally, which Whig editors of 1850 were "always a little more cognizant of principles than the usual run of political leaders?"

Mr. Murray has done a solid piece of research, using for the most part Georgia newspapers. There appears one minor slip in the handling of the *Athens Banner*. It is not correct to say the Democrats nominated Hershel V. Johnson for governor in 1853 as a result of pressure from this journal and then attribute Johnson's poor showing in north Georgia to the support it gave to his opponent, Charles J. Jenkins. This journal changed editors in May, 1853, about a month before Johnson's nomination. The new editor, James Sledge, brought the paper in line with Governor Howell Cobb, who supported Johnson's candidacy. Hopkins Holsey, who edited the paper before Sledge, had been a strong Unionist in 1850. He and Cobb broke over the governor's effort to settle his differences with the Democratic organization. The book is virtually free of typographical blemishes. It is well documented and contains both a bibliography and an index.

Horace Montgomery.

University of Georgia,  
Athens, Ga.

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A Constitutional History of Georgia. By Albert Berry Saye. (Athens: Georgia. University of Georgia Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 521. \$4.50.)

In this book, Professor Albert Berry Saye of the University of Georgia attempts the rather large task of relating the constitutional history of Georgia from the charter of 1732 down to the present day. Since the Declaration of Independence, Georgia has had eight constitutions. Moreover, there has been a staggering prodigality of amendment. The constitution of 1877, for example, was amended 303 times before finally yielding to the new document of 1945 which incorporated a good portion of the amendments. Nor, if we may trust the author, is any respite likely. His

final word is that "it takes no sage to see that further revisions in Georgia's Constitution of 1945 are needed!"

The constitution of 1798 is identified by Professor Saye as the "basic document" in Georgia's political development. Its influence has persisted through all the subsequent welter of revision and amendment. In its provision for universal manhood suffrage, this constitution was in advance of its time. Otherwise it faithfully reflected the dominant political ideas of the day and the recent political experience. While giving the governor a veto, it commanded a strict separation of powers. The legislature was clearly conceived of as the most powerful branch of the government, but with the Yazoo frauds freshly in mind, limits were set to its authority. The fundamental freedoms were guaranteed and the importation of slaves forbidden.

For the greater part of his book, Professor Saye has enriched his discussion of the various constitutional provisions with related social, economic, and biographical data. He has an excellent account, based on many original sources, of the colonial period. He goes to some pains to refute the "legend" that the colony was established as a refuge for imprisoned debtors. Of more contemporary importance is his demonstration of the acceptance in Georgia during the Revolution of the theory that sovereignty passed directly from the crown to the Union of the states, and not to the states individually.<sup>1</sup> There is also a necessarily sketchy, but adequate, account of the growth of political parties in Georgia.

Unfortunately, Professor Saye does not continue throughout his narrative to supply the facts which make constitutional history meaningful. The latter part of the work amounts to little more than a paraphrase of the innumerable constitutional provisions with dates of adoption supplied. Further, in his essays in political theory, the author betrays a weakness which sharply limits the value of his volume. Certainly, it is a bit far-fetched to suggest, as Professor Saye does, that the higher law notion in the doctrine of judicial review has any substantial relation to the crown's veto. Nevertheless, the book is a welcome contribution and one which, it may be hoped, will soon find a North Carolina companion.

Francis Paschal.

Wake Forest, N. C.

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<sup>1</sup> This theory has received the sanction of the United States Supreme Court. See *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation*, 299 U. S. 304 (1936).

The Rural Press and the New South. By Thomas D. Clark. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 111. \$2.00.)

This slender volume consists of a series of three lectures (Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History) delivered by the author at Louisiana State University. In brief compass, Professor Clark, from a wealth of source material gathered for his larger work, *The Southern Country Editor*, has ably portrayed the role of the Southern rural newspaper in the life of the common man in the decades following the Civil War.

One gets the impression that most of the country editors operated on a financial shoestring with a minimum of apparatus; nonetheless, they made bold to point up the obvious needs of the community and region which they professed to serve. Without offending households gods, country editors, safely within the Democratic fold, leveled their criticism at such evils as the one-crop system, incompetent officials, "pistol-toting," and the treatment of convicts. The editor who pressed his attack too vigorously might invite a personal encounter. Such affairs were not uncommon in a region where "assault and battery" was a familiar method of settling personal difficulties.

The country editor not only pointed the way to a more diversified and rewarding economy, bolstered by good schools and good roads; he also strove to entertain his subscribers by regaling them with neighborhood gossip, folklore, and human-interest stories. The writer asserts that the editor sometimes overreached himself in predicting the early demise of some stricken fellow-citizen, or he might terrify his readers by dramatically presenting evidence that certain persons had been buried alive.

Professor Clark demonstrates that the rural press mirrored the social and political attitudes of the plain people and, by degrees, elevated public opinion to grapple more intelligently with public issues. The extent to which an editor influenced his readers (never numerous) cannot be accurately gauged. Much depended upon the individual. To most subscribers the editor was no oracle, especially when it came to giving advice about farming. Farmers, as a rule, consulted the almanac as to when to plant and when to prune and ruled out as visionary the hints of the editor.

These lectures, presented in Professor Clark's engaging style, afforded a well-rounded picture of the agrarian South from 1865 to 1918 as seen from the point of vantage of the country editor.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,  
Cullowhee, N. C.

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Introduction to Research in American History (2nd ed.). By Homer Carey Hockett. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 141. Bibliography, index, appendix. \$3.00.)

This book was written as a manual to be used by students beginning research and writing in the field of American history. It deals only with the essential procedures in that field. Experience had demonstrated that without such instructions teachers were often wearied by the "endless repetition of substantially identical directions." In the words of the author, "This manual attempts to make the path so plain that a student of capacity sufficient to earn an advanced degree may proceed with little more guidance than it affords."

The present revision of this book involves no change of purpose or text, but adds an appendix which contains additional matter suggested by classroom use of this manual but which it was not feasible to incorporate in the book. The text is divided into three chapters of almost equal length. These are appropriately entitled "The Gathering of Data," "The Criticism of Data," and "Historical Composition." The chapters are broken down into carefully selected sub-divisions. The book is filled with well chosen examples of the proper techniques to be employed in historical research and composition and sound advice is given as to how to avoid or overcome the problems involved. "It has . . . seemed wise to take nothing for granted," writes Professor Hockett, "even at the risk of stressing the obvious." A very good index makes it easy for one to use this book as a manual.

No errors have been noted in the text. The information contained in the appendix, such as a supplementary bibliography, should have been incorporated with similar information located elsewhere in the book. Some awkwardness in the use of the material will naturally result from this arrangement.

This manual should prove to be particularly helpful to those students of American history who are seeking information concerning their problems in research and composition. To those engaged in the direction of graduate work in history, it may prove to be a very valuable time-saver.

C. O. Cathey.

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

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*Paths to the Present.* By Arthur M. Schlesinger. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. vi, 317. \$4.00.)

Professor Schlesinger has accomplished what should be the culmination of the historian's career: an interpretation of the present and a warning to the future in the light of the past. If much of the material presented is not new to the members of his profession, that is as it should be. The book was not designed for those to whom the facts of history are every day fare, although they may profit by many of his conclusions. Granted the author's ideological assumptions, the evidence of experience speaks for itself. Since the reviewer agrees that the "goal of a social service state" based on free institutions is not only legitimate but essential for survival, he has found the book a timely and highly palatable tonic.

*Paths to the Present* is composed of thirteen essays, most of which have appeared in essence in scholarly journals, as is acknowledged in the bibliographical notes. Each chapter stands on its own premises and can be read without relation to the other twelve. The style is adult but not difficult. There is ample evidence of Mr. Schlesinger's penchant for the "classic statement" by means of quotation and, as usual, the selections are beyond cavil.

Almost every chapter ends with a precept or points a pathway to the future. For all but chapter IV, "The Tides of National Politics," the reviewer believes the evidence irrefutable. The proposition presented in this essay is at once the most intriguing and the least convincing in the book. The author discovers a rhythm of conservative and liberal periods in our past, and predicts therefrom that "we may expect the recession from liberal-

ism which began in 1947 to last till 1962. . . ." Obviously the proofing was done before Mr. Truman's recent triumph. The reviewer cannot agree that "basic pulsations of opinion are responsible for the cycles, if indeed they exist." The long period of reaction from 1869 to 1901 was certainly in part accomplished by thwarting the popular will. And that it can happen again is apparent from the succeeding chapters on "Persisting Problems of the Presidency."

For North Carolina readers the inclusion of James Knox Polk amongst the four "near great" presidents comes as a tardy recognition of merit we have long been ready to recognize. To find two others (Jackson and Wilson), who spent a considerable portion of their formative years in this state, numbered amongst the "greats" is equally gratifying. This essay, "A Yardstick for Presidents," recently was printed in brief in *Life* magazine.

Mr. Schlesinger is too able a historian to slip into errors of fact, but there is certainly room for a difference of opinion with respect to the reason ascribed for the popularity of Know-Nothingism in the South (p. 62). Surely the charm of ritual to isolated farmers, the intolerance of backwoods protestants for Catholicism, and the unacceptability of both fire-eating Democrats and antislavery Republicans to Southern conservatives were responsible for as many votes as the "dread of the political strength accruing to the free states from the European (immigrant) accessions." Nor does it seem quite fair to imply (p. 183) that the abolitionists had a claim of inconsistency against England when she issued a proclamation of neutrality in May, 1861. Emancipation was not a war issue at that early date. Mr. Schlesinger quotes *Literary Digest*, Gallup, and *Fortune* polls as gospels of public opinion. To this Democratic reviewer (admittedly prejudiced) they don't amount to a democratic thing.

Judicial, provocative, and entertaining, *Paths to the Present* should be required reading for all who claim that their feet are guided by the lamp of experience. Unfortunately, those who need it most will read it least. It is difficult to see how it could be better than it is. The reviewer's chief regret in closing the book was that Mr. Schlesinger did not himself essay the role of fore-caster in his "Casting the National Horoscope." If any social

historian of the present can speak with the authority of the past,  
it is he. Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,  
Davidson, N. C.

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Gold Star Honor Roll of Virginians in the Second World War. Edited by  
W. Edwin Hemphill. (Charlottesville: Virginia World War II History  
Commission. 1947. Pp. lxii, 373. Illustrations. Free.)

Pursuits of War, The People of Charlottesville and Albemarle County,  
Virginia, in the Second World War. By Gertrude D. Parlier and others.  
(Charlottesville: Albemarle County Historical Society. 1948. Pp. xxiv,  
430. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Two groups of World War II participants from Virginia are honored in these volumes. *Gold Star Honor Roll* lists by city or county the Virginians who gave their lives while serving in the armed forces of the United Nations, 1940-1946. The roster records name, ranking, and nearest of kin without indicating place or date of death. The index, however, lists only the deceased personnel.

*Pursuits of War* records in detail the wartime activity of the citizens of Charlottesville and Albemarle County. Documenting the story of the region's civil and military contributions to victory from local newspapers, official reports, and personal letters, the authors have produced a finished study of the community under the unusual stresses of war.

William S. Powell.

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

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The State Historical Society of Missouri—A Semicentennial History, 1898-  
1948. By Floyd C. Shoemaker. (Columbia, Missouri: The State Historical  
Society of Missouri. 1948. Pp. 193.)

This volume that tells of one state historical society reveals much that is common to all such state societies: the sense of need of a society, humble beginnings, appropriations from the state legislature, struggles against indifference of citizens, important service of individuals, triumphs in contribution to history of the state.

Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the society, and an official in all but twelve years of its history, is author of the volume that

shows us ("You've got to show me") what Missouri has done.

Mr. Shoemaker has reviewed the efforts of the states in their attempts to keep their record straight and has also given the public a fair picture of the development of the Missouri society.

He describes the origin of his society, a child born of a state convention of newspaper men. As proof he includes a picture of the delegates of the members of the Missouri Press Association attending the Eureka Springs, Arkansas, convention, May 25-27, 1898, who may truly be called founding fathers.

Local developments are described, such as acquisition of important collections, the boost of the World Fair at St. Louis, contribution of certain officers of the society, and the listing of an honorary member named Harry S. Truman.

Officers and members of our state historical societies will do well to read Mr. Shoemaker's book and make a new survey of the field.

Douglas L. Rights.

Winston-Salem, N. C.

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*Mannerhouse*. By Thomas Wolfe. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1948. Pp. 183. \$3.00.)

*Mannerhouse*, written by Wolfe about 1926, is a play of the Civil War period in a prologue and three acts. It has been taken from the mass of manuscript left at the author's death. The prologue, laid in the year 1725, is probably anachronistic in its background of a great white-columned plantation house being built by an "endless chain of savage black" slaves in the Carolina pinehill country; but it has the most effective scene in the play in the thundering Biblical defense of slavery by a minister speaking to awed but uncomprehending blacks. Symbolism permeates the play. The noble mannerhouse of the Ramseys represents the gracious manner of life of the old South; the oppression upon which its aristocratic grandeur was built is the tragic flaw which becomes its nemesis. The first act opens in 1861; General Ramsey's son Eugene, at first cynical and rebellious, goes off to war from loyalty to a way of life which he believes is basically false. Four years later father and son return in defeat to an almost deserted mansion. In the end Eugene pulls down the

house upon himself and upon the sinister character Porter, representative of the triumphant forces of mediocrity. The influence of Shakespeare upon Wolfe is strong throughout the play, especially in the Hamlet-and-Ophelia scene between Eugene and his sweetheart. The similarity between the main character and the Eugene of *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) is seen in their common anguished sense of nostalgic loss: "O lost, and by the wind grieved, ghost, come back again."

Wolfe's novelist's nature was not adapted to the rigorous, brief, tense interplay of character needed for drama. Like Balzac, he was fascinated by the theater; however, Saintsbury's stricture on Balzac, "For him drama was always an error," may be applied to Wolfe also. He has done better as a recreator of the Civil War Period in the short story, "Chickamauga."

Wolfe comes by his interest in the Civil War period honestly, as his ancestors took an active part in it about which he heard from his mother (as has this reviewer). It is appropriate here to mention that the North Carolina Department of Archives and History has unpublished correspondence from T. C. Westall, Wolfe's maternal grandfather, to Governor Z. B. Vance in the Vance Papers (March 21, 1864) and in the Governor's Papers (November 5, 1864). In the Vance Papers Westall, writing from Swannanoa, describes the political conditions in western North Carolina, urges Vance to make "a big talk" in Buncombe, and anathematizes Holden, who "has swallowed a potion of political poison for which there is no antidote, and already his pulse has the flutterings of death." The writer has a vigor of language which presages the verbal fervor of his grandson.

W. P. Cumming.

Davidson College,  
Davidson, N. C.

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The Churches and the Social Conscience. By O. T. Binkley. (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press. 1948. Pp. 39. \$1.00 cloth-bound, \$.25 paper-bound.)

To survey the influence of the churches in social movements for human betterment and to compress the study into less than forty pages and hardly more than seven thousand words calls for maximum concentration of study and compactness of state-

ment. Scores of books have appeared in this field, and the end is not yet. One inclines, however, to the opinion that Professor Binkley's quick and lucid summary has covered the subject as completely as it can be done. In the nature of the case his essay is a consensus, not an argument; it is a generalization rather than an analysis. As such it represents a job expertly done by one wholly conversant with his subject and provides a statement that will supply the general reader with all he needs to convince him of the massive influence and the moral value of the churches in the stimulation of a social conscience and a creative action.

Edwin McNeill Poteat.

Raleigh, N. C.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, an assistant professor of history at Davidson College, is teaching in the summer school at the University of Southern California.

On June 3 Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College lectured before the National Academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., on the subject, "The Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Law enforcement officers from all parts of the United States attended this school.

Miss Sarah Lemmon of Meredith College has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1949-50 in order that she may complete her courses for her doctorate at the University of North Carolina.

Miss Fannie Memory Farmer has joined the staff of the history department at Meredith College. She received her M.A. degree in history at the University of North Carolina in June, and she will tour Europe this summer.

Dr. Harold T. Parker of the department of history of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1949-1950 to do research in the French Archives.

Dr. Paul H. Clyde of the department of history of Duke University is visiting professor of history at Tulane University during the second term of the summer school.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of the department of history of Duke University is visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the second term of summer school.

Mr. Richard S. Barry, a graduate student at Duke University, has been employed for the summer by the Division of State Parks, Department of Conservation and Development, to do research in the history of Fort Macon.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan professor of history at the University of North Carolina, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures at Louisiana State University on April 26, 27, and 28. He gave two lectures at the Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville, Georgia, on May 2. During the summer he is visiting professor of history at Columbia University.

Dr. Frank W. Klingberg, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina, is teaching during the summer in the department of history, Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina is visiting professor of history at the University of Iowa during the summer.

Mr. Robert A. Lively, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an instructor in history at Princeton University.

Mr. William P. Roberts, Jr., a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at North Georgia College.

Mr. John L. Snell, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas.

Mr. Roscoe L. Strickland, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the East Tennessee State Teachers College.

Miss Mary Frances Gyles, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall, head of the history department at State College, Raleigh, has published an article entitled, "The Advisory Opinion in North Carolina," in *The North Carolina Law Review*, XXVII (April, 1949), 297-344.

Dr. H. E. Hirsch, chairman of the department of social sciences at Elon College, is teaching during the summer in the graduate school at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, editor of the *Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, on April 28 addressed the Martha Pettigrew Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Forest City. Mr. Griffin's subject was "What Makes North Carolina a Great State."

The Benjamin May Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on April 29 dedicated a chapter house in Farmville. This is the second such house in the South and it will also serve as a community house for the town.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Wilmington and New Hanover County on April 18. Those going on the tour visited Airlee and Orton Plantations, Old Brunswick, Fort Johnston, Clarendon Plantation, the graves of Cornelius Harnett and Rose Greenough—the woman spy of the Confederacy—the home of Governor Edward B. Dudley, the house in which Cornwallis had his headquarters, and the old opera house built in 1825.

Members of the history faculties of several colleges and universities and staff members of the State Department of Archives and History attended a dinner at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina on May 14. Wake Forest College, Meredith College, State College, Davidson College, Greensboro College, the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and the State Department of Archives and History were represented.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Duke University on May 7. The program consisted of the following papers: "The Academy Movement in North Carolina," by Dr. Edgar W. Knight; "Queen's College, Queen's Museum, Liberty Hall, and the Salisbury Academy," by Dr. Archibald Henderson; and "Baptist Academies in North Carolina," by Dr. George W. Paschal.

Chowan College on May 13 celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Governor W. Kerr Scott delivered the principal address at the morning exercises and in the afternoon Dr. George W. Paschal of Wake Forest College delivered an address in which he gave the history of Chowan College.

Forsyth County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary May 6-14. The Bushgrower's League staged their Jamboree at Glenn's Warehouse on May 6. The Festival Symphony Orchestra gave a concert on May 11 at the Reynolds Auditorium and featured Miss Sara Holtiwanger, a native of Winston-Salem. The centennial parade was staged on May 12 after which a time capsule two feet in diameter and 4 feet long was buried on the courthouse square. This capsule was filled with mementoes of Winston-Salem in order that when Forsyth County celebrates its bicentennial these items may be dug up and exhibited. During the evening "Forsythorama" was presented at the Bowman Gray Stadium, also Verdi's "Requiem" was given at Reynolds Auditorium. The Arts and Crafts Workshop was open to the public May 9-14. A history of the county entitled *Forsyth, A County on the March* was published by the University of North Carolina Press as a part of the celebration.

Alamance County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, May 8-15. On the first day of the celebration there was a parade after which Governor W. Kerr Scott, a native of the county, delivered an address. The Alamance County Centennial exposition was held in the Carolina Warehouse and was open the entire week. A pageant, "Alamance Heritage," was given, also Bascom Lamar Lunsford's "Minstrel of the Appalachians" was presented

on Thursday and Friday, May 12 and 13. Representative Harold Cooley delivered an address on Friday, May 13. On Sunday, May 15, a joint religious service was held with Dr. Harold Bosley, Dean of the Divinity School at Duke University, delivering the sermon.

During the fiscal year which ended June 30 sixty-three new historical markers were approved for erection in the state and two old markers which had been broken were replaced. A committee of historians from Duke University, the University of North Carolina, Davidson College, State College, and Wake Forest College prepared inscriptions for these markers after the necessary research had been done by Mr. William S. Powell, researcher for the State Department of Archives and History.

At St. John's Episcopal Church in Williamsboro, Vance County, on Sunday, June 12, a committee was appointed to work out plans for restoring and maintaining the old church. St. John's, a wooden structure, was built in 1757 and has been described by Mr. Thomas T. Waterman, a specialist on colonial architecture, as "the best example of colonial church woodwork in North Carolina." In connection with this restoration movement a picnic lunch was served on the grounds and the old church was opened to the public.

Ceremonies in connection with the raising of the United States, the Confederate, and the state flags were held within the walls of Fort Macon on May 11. The A. M. Waddell Chapter of Lenoir County of the Daughters of the Confederacy were in charge of the ceremonies with Mrs. J. A. Jones presiding. Mrs. Junie Whitfield, the oldest living member of the chapter, was introduced to the gathering and Mrs. Quentin Gregory of Halifax made a brief talk. Songs popular in the Confederacy were sung by the Kinston Male Quartet. Mr. Thomas W. Morse, superintendent of State Parks, gave an historical address on Fort Macon and conducted a tour of the fort.

Mr. Frank Meecham and Mr. J. Johnson of the State Museum, Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan of the State

Department of Archives and History, and Miss Myrtle Armfield of the Greensboro Historical Museum attended the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Chicago May 19, 20, and 21.

The Hall of History of the State Department of Archives and History has received and placed on exhibit a spinning wheel and several pieces of colonial kitchen ware.

During the past few months Dr. Christopher Crittenden has delivered the following addresses on historical and allied topics: On March 1 to the Lanier Book Club, Raleigh, on the museum and its possibilities; on March 17 to the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on North Carolina's part in the War for Southern Independence; on April 26 to the Historical Book Club, Greensboro, on the historic shrines of the state; and on April 29 to the Wayne County Committee, Colonial Dames of America, on the same subject.

The Battle of Elizabethtown Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on June 10 unveiled two historical markers, one in the town of Council, the other in Clarkton. At a luncheon following the unveilings, Dr. Christopher Crittenden delivered an address on the state's historical marker program.

On May 20 Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History delivered an address before the Lafayette Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Karl G. Hudson and the subject of the address was "Early Settlers in North Carolina."

On June 12 Moon's Chapel in Chatham County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Mr. J. C. Canipe, a former pastor of the church, delivered the morning sermon after which a picnic lunch was served on the grounds. In the afternoon greetings from other churches and former pastors were presented, after which Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History delivered an historical address.

The General Assembly of North Carolina which convened in January appropriated for the State Department of Archives and History for the biennium beginning July 1, 1949 the following: For the year July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950—\$67,361, and for the year July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951—\$82,295.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has received the following manuscripts:

The papers of the late General "Billy" Mitchell, commander in World War I of United States aviation in France and subsequently director of military aviation in the United States Army, which include his personal files as Assistant Chief of the Air Service, his diaries during World War I and later correspondence, and manuscripts of his books and articles on various aspects of aviation; the papers of the late Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the University of Chicago, which consist mainly of professional and personal correspondence from about 1902, when she began her distinguished career as a teacher of public welfare administration at the University of Chicago, to the time of her death in 1948, and include material on her trip to Montevideo in 1933 as United States delegate to the Congress of the Pan-American Union and on other similar assignments and correspondence with James Adams, Katharine Lenroot, Mary Anderson, and other leaders in civic and philanthropic work; the papers of Thomas Allen Jenckes (1818-1875), noted patent attorney and member of Congress from Rhode Island from 1863 to 1871, which include his extensive files as counsel in important patent litigation on rubber, refrigeration, and the steam engine, a group of papers relating to the Credit Mobilier investigation, and business letters received by him during the last twenty years of his life; stenographic reports of the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, July 4-5, 1924, which nominated Senator Robert M. LaFollette for President, and of the post-campaign convention held in Chicago on February 21 and 22, 1925; and a manuscript journal kept by Edward T. Tayloe while acting as secretary to Joel R. Poinsett in Mexico from 1825 to 1828, which contains descriptions of places visited, information about mining districts, and comments on the social and economic life of the country.

Books received include Albert Berry Saye, *A Constitutional History of Georgia 1732-1945* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948); Frank L. Owsley, Oliver P. Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1948); Maurice Bear Gordon, M.D., *Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies, The Story of the Early Days of Medicine in the Thirteen Original Colonies* (Ventnor, New Jersey; Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1949); Thomas H. Greer, *American Social Reform Movements, Their Pattern Since 1865* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949); Sister Mary Anthonita Hess, *American Tobacco and Central European Policy: A Dissertation. Early Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948); William Bell Clark, *Captain Dauntless, The Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Chalmers G. Davidson, *Cloud Over Catawba* (Charlotte, N. C.: The Mecklenburg Historical Society, 1949); Harvey Walker, *Constructive Government in Ohio. The Story of the Administration of Governor Myers Y. Cooper, 1929-1930* (Columbus: The Ohio History Press, 1948); Rupert B. Vance, John E. Ivey, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond, *Exporing The South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1949); Adelaide L. Fries, Mary Callum Wiley, Douglas L. Rights, Harvey Dinkins, Charles N. Siewers, Flora Ann Lee, *Forsyth, A County on the March* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1947-1948* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949); Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington, Volume I and Volume II Young Washington* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948); *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); H. Allen Gosnell, *Guns on the Western Waters: The Story of River Gunboats in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Weymouth T. Jordan, *Hugh Davis and His Alabama Plantation* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1948); *Humanistic Schol-*

*arship in the South, A Survey of Work in Progress* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Homer Carey Hockett, *Introduction to Research in American History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948); Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker, An Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus: The Ohio History Press, 1948); Bill McIlwain and Walt Friedenberg, *Legends of Baptist Hollow* (Wake Forest, N. C.: Delta Publishing Company, 1949); Norma B. Cuthbreth, *Lincoln and The Baltimore Plot, 1861, from Pinkerton Records and Related Papers* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1949); Thomas Wolfe, *Mannerhouse A Play in Prologue and Three Acts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948); Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde, *Michigan and the Cleveland Era* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1948); *Ninth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1947-1948* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949); John Drury, *Old Illinois Houses* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1948); Gilbert Courtland Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman*. Vol. XXII, *The University of Missouri Studies*, no. 2. (Columbia: The University of Missouri, 1948); Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949); Thomas D. Clark, *The Rural Press and the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948); Floyd C. Shoemaker, *The State Historical Society of Missouri: A Semcentennial History, 1898-1948* (Columbia: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1948); George I. Oeste, *Teaching Local History in Today's World* (Philadelphia: Middle States Council for the Social Studies); James Hart, *The American Presidency in Action, 1789* (New York: The Macmillan Company); Wesley Frank Craven, *The Army Air Forces in World War II, Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942*. Vol. I (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948); O. T. Brinkely, *The Churches and the Social Conscience* (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1948); Paul Green, *The Common Glory* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); John Hardin, *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Carolina Mystery Stories* (Chapel Hill: The

University of North Carolina Press, 1949) ; James Etheridge Callaway, *The Early Settlement of Georgia* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948) ; Roy Bird Cook, *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* (Charleston, West Virginia: Department of Archives and History, 1948) ; Robert A. Lively, *The South in Action. A Sectional Crusade Against Freight Rate Discrimination* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949) ; Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund For Southern History of the University of Texas, 1949) ; Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco In America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949) ; Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Illinois 1809-1814*, Volume XVI (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948) ; Paul Murray, *The Whig Party in Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948) ; Phillips Russell, *The Woman Who Rang the Bell. The Story of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949) ; Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949).

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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