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THE NEGRO IN THE THINKING AND WRITING OF JOHN SPENCER BASSETT*

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John Spencer Bassett, pioneer in the origins of southern historical scholarship, was also an advocate of liberal thought on the race problem in the South.¹ As the nineteenth century drew to a close, he expressed himself frankly on the political and social questions of the day and urged fellow Southerners to break with tradition and face practical realities. From the vantage point of a professorship in history at Trinity College, he preached a doctrine of liberalism to students who came under his tutelage, and he aroused the ire of conservative politicians, editors, and churchmen. The Negro was not a central theme in Bassett's varied activities as teacher, researcher, editor, and lecturer, but the subject was of sufficient importance to merit careful examination.

His paternal ancestors, Bassett asserted in a brief memoir, were antislavery in their views despite the fact that they were slaveholders on a small scale in Virginia and North Carolina. His grandfather, Richard Bassett, carpenter and contractor at Williamsburg, was faced with the dilemma of purchasing a cook who had served him faithfully as a hired slave for many years or of seeing her sold to an unacceptable master. He chose the former alternative. Richard's son, Richard Baxter Bassett, followed his father's trade and purchased skilled laborers to promote his business. According to the memoir, neither father nor son was an agitator in the antislavery cause. Richard Baxter served the Confederacy, first as a soldier and then as a manufacturer of

* This article is a sequel to the same author's "John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of the South," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (July, 1948), no. 3. Editor.

¹ Much of the material for this paper was assembled in 1944-1945 while the writer held a research grant from the General Education Board, to whom thanks are gratefully acknowledged.

army supplies, and emerged from the war slaveless and "practically empty-handed."

How relevant these statements are in explaining Bassett's own attitudes is problematical, but at least one point is clear: he believed that he was emulating the example of his forebears. He emphasized the democratic spirit which made them "unwilling to ignore the rights of inferior people." Of his father he said, "He was an ideal democrat."² It is possible, too, that the influence of a piedmont environment in his formative years accentuated his faith in the common man, whether black or white.

It should be noted also that graduate work at the Johns Hopkins University prepared Bassett's mind to challenge conservative thought and traditional belief. His greatest teacher there, Herbert B. Adams, inspired an openmindedness that was determinative, and the atmosphere of the whole history and political science department gave him a critical and impartial approach in the treatment of past and present.

It was not unusual in the 1890's for Hopkins graduates in history to return to Baltimore to address the Seminary in History and Politics or to deliver formal lectures before larger groups. Adams inspired his students by example as well as by precept, and the appearance of former scholars in the role of lecturer had a stimulating effect upon his current group of doctoral candidates. Bassett was perhaps his most outstanding product from the South, and an assignment was not difficult to arrange. In 1899 the Trinity College professor wrote Adams that he was contemplating preparation of some studies on the Negro which would consider "his past, his present, and his future," and that he would welcome the opportunity to deliver them as lectures at the Hopkins. "I want to show," he said, "that the nature of the negro is such that he is destined—when he shall have been civilized and greatly developed—to be a great and valuable force in American society." He would probably prepare the studies anyway, but the prospect of presenting them in Baltimore would serve as motivation.³

Bassett received the invitation, but the lectures were postponed from time to time as a result of Adams' absence from the

² Typescript memoir, John Spencer Bassett Papers (in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northampton, Massachusetts).

³ John S. Bassett to Herbert B. Adams, June 21, 1899, Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, in Johns Hopkins University library.

University on account of illness and of Bassett's delay in completing them. Meanwhile, he kept Adams informed of progress, revealed his thinking on the Negro problem, and modified his organization. The series would use as a point of departure slavery's disintegration in the later period of the Roman Empire, and by analogy and contrast show how the South should develop "reliable freedom" among the former slaves. Even "the most blinded 'Bourbon'" could hardly disapprove an objective consideration of the Negro's accomplishments and potentialities.⁴ Further maturity of thought eventually yielded lectures on "The Negro in Africa," "The Negro in American Slavery," and "The Negro in American Freedom," all with a "historical rather than sociological approach," though present-day problems were not ignored.⁵

One of the lectures, perhaps in greatly modified form, was published a few years later in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* under the title, "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa." It is not apparent what sources of information Bassett used in its preparation except that he referred approvingly a few times to Friedrich Ratzel's three-volume *History of Mankind*, published in 1896. Bassett's brief article was a description of the Negro's physical environment and its conditioning factors, a statement of his dependence upon simple agricultural processes, and an analysis of such institutions as the village community, the family, and religious organization. He did not indicate how the Negro's traits and habits of life were modified by two centuries of residence in the South.⁶

Soon after delivering the lectures early in 1901, Bassett conceived the idea of expanding them into a book and inquired whether Richard T. Ely might be interested in publishing it in the Citizen Series. The fifteen chapters into which the proposed study would be organized indicate a rather comprehensive view of the subject:

⁴ Bassett to Adams, October 23, 1899, Adams Papers.

⁵ Bassett to Adams, December 7, 1900, in W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 291. For other correspondence relating to the lectures, see Bassett to Adams, November 14, December 15, 1899; April 1, November 2, 1900; February 3, 1901, Adams Papers; Bassett to John M. Vincent, February 5, 1900; January 15, 1901, Adams Papers; Adams to Bassett, November 17, 1900, Bassett Papers.

⁶ [John S. Bassett], "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 99-108.

1. The Negro in Africa
2. Conditions of the Slave Trade
3. The Negro in Contact with the White Man in Africa
4. The Negro in American Slavery
5. The Iron Law of Slavery
6. Free Negroes in the South
7. The Negro in the Old Free States
9. The First Lessons in Freedom
10. The Debauching of Citizenship
11. The Negro in Modern Industrial Life
12. The Religious Progress of the Negro
13. The Educational Progress of the Negro
14. The Negro's Social Life
15. The Rise of a Negro Upper Class⁷

The volume did not materialize, either through failure to find a publisher or inability to carry out his resolution.

Bassett's writing before the turn of the century was concerned primarily with the history of North Carolina. Three of his monographs dealt with the institution of slavery and antislavery leaders: *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina* (1896), *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (1898), and *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (1899). Like most of Bassett's other early works, these were neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. Material was drawn from a limited number of sources, partly because there were few great collections available but also because historians of that day had not thought of rich mines of information that later scholars exploited. Despite inadequacy in this premise, the studies serve a useful purpose in revealing Bassett's thought in an important field of knowledge. Slavery in colony and state was presented in orthodox arrangement, with a revisionist point of view tempered by an appreciation of complex factors that collectively formed the warp and woof of the old regime. Interpretations and conclusions are illustrated by a sampling of his statements.

Despite disadvantages of slavery to both blacks and whites, "it is difficult to see how the aimless, good-natured, and improvident African could ever have been brought as a race to plow, to sow, to reap, to study, and at length to create thought, except for the tutelage of his slaveholding master." On the other hand,

⁷ Bassett to Vincent, March 13, 1901, Adams Papers.

Bassett insisted that "the negro went side by side with the white man in the van of the civilizing forces of the country."⁸ The harshness of slavery legislation from the 1830's forward did not emanate from "deliberate cruelty on the part of the slave-owners. There are throughout the period of greatest restriction enough humane laws and more than enough humane custom to show the contrary." Again, "the central idea of slavery in North Carolina was a determination to perpetuate the institution, whatever the price, and at the same time a disposition to make it as gentle as possible for the slave, provided that doing so did not tend to loosen his bonds." And, if Bassett "were defending a side of the never ended controversy about the treatment of slaves by their masters, it would only be necessary to point out here that the essence of the misery of slavery in the South and elsewhere was not physical suffering, however frequently or infrequently that may have occurred, but the mental and spiritual wretchedness that follow a loss of liberty." He concluded that "it was slavery itself that defeated the humaner forces of civilization."⁹

The second of Bassett's trilogy of studies on the Negro in North Carolina sketched the careers of five antislavery leaders: Hinton R. Helper, Daniel R. Goodloe, Eli W. Caruthers, Lunsford Lane, and Benjamin S. Hedrick. It is the least satisfactory of the three, for it represents only a modicum of research and the author did not always sense the true import of abolitionist literature. He correctly evaluated the political significance of Helper's *Impending Crisis of the South* (1857) and the *Compendium* (1860), but apparently he accepted at face value much of the economic fallacy that found its way into these publications. The fact that Helper was still living and that Bassett carried on considerable correspondence with him may account for the mantle of charity which covers the extremist and his works.¹⁰

The fate that befell Hedrick is of special interest because it paralleled in part Bassett's own experience at Trinity College a

⁸ John S. Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. XIV, nos. 4-5 (Baltimore, 1896), 12, 17.

⁹ John S. Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. XVII, nos. 7-8 (Baltimore, 1899), 10, 47, 90-91, 102.

¹⁰ Hinton R. Helper to Bassett, May 16, October 21, November 2, 4, December 26, 1896; January 14, 1897, Bassett Papers. Helper supplied Bassett with considerable information about his efforts to find a publisher for the *Impending Crisis* and its reception in the South; and he also forwarded some papers relating to Benjamin S. Hedrick, the property of his son, Charles J. Hedrick, a lawyer of Washington, D. C.

few years later. Native of North Carolina, student of Louis Agassiz at Harvard, and professor of analytical and agricultural chemistry at the University of North Carolina, Hedrick admitted in 1856 that he would vote for John C. Frémont if Republican electors were presented in the state. His boyhood among anti-slavery farmers in the western part of North Carolina and his sojourn in the North had made him an abolitionist, albeit an inoffensive one. William W. Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard*, demanded that Hedrick be removed from his professorship. Feeling ran high, and eventually Hedrick replied in a statement published in the *Standard*. In it he said that he preferred Frémont because his views on the slavery issue were correct, and in his defense cited the antislavery opinions of western North Carolinians and also the attitude of such Virginians as Washington and Jefferson. But the president, faculty, and students favored removal, and the board of trustees in effect dismissed him.

Of Hedrick's first communication to the *Standard*, Bassett wrote feelingly: "In the light of present knowledge, the South knows that he spoke the truth, and one ought not to criticise a man for speaking the truth, especially if he be an instructor in an institution of learning, which ought at all times to be a leader of truth." Of a later exchange between Hedrick and Holden, Bassett said: "On the one side we have a clear, strong argument, unanswerable, a sense of outrage, a protest against passion; on the other we have an avoidance of argument in the beginning, a ruthless unwillingness to concede a desire for truth to the other side, an appeal to passion, and a supercilious tone of superiority."¹¹ Five years later Bassett found himself confronted with a similar situation and an equally determined purpose to remove him from his professorship.

Just before the opening of the twentieth century there was a revival of the Negro issue in North Carolina politics. The Old North State had recovered "white supremacy" in the 1870's, but a fusion of Republicans and Populists in the 1890's brought the Negro into politics again—and into public office. The Democrats

¹¹ Helper is discussed in John S. Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ser. XVI, no. 6 (Baltimore, 1898), 11-29. For Hedrick, see Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders*, pp. 29-47, especially 35, 42. For correspondence relating to publication of the monograph, see Bassett to Adams, January 24, April 17, 1898, Adams Papers.

won the election of 1898 and set about to eliminate the Negro permanently. A constitutional amendment to that end was proposed and adopted. Soon after the Democratic victory, Bassett wrote Adams that North Carolinians were exulting because the issue had been solved. He was of the opinion that it had been temporarily shelved. Admitting that he did not concur with the majority of white people in the state, he suggested three alternatives with regard to the political future of the Negro: permit him to vote and hold office, "nauseating as the dose is"; administer impartially a literacy qualification; or use fraudulent and violent means of denying him office. Personally he preferred the second method, but a campaign of passion had produced the third solution and inaugurated policies which sensible government could not correct in a score of years. The recent Wilmington riot, Bassett asserted, resulted from attacks from the Democratic press against Negro misrule which did not exist. There were only a few Negroes in local offices, and they were "guided in their action by the advice of white men." He believed that the Negro had behaved admirably in the face of the newspaper onslaught. "Villified, abused, denounced as the unclean thing he has kept his peace; he has been patient."¹²

While Bassett spoke as plainly as a college professor could on a political issue, he feared his efforts would not promote reform. Apparently Adams gave acceptable advice when Bassett asked what remedy he would prescribe if he "were the physician," for Bassett wrote that his duty was now clear: "If I can set a limit to this wildfire of prejudice that is in the South I will do it. It is a difficult task, and a delicate one: the point is to come at the people—not through blows & kicks; but through kindness. Tell the northern philanthropists that *the way to help the Negro in the South is to educate the white man.*" If a "broad churchman" were available, reform could be promoted by the church, for the Southerner could be reached "through his religion." Returning to the subject of the Wilmington riot, he expressed the opinion that the difficulty would not "set us back any more than the social & intellectual conditions behind it—which we have had all along. I cannot believe that any outside capital will ever develop the

¹² Bassett to Adams, November 15, 1898, Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, pp. 257-259.

South: it must come from the Southern people themselves, if it comes at all."¹³

On May 3, 1900, Bassett delivered the commencement address at the Slater Industrial School, an institution for Negroes at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The invitation may have come as a result of his liberal attitude on the race issue. Promising Adams a copy of the address, he alluded again to the "commotion" that arose over the suffrage amendment. "On all hands the negroes are frightened—they know not what lies in the future for them. Out of it all the politician reaps fatness."¹⁴

Two of Bassett's *South Atlantic Quarterly* articles merit analysis, one because of its intrinsic value, the other because of the furor it aroused. "Two Negro Leaders," a contrast of Booker T. Washington and William E. Burghardt DuBois, was inspired by the appearance of the latter's book, *The Souls of Black Folk, Essays and Sketches* (1903). The president of Tuskegee, in *The Future of the American Negro* (1899) and *Up From Slavery* (1900), had revealed his emphasis upon an industrial education for the Negro, peaceful relations with white neighbors, abandonment of politics, and economic advancement to the point where it would be an honor to belong to the black race. DuBois, a New Englander, graduate of Fiske and Harvard, and author of scholarly books, repudiated economic self-sufficiency as the chief desideratum in favor of cultural development. The door of learning had opened to him Shakespeare, Balzac, and Dumas, and he drank at the fountain of Aurelius and Aristotle; yet race prejudice closed to him, from the days of his youth even in New England, participation in many aspects of life reserved for members of the white race.

Bassett saw no eternal conflict between the concepts of these leaders. The great majority of blacks—perhaps nine-tenths of them—needed just what Washington sought to give them, "industrial training and business competency." His policy of peace, despite caustic criticism of whites, was destined to make the Negro "more patient and self-controlled," and it would eventually win adherents among southern liberals. On the other

¹³ Bassett to Adams, November 15, December 16, 1898, Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, pp. 259, 261.

¹⁴ Bassett to Adams, May 27, 1900, Adams Papers.

hand, the Negro needed leadership from his own race, and higher education should therefore not be discouraged. As Bassett saw it, there should be vocational education for the many, cultural education for the few; and a sympathetic attitude on the part of white people toward Negro advancement in both directions.¹⁵ He was one of the first scholars to appreciate the significance of the two schools of thought that emanated from the teachings of Washington and DuBois, and one of the first to rationalize the variation.

In founding the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, promoting the "liberty to think" was a fundamental purpose; discussion of the race problem an incidental theme. Yet one will find in the issues during Bassett's brief tenure as editor from 1902 until 1905 considerable space devoted to slavery and the Negro. James C. Ballagh discussed "The Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Virginia";¹⁶ Robert W. Winston, "An Unconsidered Aspect of the Negro Question";¹⁷ Carl Holliday, "National Supervision of Negro Education";¹⁸ and John C. Kilgo, "Our Duty to the Negro."¹⁹ Bassett himself contributed, besides "The Negro's Inheritance from Africa" and "Two Negro Leaders," an editorial article on "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy."²⁰ Because of a provocative sentence that incited protest, the nature and content of the article require some discussion.

Published in the October, 1903, number of the *Quarterly*, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy" was for the most part a dispassionate discussion of the race problem in the South. Bassett indicated how "present antipathy" emanated from the political issue and he traced that vexed question from colonial days to the past decade. The disfranchisement of the Negro eliminated him as a political issue, but "sensational appeals to the race feeling of the white man" supplanted it as a disturbing divisive factor. Bassett pointed to the progress some Negroes had made since the war, and to the retrogression of others into idleness, viciousness, and criminality. The optimist "was apt to point to Booker T. Washington as a product of the negro race."

¹⁵ [John S. Bassett], "Two Negro Leaders," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 267-272.

¹⁶ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 107-117.

¹⁷ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 265-268.

¹⁸ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 356-360.

¹⁹ *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 369-385.

²⁰ [John S. Bassett], "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 297-305.

Then followed the sentence which aroused a storm of passion over North Carolina: "Now Washington is a great and good man, a Christian statesman, and take him all in all the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years; but he is not a typical negro."²¹

Soon after the article appeared, the *Raleigh News and Observer* reprinted it, and through news stories, editorials, and headlines distorted the meaning and inflamed the public mind: "Professor Bassett says Negro will win equality"; "Southern leaders slandered"; "Dire predictions of coming conflict between the races"; "The people feel that Professor Bassett's utterances are an outrage." The author's name appeared as "bASSett," and the editor of the *News and Observer*, Josephus Daniels, alluded to him as a freak. Other newspapers published ebullient tirades, and many of them were reprinted in Daniels' paper. A few presses, such as the *Progressive Farmer*, the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Caucasian*, the *Biblical Recorder*, and the *Durham Herald*, defended Bassett and his article. He received hundreds of letters, some denunciatory and others commendatory. Friends in the historical guild offered sympathy and counsel. On November 10 Bassett published an explanation in the *Durham* paper. "Between the races," he said, "is a wide gulf and I should be the last man to try to bridge it. I had no thought of social equality in mind. I was thinking only of the industrial and civic outlook of the negro race." He explained the word *greatest* as the "capacity to break over fearful impediments and achieve success."

The attack spread to President Kilgo and the entire college; a boycott was proposed, and parents were urged to remove their children from Trinity. Under the circumstances Bassett submitted his resignation, and the trustees met in special session December 2 to consider it. President, faculty, and students appealed to the board, emphasizing the principle of academic freedom. Few of them could endorse Bassett's appraisal of Washington, but they could plead for a spirit of liberty and toleration. The trustees voted 18 to 11 not to accept Bassett's resignation. Trinity had a larger enrollment next year, and the college continued to grow in prestige and influence.

²¹ Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, II (1903), 299.

All of this is well known, for it has appeared in print many times.²² Some men who knew Bassett well professed to believe that he was trimming his sails for a call to a northern university, following the example of William P. Trent, another southern liberal who had moved in 1900 from the University of the South to Columbia. It would be useless to speculate upon motive, for the historian is upon dangerous ground in attempting to read another's mind except as it is revealed in documentary evidence. Some recently discovered material in the Bassett Papers may offer a clue, though whether it tells the whole story is a matter of conjecture.

Despite abuse from the North Carolina press, Bassett declined then or later to defend his course in public, except for the brief explanation that appeared contemporaneously in a Durham paper. William K. Boyd urged him in 1908 to write up the "Bassett Affair," but the central figure of the controversy replied that he did not have all the documents at hand. "I did not write in the first instance," he said, "with the idea of raising a controversy, but to do a certain good in a certain situation; and in spite of the insane ravings of those whom I had hit, I think some good was accomplished. I always felt that the affair cleared the atmosphere to some extent with regard to the negro question. I think it showed some people in North Carolina that they were likely to get into trouble by cultivating the anti-negro spirit. It awakened to a saner position a certain influential minority who have in certain crises since then been able to hold down the radicals to a milder attitude."²³

In private correspondence Bassett revealed several years after the incident the origin of the sensational sentence in "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy." Writing in 1909 to Edwin Mims, then coeditor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Bassett urged him not to resign his position and suggested that he should write more for the magazine. Recalling his own contributions to the *Quarterly*, he came abruptly to the question, "Did I ever

²² For "The Statement of the Trustees," "Memorial from the Faculty to the Trustees," and "Editorial in the Archive," the last representing student opinion, see "Trinity College and Academic Freedom," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, III (1904), 62-72. See also Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 428-437; Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* (Garden City, N. Y., 1926), pp. 147-157; Virginius Dabney, *Liberalism in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 339-341; "A Notable Victory for Academic Freedom," *World's Work* (New York, 1900-1932), 4284-4287; "In Memoriam—John Spencer Bassett," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (1928), 114-115.

²³ Bassett to Boyd, October 11, 1908, Bassett Papers.

tell you why I put in the reference to Lee? . . . I had written several articl[es] which were calculated to make people think, but the papers would not notice them. I felt that they did not want a discussion. I put in the Lee reference to make them take notice. I remember well how, when it was written, I looked lovingly at it and remarked to myself, 'I guess that will wake them up.' As a waker it was eminently successful."²⁴

In 1911 Bassett explained in a seven-page letter to Charles Francis Adams the origin of the Lee-Booker T. Washington allusion. "Your well known service to the cause of impartial history," Bassett wrote, "makes it pleasant to me to make this personal statement for your use." His object in establishing the *Quarterly*, he explained, "was to have a medium of expression for the more critical younger men in the South, and in each number I would have an editorial of about 2,500 words on some topic which seemed to me most timely. I wished particularly to counteract the reactionary feeling in the Southern press in matters on which tradition had developed ideas provincial and intolerant." His articles, particularly "Two Negro Leaders," attracted attention in the North, but southern papers ignored them. "I came to feel that the only way to be heard by my own people was to say something very striking, and the opportunity soon came."

In the summer of 1903 delegates returning from a Negro business men's convention in Chattanooga stopped for breakfast, by prearrangement, at Hamlet, North Carolina. The Negroes on the train, who were traveling by Pullman, were accommodated in the large dining room of an eating house, while the less numerous whites were crowded into a smaller room. Among the white passengers on the train was Senator Augustus O. Bacon, of Georgia, who created quite a stir. "State papers took it up in a most sensational way," whereas Bassett thought they "ought to seek to calm rather [than] raise the feeling that the incident aroused." He and some of his friends believed that the press was trying to make political capital out of the matter, and he felt obligated, "as an editor of a calm and enlightened journal, to raise my protest." The answer was "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy." It was written in haste and in an "exhausted

²⁴ Bassett to Edwin Mims, January 1, 1909, Bassett Papers.

state of mind and body" because of the death of his mother, heavy routine duties at the opening of school, and other pressing matters. Before sending it to the printer he concluded that, like preceding editorials, it would "fail to be noticed." So he added the fateful sentence. It "was not a sudden thought. Putting it into the article, however, was sudden."

It would be difficult to find a better statement of the case for Washington's greatness than the evidence cited by Bassett in his letter to Adams. He had long thought highly of the Negro's "constructive work." His "greatness consists in the success with which he has won the support of a mass of ignorant people, taught them to bear their burdens, and made them willing to labor hard and patiently while they lay in industrial and educational progress the foundations of their future progress. This seems to me statesmanlike. The fact that he has done this in the face of coolness from the Southern whites and for their indifference or contempt returned always words of gentleness, seems to me most Christian. Besides this, his oratorical and literary ability mark him for eminence in these two lines. I know not what recent Southern orator has been more influential than he through his oratory; I know not what Southern writer of recent years has been more widely read and appreciated; I know not what Southern minister has more fully exemplified the spirit of the patient and forgiving Christ; and finally I know not what leader of men in the South in all the recent school has shown a better grasp of the real secret of progress in the South. But Washington unites all these qualities in his own person. I remember talking these sentiments during the summer of 1903 to my friend, Frederic Bancroft, of Washington, and he agreed with me. His extensive research into the life of the Old South makes him worthy of all confidence on this subject."

And then Bassett came to the point about which he had written Mims nearly three years earlier: "I remember well how when I had written . . . [the sentence] I said to myself: 'I hope they will notice that'! I thought it might lead them to criticism from editors and other sensible people, calm and intelligent discussion, which I should have welcomed; and such would have been the result, could I have got a fair showing. There are in the South as many fair-minded men as elsewhere. I was and am as South-

ern in my feelings as any of them, even if I do not agree with them in the way to achieve the best interests of the section."²⁵

In appraising Bassett's article and in evaluating his explanation of the provocative sentence, it should be remembered that in his earlier years, at least, his interests were varied and he used different methods of accomplishing his ends. In this instance he was writing not as a historian but as a crusader for independent thinking and for justice, as he understood it, for the Negro. A startling statement may provoke thought, arouse discussion, and thereby promote a discovery of truth. Certainly he was unhistorical in stating categorically who ranked first and who second among Southerners born during the nineteenth century. That is a subjective matter, impossible of accurate testing according to the principles of scientific criticism which Bassett had learned so well at the Hopkins.

Was Bassett an agitator for liberal thought because he loved the role of agitator? Few college professors leave their ivory towers of scholarly seclusion to mingle in the public forum of current issues. Of the scores of former students who corresponded with Herbert B. Adams, Bassett was one of the few who wrote on nonprofessional subjects. The North Carolina of his early years was a fruitful field for one who would convert the conservative and "Thinkless South," as Bassett's friend, William Garrott Brown, put it, into a region that contemplated its status and labored for improvement.²⁶ Yet Bassett, like Trent, eventually became discouraged with his dual role and welcomed an opportunity to move to the East.²⁷ To most of his correspondents he assigned as the chief reason for leaving the South the opportunity for research and writing that New England provided. To Dodd he wrote: "it was the conviction that I could not write history and direct public sentiment too that made me willing to come North."²⁸ To Boyd, who served as confidant on numerous occasions, he explained "that it is very well in the South to be an antiquarian but difficult to be a historian in a cosmopolitan sense. It is easy to do the work of popular 'arousement,' but

²⁵ Bassett to Charles F. Adams, November 3, 1911, Bassett Papers.

²⁶ See Wendell H. Stephenson, "William Garrott Brown, Literary Historian and Essayist," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (1946), 337.

²⁷ Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (1945), 12.

²⁸ Bassett to William E. Dodd, May 7, 1907, Bassett Papers.

not that of mature and scholarly thinking. All the impulse to stir up something leads to a stage of achievement which a cultured community ought to have passed a generation ago."²⁹ And to Boyd he also wrote very confidentially on another occasion that it was fear of dissension among the faculty at Trinity College that caused him to leave. It was not a bigger salary at Smith College, nor a lighter teaching load, nor residence in "the most advanced portion of the country intellectually" that were decisive. "I merely wanted a peaceful atmosphere."³⁰

Whatever Bassett's reasons for leaving North Carolina, his removal to a northern college deprived the South of the services of an able southern liberal. He remained at Trinity College long enough to indicate that a man of unorthodox views on southern political and social conditions could express himself freely and continue in his professorship. His writings on slavery and the Negro did not add substantially to the literature in those fields, and the tangible results from his preachments were slight if measured by a contemporary yardstick. After the lapse of nearly half a century it is clear that his pioneering efforts were an important landmark in the development of southern liberalism.

²⁹ Bassett to Boyd, October 11, 1908, Bassett Papers.

³⁰ Bassett to Boyd, January 2, 1912, Bassett Papers.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE NORTH CAROLINA FEDERALISTS

By GILBERT L. LYCAN

John Steele failed to win election to the United States Senate in 1792 largely because his opponents in the North Carolina General Assembly then meeting at New Bern charged that he was the devoted _____ of Hamilton."¹ Steele considered it an honor to have his name connected with that of Hamilton. He opened a vitriolic correspondence with his most outspoken accuser concerning some of the other objections that had been brought against him in the General Assembly,² but he ignored the reference concerning his alleged affection for the great Federalist leader.³

This episode in the political affairs of the United States in the second decade of its independence is a part of the vast struggle of that age between the Federalists under the leadership of Hamilton and the Republicans under Jefferson. Many of the principles included in that gigantic contest have, by no means, ceased to exist. Any American who desires to understand basically the government of his country in the twentieth century will do well to study with care the problems over which the citizens of the young nation in the 1780's and 1790's labored so strenuously.

This essay is concerned with the Hamilton policies for the nation that attracted the particular attention of the people and leaders of North Carolina. This includes the treatment of the tories, the writing of the federal Constitution and the fierce controversy concerning its ratification, the proposal for the funding of the national debt and the assumption by the national government of the state debts, the excise tax, the establishment of the Bank of the United States, the tariff, Jay's Treaty, the preparations for war with France in 1798 and 1799 and the peace of 1800, and the Federalists reactions to defeat after the election of Jefferson.

The Federalists in North Carolina were nearly always on the defensive—theirs was an uphill fight. Most of the state, when

¹ William R. Davie to John Steele, Dec. 16, 1792, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, "William Richardson Davie: a memoir followed by his letters with notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. VII (Chapel Hill, 1907), p. 26. The blank spaces are in the letter.

² Steele to Montford Stokes, Jan. 23, 1793, Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 91-94.

³ Steele to Joseph Winston, Sept. 30, 1793; Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 98-99.

the nation was young, was such as has often been characterized an "agrarian democracy."⁴ The "federal men," later called "Federalists," were decidedly in the minority. Yet most of their leaders were well educated men. Many of them were lawyers. The bright road to power might open to them, it seemed, if they could allay the widespread passions resulting from the Revolution, or outlive those passions,⁵ and then seek to appear as the natural leaders of the people and advocates of sound principles of government.⁶

Their courage and persistence, their general sincerity, their brief periods of success, and finally their overwhelming defeat constitute an interesting phase of American history. However much we may congratulate ourselves or our forebears on the victory of democratic forces, we must not overlook the fact that the Federalists were a worthy race of men, especially the Federalists of North Carolina; and the story of their downfall is not without its elements of pathos.

One of the most crucial problems growing out of the Revolutionary War was the disposition of tory property. The conservative groups, in North Carolina as elsewhere in the United States, usually exerted their influence for moderation.⁷ This was not a clear, sharp issue between the rich and the poor, nor between the Federalists and the Republicans; but it entered extensively into the party struggles of the 1780's, and in some respects the issues lasted much longer.

It is believed that the tories comprised a larger proportion of the population of North Carolina than of any other state.⁸ The Granville district, including almost half the total area of the state, the McCulloh lands, and other extensive areas were owned by persons whom the patriots considered tories, or at least enemies. From 1777 onward these properties became the object of a series of confiscation acts of the General Assembly.⁹ The

⁴ Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*, p. 62; Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, pp. 11-60.

⁵ Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX (Chapel Hill, 1910), no. 2, pp. 6-7.

⁶ For the social, economic, and geographic background of the Federalist-Republican cleavage, see Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX (Chapel Hill, 1910), no. 2, pp. 11-36.

⁷ William E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 40.

⁸ Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, p. vii.

⁹ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 33-37, 206.

peace treaty of 1783 did not bring even the limited relief which that document seemed to call for.

Hamilton's attempt to calm the fury of excited patriots in New York and the arguments he employed¹⁰ are quite similar to the parallel efforts of the conservative leaders in North Carolina. The latter felt a bond of social affinity with the suffering landlords and sensed a need for their support to maintain a firm government in the state. Hamilton was not a man of wealth, but his political tenets impelled him in the same direction. It was obvious to him that whatever tory influence was not annihilated would find it expedient to support a policy of strengthening the national government and opposing the radical forces.¹¹ In the end the conservatives in all parts of the country were unable to attain more than a partial success in their attempts to procure leniency for the tories.

The effort to establish the more perfect union brought out in North Carolina, as in the whole nation, the expression of many divergent theories concerning the best form of government. It is doubtful whether any of the other twelve states witnessed such a clear, thorough, and deliberate debate on the merits of state rights versus federal union.

North Carolina was represented in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 by William Blount, William R. Davie, Alexander Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Hugh Williamson. From the political ideas these men are known to have held¹² it is not surprising to find that the delegation was frequently on the same side of an issue as Hamilton. Yet they also spoke out for some principles which were sharply opposed to the Hamilton view.¹³

Hugh Williamson participated in the work of the Convention more actively than any other member of the North Carolina delegation. William R. Davie also made some significant contributions so that both these men left their imprint on the Constitution produced by the Convention.

¹⁰ See especially his "Letters from Phocion," written in 1784; Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IV, 230-290; and his speech in the New York Assembly, March 21, 1787, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, VIII, 39.

¹¹ Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 170.

¹² Martin was the only radical among them, Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 30.

¹³ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 77-99, discusses the general subject of their participation in the Convention.

Davie shared with Hamilton a lively suspicion of a "tumultuary assembly";¹⁴ and, according to Madison, he appeared to think "wealth or property" ought to be represented in the Senate.¹⁵ Williamson wished to strengthen the hand of the President by requiring a three-fourths vote of each branch of Congress to override his veto,¹⁶ which inclined toward Hamilton's stand that the President should be given an absolute power of veto over the acts of Congress.¹⁷ The North Carolinians would not follow Hamilton in his desire to confer upon the national government a veto power over all state laws.¹⁸ Davie insisted that "the preservation of the state societies must be the object of the general government,"¹⁹ and Williamson held that "the happiness of the people depended on" the secure existence of state governments.²⁰

These ideas expressed in the Federal Convention are fairly illustrative of a number of the most significant positions held by the North Carolina Federalists throughout the period of their subsequent contest with the Republicans. They would work for an efficient, energetic national government, emphasizing the authority of the executive and the least popular branch of the national legislature. But they shared with their constituents a faith in the value of state rights that would yield to no arguments.

An extensive "educational" campaign was waged in the state as the voters of North Carolina prepared to cast their ballots to choose representatives to a convention to consider the adoption of the new federal Constitution.²¹ Prominent federal men spent freely of their time and their money in writing and circulating pamphlets.²² Copies of the *Federalist* essays, written by Hamilton and his colleagues, were industriously distributed.²³

There are indications that the federalists were aiming not merely at a favorable vote on the Constitution but also hoped to use the

¹⁴ Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 498.

¹⁵ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 542.

¹⁶ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 301.

¹⁷ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 107.

¹⁸ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 165.

¹⁹ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 498.

²⁰ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 407.

²¹ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 9-10.

²² Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 12.

²³ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 31-32.

occasion as a means of gaining control of the state government as it would exist in the new union.²⁴ The chances of success in this effort seemed to brighten as more and more of the other states voted for ratification. This placed the antis in the disadvantageous position of having to oppose temporarily the step of federation which appeared to become increasingly more necessary.

The convention that assembled at Hillsboro in July, 1788, to consider ratification of the Constitution contained elements that were strikingly similar to those encountered by Hamilton in the New York convention that had met a month earlier.²⁵ It is not likely that Hamilton's *Federalist* arguments had any extensive effect on the Hillsboro meeting, though the most of the delegates must have been acquainted with them. Here the antis held a larger majority than the persons of that political faith had held in the New York convention, and they proved to be consistently unwilling to retreat before the carefully aimed verbal barrage of long-winded federalists.²⁶

Most of the issues subsequently involved in Hamilton's relationship with the North Carolina Federalists were broached in the convention in one form or another. The lines of future conflict on state and national problems were drawn. The discussions provide the historian an indispensable source for gaining an understanding of the Federalist-Republican contest in North Carolina.

The antis in the convention voiced the stock objection that the delegates at Philadelphia had exceeded their powers in writing a new constitution when they were instructed to revise the Articles of Confederation. Davie gave an eloquent refutation—emphasizing that they carried out what they considered their duty to provide the nation the best possible form of government.²⁷ His speech, incidentally, proved to be far more useful to students of American government than influential on the convention.

²⁴ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 9-10.

²⁵ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 151-165, in discussing the Hillsboro convention, tries to divide the federalists from the antis along economic, racial, social, political, and professional lines.

²⁶ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 137-145, summarizes the disputations in the convention, but no summary, however ably presented, can be as rewarding to the student of history as a reading of the actual debates as given in Jonathan Elliott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 1-252.

²⁷ Elliott, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 16-23.

State rights appeared to be almost an ever-present issue throughout the discussions. Even the nerveless Articles of Confederation had at an earlier time been denounced by some North Carolinians as an undue infringement on state sovereignty.²⁸ In 1788 the "spirit of particularism"²⁹ was truly in a virile condition. William Lenoir expressed the fear of many when he stated that the Constitution would not secure the "sovereignty of the states," but was calculated to "melt them down into one solid empire."³⁰ Whereas Davie and his North Carolina colleagues at Philadelphia had appeared as lusty advocates of state rights when compared to Hamilton or even less federally inclined men, a ponderous majority at Hillsboro sought to pillory them as men who would lightly cast aside the state's hard-won rights of self-government and embrace a national system beset with dangers for all liberty-loving peoples.

The first North Carolina convention, unlike the one in New York, refused to be impressed by the fact that enough other states had already ratified the Constitution to set the new Union in motion. Griffith Rutherford denounced the very mention of the fact as an attempt to "intimidate" the group, and he asserted they should make their decision "as if no state had adopted it."³¹

Other subjects discussed at length were the state debt and the probability of federal action concerning it if the Constitution were ratified, the powers of the national Congress to tax the people, and the question of paper money. Interest in the latter was intensified by the clause in the Constitution forbidding states to emit bills of credit. The record of the debates at Hillsboro is probably the best source available to students today to illustrate the ideas of the 1780's concerning the pros and cons of the issuance of weakly-secured paper money. These subjects are so closely interwoven with North Carolina's reaction to Hamilton's financial plans of the 1790's that, in order to be logical, even if not fully chronological, they are withheld for later discussion in connection with those plans.

²⁸ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 40-41.

²⁹ Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 51.

³⁰ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 202.

³¹ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 15; Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 124-127.

The delegates at Hillsboro who were opposed to immediate ratification frequently stated they desired not disunion but the acceptance by the nation of a declaration of rights and numerous amendments to the Constitution in order to make the Union one in which they could feel that liberty would be secure. It becomes perfectly clear from a reading of the debates and other source materials that they positively looked forward to eventual ratification by the state.³²

The long list of proposed amendments was similar to the Virginia proposals.³³ In following this course Willie Jones, the leader of the antis, said he was acting in accordance with Jefferson's advice to Madison.³⁴ He was unaware of the fact that Jefferson had already changed his view and was advocating that states ratify immediately and propose amendments in the same motion.³⁵

The federal men at Hillsboro expressed apprehension lest postponement of ratification might make it subsequently impossible for North Carolina to enter the Union on a basis of equality with the other states.³⁶ Jones assured them that the amendments could be attended to and ratification effected within eighteen months. He further asserted, however, that he had rather see the state stand aside from the Union for eighteen years than to enter it "in its present defective form."³⁷ He gave various reasons for believing the other states would welcome North Carolina whenever she chose to federate with them. He was convinced that South Carolina and Georgia would be particularly solicitous of North Carolina's adherence at any time in the future to aid in the defense against the Indians. "The Creek nation," he confided, "would overturn these two states without our aid. They cannot exist without North Carolina."³⁸

³² One is forced to dismiss for lack of sufficient evidence Dodd's thesis (*The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, pp. 51-54) that Willie Jones and his friends intended to make North Carolina forever independent of the other states, and that following the Hillsboro convention they worked out a plan for attaining economic self-sufficiency for the state.

³³ The proposed Declaration of Rights and the amendments are given by Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 243-247.

³⁴ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, p. 135.

³⁵ Jefferson to Col. Carrington, May 27, 1788; Andrew A. Liscomb, ed., *The Writings of Jefferson*, VII (Washington, 1903), 36.

³⁶ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 224, 231.

³⁷ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 223-226.

³⁸ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 226. For the hearty, congratulatory spirit in which North Carolina was later welcomed into the Union by President Washington, see *Annals of Congress*, I, 932, 935, 1052.

In the end the convention did not formally reject the Constitution. It voted that the latter should be amended and then given further consideration.

The period between July, 1788, and the Fayetteville convention of November, 1789, where ratification was finally voted, is of the nature of an anticlimax. The willingness of the other states to accept amendments—the Bill of Rights—met most of the anti-federalist demands. The federal men clearly had the better of the argument. There was some fear of the Indians, the Spaniards, and the British; there was the obvious need for uninterrupted commerce with the other states; many North Carolinians simply disliked separation from the Union; and there was much resentment against appearing in the company of Rhode Island, the only other state that had not entered the new federation.³⁹

In spite of the apparent course of thought, the federalists were afraid to take victory for granted. In June, 1789, we find Davie explicitly admonishing Madison that any communications from the national government should be addressed to North Carolina as though the latter were a fully sovereign country.⁴⁰ Nevertheless the forces favoring ratification won an easy victory at Fayetteville, and North Carolina formally entered the new Union.

A spirit of aloofness continued strong in North Carolina.⁴¹ The people of the state still considered their state legislature "the exponent of their sovereignty."⁴² For years the General Assembly continued giving "instructions" to the two Senators it sent to participate in the national government and "recommendations," by which were meant "instructions," to those elected to the federal House of Representatives.⁴³

As North Carolina's first delegation to the new Congress prepared, early in 1790, to go to New York, then the seat of the national government, the Congress was in the throes of a raging controversy over the proposal of Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, to fund the unpaid national debt that had resulted

³⁹ These points are summarized by Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 197-202. For further information concerning the commercial aspects, see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), especially p. 168.

⁴⁰ William R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴¹ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, p. 242.

⁴² Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 21-22.

⁴³ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 39n. See also Edwin Mood Wilson, "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 2, p. 13.

from the Revolutionary War and to have the national government assume the unpaid state debts. At this point the North Carolina Federalists departed from the course Hamilton was advocating. North Carolina's particularism and the economic needs and inclinations of a predominantly agrarian people caused her political leaders, regardless of party affiliations, to take alarm at Hamilton's sweeping proposals. They greeted the debt funding and assumption plan, the Bank, the tariff, and the excise taxes with all but unanimous disapproval.

Members of Congress in 1790 who were opposed to the debt funding plan had even sought to postpone discussion until the arrival of the North Carolinians.⁴⁴ Both friends and foes of the measure knew the representatives from the Old North State would be opposed to it. William Smith, a Federalist from South Carolina and a zealous supporter of Hamilton, regarded the approach of the North Carolina members "an inauspicious event."⁴⁵ Samuel Johnston, usually regarded as the leading North Carolina Federalist, wrote in a congratulatory vein to James Iredell that "Bloodworth came to town to-day, which I hope will add one vote to the opposition."⁴⁶ Bloodworth was one of the most outstanding leaders of the antifederalist group in North Carolina.

This issue must have been embarrassing to Johnston and his friends. James Galloway, an anti, had predicted in the Hillsboro convention that a national government under the Constitution would try to take over and pay the state debts, and he anticipated with extraordinary accuracy the resulting activity of the greedy speculators in government securities and the losses to honest folk.⁴⁷ At that time Davie had emphatically replied that this would be the "last thing" that a national government would attempt to do, for "They have nothing to do with it," he insisted. "The general government cannot possibly interfere with such securities It will be left to ourselves to redeem them as we please. . . . The gentleman's alarms are groundless."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 252.

⁴⁵ Smith to Gabriel Manigault, March 26, 1790, U. B. Phillips, ed., "South Carolina Federalist Correspondence, 1789-1797," *American Historical Review*, XIV (July, 1909), 778.

⁴⁶ April 6, 1790, Griffith J. McRee, ed., *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II (New York, 1857), 286.

⁴⁷ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 190-191.

⁴⁸ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 191.

When the members of the North Carolina delegation to Congress began appearing one by one at New York they found the House of Representatives so evenly divided on the assumption controversy that they would hold the balance of power. The House was reluctant to hear, at that particular time, further detailed discussion of the subject. Hugh Williamson, a man of wide experience in legislative chambers, appeared upon the scene as a Representative from North Carolina and strongly insisted on reopening the question. At the first formal mention of the subject after his arrival he was, according to the record, the first member of the House to speak. At first he merely stated that he was opposed to the bill and wished it all left open for discussion after the arrival of the entire delegation from his state.⁴⁹ Upon sensing the impatience of the House he requested five minutes of their time in which he stipulated he could demonstrate that federal assumption of state debts would "defraud the state of North Carolina out of half a million of dollars."⁵⁰ They agreed to hear him.

His arguments did not prove to be convincing at the time, and they do not sound logical when read today.⁵¹ He was roughly handled, verbally, by Smith of South Carolina and Sedgwick of Massachusetts. His point concerning the half-million fraud was that his state must still redeem that amount of its paper money which had been printed and applied to the payment of a part of the state's debt, and the people of North Carolina would be required to pay their share of the federal taxes to discharge the other states' debts that were to be assumed. He did not successfully refute Smith's counter-contention that inasmuch as North Carolina still owed a large sum, federal assumption would bring her a gain rather than a loss—if the debt were to be paid at all.⁵²

Williamson flayed the speculators who upon first hearing of Hamilton's purpose "flew to Carolina, and there bought up securities at 3 s in the pound"; and, apparently with some degree of petulance, he referred to the constitutional amendment unani-

⁴⁹ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1478.

⁵⁰ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1480.

⁵¹ His speech is in the *Annals of Congress*, II, 1487-1490.

⁵² *Annals of Congress*, II, 1500-1505.

mously recommended by the Hillsboro convention that would have precluded such action on the part of Congress.⁵³

In retrospect, it is interesting to note that neither Hamilton nor Williamson was entirely frank concerning this subject. In his report to the House, January 14, 1790,⁵⁴ Hamilton spoke of the importance of establishing public credit, justice to the states and debtors, and convenience in the mode of repayment. A mere beginner in American history today knows his real motivation was his desire to centralize the national government, bind the financial class loyally to it, create a necessity for Congress to levy taxes, and enhance the prestige of the national government at the expense of the states. The report did not fail to mention these considerations, but they were far from the center of the argument. To have clarified his position fully in this respect would have invited certain defeat.

Similarly, the real conviction of Williamson and his colleagues arose not from consideration of the points they emphasized most heavily in the debates. They had fought hard to establish a national government that could stand on its own feet and execute positive action; but there was a vast gulf between their ideals and those of Hamilton concerning the authority the national government should have. This was the crux of the disagreement. They despaired of human liberty in a strongly centralized nation state, and they did not conceive that the general welfare of the people would be promoted by laws designed to stimulate commercial and industrial developments. They were cool toward landless men of high finance; they dreaded taxes; and they were unwilling to abandon state rights.

Following the famous "bargain" between Hamilton and Jefferson, placing the future capital of the United States on the Potomac, the House of Representatives reversed an earlier vote and accepted assumption of state debts. Every North Carolina Representative was in the minority,⁵⁵ and both the state's Senators, Johnston and Hawkins, also voted against the measure.⁵⁶

Hamilton's success in getting this law enacted by Congress

⁵³ Smith rashly told the House that the Hillsboro convention had not intended that the amendment, if adopted, should have any bearing on such a question as the one under discussion. The amendment may be found in Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 247.

⁵⁴ Hamilton, *Works*, II, 227-289.

⁵⁵ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1712.

⁵⁶ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1016.

led to a violent anti-Federalist reaction in North Carolina.⁵⁷ The voters were displeased with their Federalist representatives even though the latter had opposed the plan and took pains to demonstrate the fact. John Steele, who was later appointed Comptroller of the Treasury at Hamilton's recommendation, sent his voting records in Congress and other information to be published in North Carolina to prove that he had opposed assumption at all stages. William B. Grove, a Federalist, helped him get these facts before the public.⁵⁸ Hamilton later expressed regrets that his program led to such results in North Carolina.⁵⁹

Hamilton's request that Congress establish a Bank of the United States was an additional injury to the North Carolina Federalists. It was obvious then as now that the Bank, with limitations on its power to issue notes and advance loans, was a part of the perspicacious Secretary's general effort to place America's credit and finance on a firm basis. He always considered domestic credit "the nursery of resource" and therefore of greater importance for the new nation than foreign credit.⁶⁰ The people of North Carolina, as of the South in general, were inclined to regard the Bank proposal as too harsh for the non-mercantile classes, sectional in its advantages, if any, and extra-constitutional.⁶¹

As early as 1787 Hamilton had viewed with alarm the North Carolina propensity for paper money.⁶² When the ratification of the Constitution was pending, William R. Davie correctly anticipated objections from the "Friends of *paper money*."⁶³ Of the four groups of opponents he mentioned, this is the only one he accentuated in his letter by underscoring. In the Hillsboro convention he boldly asserted that one reason favoring ratification was that the Constitution would free the people of his state from "laws which basely warranted and legalized the

⁵⁷ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁸ Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 73-77.

⁵⁹ William B. Grove to James Hogg, March 11, 1791, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 83.

⁶⁰ Hamilton to Oliver Wolcott, April 10, 1795, Wolcott MSS. vol. VII, in Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

⁶¹ Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, pp. 64-65.

⁶² His speech on the revenue system, New York Legislature, 1787, Hamilton, *Works*, II, 215-216.

⁶³ Davie to Francis Child, Feb. 6, 1788, in W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

payment of just debts by paper."⁶⁴ Apparently the majority was opposed to him, and number twenty-five of the constitutional amendments proposed by the convention would have denied Congress and the federal judiciary power to issue any law or decision to "interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money already emitted."⁶⁵

The Bank proposal might have been viewed differently by the Federalists of North Carolina had not the suggested measure been based, as it necessarily was, on the "implied powers" of Congress. This seemed to fulfill the direct predictions of Willie Jones and his friends that the national government under the Constitution would tend to draw all power unto itself. The North Carolina Federalists in general never became reconciled to the doctrine of implied powers.⁶⁶ Even as early as May, 1790, John Steele perceived danger in what he characterized as the "unconstitutional" powers that had already been delegated to President Washington.⁶⁷ Davie's bitterness and pessimism of later years derived partly from his observing that even the Republicans had accepted the principle of implied powers.⁶⁸

The Bank was established in spite of the widespread opposition in the South.⁶⁹ And, as in the assumption controversy, Hamilton regretted the reaction in North Carolina.⁷⁰

The House of Representatives pigeonholed Hamilton's main request for a higher tariff without debating it. It is clear that the sentiment in North Carolina was opposed to such a law.⁷¹ Yet the North Carolina Representatives did agree later to some tariff increases to obtain national revenue for specific needs. After having voted in Congress for such a law in 1792, William B. Grove expressed his skepticism concerning the benefits of high tariffs in general. He commented that it was doubtful

⁶⁴ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 20. For further arguments of the point by delegates on both sides of the question, see Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 169-186. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 163-167, describes the effects of paper money in North Carolina in the 1780's.

⁶⁵ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 247.

⁶⁶ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ John Steele to Joseph Winston, May 22, 1790, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 60-61.

⁶⁸ Davie to Steele, March 13, 1802; "William Richardson Davie: A Memoir followed by His Letters, . . ." *James Sprunt Historical Menograph*, no. VII, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁹ John Steele alone among the North Carolina Congressmen voted for the bank bill; *Annals of Congress*, II, 1960.

⁷⁰ Jefferson to Monroe, July 10, 1791, in Liscomb, *The Writings of Jefferson*, VIII, 209.

⁷¹ Trenholme, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, pp. 140-141.

whether in such matters two and two would always make four,⁷² meaning that the higher rate might reduce the total amount of trade and thereby cause the revenue to fall short of expectations. It was on Williamson's motion that the House of Representatives struck out of a bill a clause empowering Hamilton to appoint the necessary number of clerks to attend to the collection of customs.⁷³

Hamilton's request that Congress enact a high excise tax encountered much the same resistance from North Carolina as that experienced in connection with the assumption of state debts. It violated the idea of state rights common in North Carolina, and it stirred anew the fear of an imperious government.

The antis in the Hillsboro convention had made a determined attack against the power of Congress to levy any kind of tax. Samuel Spencer told the Convention that Congress, if authorized to tax the people, would subvert the state governments, oppress the people's liberty, and bring economic ruin through tax sales.⁷⁴ He concluded that "The most certain criterion of happiness that any people can have, is to be taxed by their own immediate representatives." Matthew Locke believed Congressional taxes would "render the state bankrupt."⁷⁵ The thought was, perhaps, more vividly expressed by Joseph McDowall: "If the tax gatherers come upon us, they will, like the locusts of old, destroy us."⁷⁶

Among the constitutional amendments proposed by the convention was one—number three—that would have rendered tax or excise laws of Congress unenforceable in any state if the state legislature would enact a measure of its own to raise and deliver to the national government enough money to meet that state's quota according to its proportion of the nation's population.⁷⁷

When the whisky tax bill was before Congress in 1791, both Steele, the Federalist, and Bloodworth, the Antifederalist, op-

⁷² Grove to James Hogg, April 20, 1792, Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, ed., "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 49.

⁷³ *Annals of Congress*, I, 1587.

⁷⁴ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 75-77; 80-81.

⁷⁵ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 239.

⁷⁶ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 88.

⁷⁷ Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, IV, 245.

posed it. Their arguments were similar. Steele was apprehensive that the law might increase the "fermentation which the people are in";⁷⁸ and Bloodworth called attention to the "universal opposition" in North Carolina to excise taxes, and he "dreaded the consequences of this measure."⁷⁹ The unfortunate results of this law indicate that these men understood the common people better than did Hamilton, its sponsor.

Open resistance to the law was more, however, than the North Carolina Federalists would countenance. When the "Whisky Rebellion" occurred they applauded the moves taken to suppress it. Davie praised the "decision and energy of the President";⁸⁰ Iredell congratulated Governor Lee of Virginia for the part taken by the governor and the Virginia militia in quelling the uprising;⁸¹ and Johnston apparently struck a partisan note by hoping "the successful measures against the Western Insurgents . . . [would] confirm the friends, and overawe the enemies of the Government."⁸²

In the field of foreign relations the North Carolina Federalists were frequently, though not always, on Hamilton's side. Considerations of party politics, the elements of social affinity, and the fear of the tumult of the masses are accountable for the similarity of their views, insofar as they were in agreement. The differences that sometimes appeared were chiefly due to the North Carolinians' preoccupation with domestic problems and their reluctance to become concerned with world affairs.

It is not uncommon to find statements of North Carolina Federalists of the 1790's expressing sentiments of extreme isolation. Upon hearing that Thomas Pinckney had been sent as minister to London, and Gouverneur Morris to Paris, John Steele expressed the opinion that the United States should have "as little to do as possible with foreign politicks [*sic*]." He was afraid "these embassies" would "produce more evil than good."⁸³ Williamson was interested in "extending foreign commerce" as a support for agriculture,⁸⁴ but he hoped the Americans would "never so

⁷⁸ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1848.

⁷⁹ *Annals of Congress*, II, 1859.

⁸⁰ Davie to Iredell, Dec. 15, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 431.

⁸¹ Iredell to Governor Henry Lee, Dec. 26, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 431-432.

⁸² Johnston to Iredell, Dec. 10, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 431.

⁸³ Steele to Winston, Jan. 15, 1792, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 82.

⁸⁴ Comments in the House of Representatives, Nov. 19, 1792, *Annals of Congress*, III, 693.

far lose sight of their own interest as to burden themselves with the expense of a navy."⁸⁵

When the Nootka Sound controversy of 1790 between Spain and Great Britain set Hamilton's pen in motion enumerating for President Washington the advantages the United States might attain by clever diplomacy,⁸⁶ Steele referred to the episode with abhorrence and stated that the advantages that could be gained from "a state of neutrality" were so great that no consideration would cause him to consent to its abandonment.⁸⁷

Grove, a Federalist who proved to be unusually successful at the polls, continued as a Representative of North Carolina in Congress throughout the period of Anglo-French strife of the 1790's. Frequently he assumed a tone of aloofness. At one time he commented casually that according to latest reports the Europeans were "as usual Fighting away like Mad."⁸⁸ He was pro-French in sentiment, yet he hoped the French and British navies would destroy "each others Floating War Machines down to a moderate number."⁸⁹

When the American grievances against British maritime practices began to multiply, some of the Federalist leaders of North Carolina took a more advanced position than Hamilton in condemning the British and demanding redress. To obviate the evil of impressment Williamson proposed a tonnage duty on all American ships with a drawback of ninety per cent for each ship manned by a specified number of Americans.⁹⁰

As the situation grew far more ominous in 1794 Grove was willing to consider a federal land tax in order to keep the nation from being left in a defenseless position.⁹¹ Grove was a member of a committee in Congress that was looking for new forms of revenue. The initiative rested with Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the burden was heavy. Hamilton "ap-

⁸⁵ House of Representatives, May 10, 1790, *Annals of Congress*, II, p. 1560.

⁸⁶ Hamilton to Washington, Sept. 15, 1790, Hamilton, *Works*, IV, 313-342.

⁸⁷ Steele to Winston, July 20, 1790, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 71.

⁸⁸ "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3 (Chapel Hill, 1902), p. 115.

⁸⁹ Grove to Hogg, Jan. 21, 1795, Wagstaff, "Letters of William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 56-57.

⁹⁰ House of Representatives, Nov. 19, 1792, *Annals of Congress*, III, 691-695. This was before the actual outbreak of war between France and Britain, and at that stage Williamson was assuming that the British captains would not impress native born Americans.

⁹¹ Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp B. Pattle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 110.

peared cursedly Mortified" when he came before the committee with recommendations.⁹²

It was Hamilton's counsel, primarily, that guided the nation through the crisis. Washington accepted his urgent advice to send John Jay to London as a special emissary. His other recommendations—to create a naval and military force, search for additional revenue, confer upon the President special emergency powers, and avoid undue provocation of the British pending the outcome of the Jay negotiations—were accepted in part.⁹³

Grove alone of the whole North Carolina delegation to the House of Representatives supported the Hamilton view in seeking to defeat a resolution calling for retaliation against British commerce.⁹⁴ When the House came to vote on non-intercourse with Great Britain—which Hamilton considered "inconsistent with [the] spirit of negotiation"⁹⁵—all the North Carolina members voted with the majority in favor of the resolution.⁹⁶

Within the populace of North Carolina the national government approached popularity as the country seemed about to go to war with Great Britain.⁹⁷ This was partly because the people of the state felt the same type of resentment as did other Americans toward the offensive British policy, but this feeling was intensified in North Carolina because of the prevailing pro-French sentiment. The General Assembly met and arranged for calling 7,331 militiamen—North Carolina's quota of the total of 80,000 which Congress had requested of the nation.

For a moment it seemed as though the Federalists also would gain popularity because of the situation.⁹⁸ At first thought this would appear illogical, for a war would place America on the side of the French. But, on the other hand, a war was expected to strengthen national solidarity, which had long been advocated by the Federalists; and the necessities of war were expected to deal a severe blow to the Antifederalist principles of state rights.

⁹² Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 109.

⁹³ Hamilton's position was clearly set forth in his long letter to President Washington, April 14, 1794; Hamilton, *Works*, V, 97-115.

⁹⁴ Grove to Steele, April 2, 1794, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes by Kemp P. Battle," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. 3, p. 102. In this letter Grove says Gillespie, another Congressman from North Carolina, at last came over to Grove's point of view—apparently after the controversy was practically over.

⁹⁵ Hamilton's views were given to the House in a speech made by his friend William Smith of South Carolina, April 14, 1794, *Annals of Congress*, IV, 582-585.

⁹⁶ *Annals of Congress*, IV, 602.

⁹⁷ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 12.

⁹⁸ James Iredell to James Wilson, Nov. 24, 1794, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 429.

Such hopes of the Federalists had not long to flourish. When Jay had completed his work at London and the terms of his treaty were revealed in a secret session of the Senate and immediately relayed to the outside world by Senator Pierce Butler and perhaps others, North Carolina gave forth a howl of protest. Throughout the state public meetings were held at which the people expressed their denunciations of the treaty.⁹⁹ Nowhere in the state was a "single influential voice . . . raised in its defense."¹⁰⁰

Apparently North Carolina showed a more determined opposition than any other state. The nation as a whole was disappointed to find that Britain had not promised to cease all her objectionable practices injurious to American shipping; but in North Carolina the treaty was extraordinarily odious because it was feared that Article IX, extending to the nationals of each country reciprocally certain rights of land ownership, might have been designed to revive the question of ownership of the vast Granville lands taken over by the state during the Revolutionary War.

Nathaniel Macon, a Republican Congressman from North Carolina, said with reference to this point that if the article meant what some people thought it did, it would involve the title to half the land of the state and would be of greater importance to North Carolina than the Declaration of Independence.¹⁰¹ James Holland, also from North Carolina, added that any such interpretation of the treaty would "certainly be resisted by force."¹⁰²

This acrimonious criticism of the treaty was unavoidably harmful to the cause of Federalism in North Carolina. It had been known that Jay's mission was a Federalist project. Hamilton's vigorous support of Jay and the treaty accentuated the obloquy.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁰ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, pp. 26-26.

¹⁰¹ House of Representatives, April 29, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1281.

¹⁰² House of Representatives, April 30, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1291.

¹⁰³ The reasons Hamilton gave for supporting the treaty were, essentially, that it brought some amelioration of British practices, that other provisions, such as the evacuation by the British of the northwest posts and the arbitration of several pending disputes, were highly beneficial to the United States, and it would be better to leave some injuries unrequited than to plunge into a war under the unfavorable circumstances then existing. Hamilton to Washington, July 9, 1795, Hamilton, *Works*, V, 138-181.

Both North Carolina's Senators, Bloodworth and Martin, opposed ratification of the treaty.¹⁰⁴ Grove was the only member of the state's delegation to the House of Representatives that voted for the execution of the treaty,¹⁰⁵ and even he had voted with all the others from his state in favor of the controversial resolution requesting President Washington to lay before the House the papers relating to the negotiations.¹⁰⁶

The leading Federalists in North Carolina, such as Johnston and Davie, were disgusted at the tendency of many of their political opponents to include in their stringent criticism the national government as well as the provisions of the treaty. Johnston reproached those persons whose chief happiness seemed to arise from seeing "everyone distressed and disconcerted with the state of public affairs."¹⁰⁷ To a similar end Davie employed some of his most exquisite invective. To Iredell he wrote that the "astounding activity" of the Republicans had created the "most delicate" crisis since the organization of the federal government, and he added that "the treatment of Mr. Jay is a satire upon humanity; no calculation on the baseness of Human Nature would have produced so shameless a degree of ingratitude."¹⁰⁸

The state of limited hostilities between the United States and France at the end of the 1790's brought Alexander Hamilton to the last summit of power in American affairs and presented the North Carolina Federalists their last bright hope for a long period of political predominance in their state. The situation appeared to be as favorable from the point of view of their party welfare as if it had been built to their own order and specifications.

The North Carolinians' general antipathy toward France which developed during this period is a monument to the abysmal failure of the government under the Tricolor in its diplomatic relations with the new American republic. The American Revolution and its aftermath left in the state a huge reservoir of ill will toward Great Britain. This feeling was freshened by the new disputes which Jay tried to settle and by the unsatisfactory terms of the treaty he negotiated. The converse of this was the emphatic

¹⁰⁴ *Annals of Congress*, IV, 862.

¹⁰⁵ House of Representatives, April 30, 1796, *Annals of Congress*, V, 1291.

¹⁰⁶ *Annals of Congress*, V, 759.

¹⁰⁷ Johnston to Iredell, August 15, 1795, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 453.

¹⁰⁸ Sept. 4, 1795, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

pro-French sentiment, which prior to the excesses of the French Revolution permeated practically every element of population in the state not excluding the Federalist leaders themselves. Two years after the Jay treaty became the law of the land the people of North Carolina were literally fighting mad, not at Britain but at Britain's most formidable enemy. America's ally in the struggle for independence had so quickly come to be recognized as a threat to her very life as a sovereign nation.

French depredations against American shipping and other indignities against the American people fell with particular weight upon North Carolina. French privateers heaped special insults upon the ports, ships, and men of the state.¹⁰⁹ Nor did it escape notice that Charles C. Pinckney, from the neighboring state of South Carolina, was rudely rebuffed by the French when he, as an American minister, sought to open amicable negotiations with them. The people were further perturbed when reports circulated that the French privateering vessels off the coast were being manned by Negroes and mulattoes.¹¹⁰ Hamilton's solemn assertion that "there is no choice left but between resistance and infamy"¹¹¹ was paralleled in North Carolina by those who declared that rather than see their country submit to the ignominious French treatment they would fight as long as they were "able to draw a sword or present a musket."¹¹²

Since the coming of Genêt in 1793 the Republicans had tried to make political capital of their pro-French stand. Many of the Federalists had held the French in high esteem, but their party's support of the Jay treaty led the nation to consider them pro-British. Now as the nation rose to do battle with the French, the Republicans lost ground.

In the North Carolina elections of 1798 the victory of the Federalists was substantial—even though the spirit of animosity toward France had not yet reached its zenith. Davie was elected governor. The Federalists carried six of the state's ten congressional districts. Republicans as well known as Willie Jones and Timothy Bloodworth were rejected at the polls.¹¹³ The Feder-

¹⁰⁹ Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 83-85.

¹¹⁰ Grove to Steele, June 7, 1799, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 169.

¹¹¹ In his essay "The Stand," March 10, 1798, Hamilton, *Works*, VI, 264.

¹¹² James Read to Davie, Nov. 18, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹¹³ Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, p. 129.

alists gained a majority in both houses of the General Assembly, though the majority in the lower house was small and tenuous.¹¹⁴ A Republican, Jesse Franklin, was elected to the United States Senate because the incumbent, Alexander Martin, had voted for the Alien and Sedition Acts,¹¹⁵ which were very unpopular in North Carolina.¹¹⁶

Governor Davie, whose mettle had been proved during the Revolutionary War, was appointed brigadier general in the provisional army that was being prepared for a war with France. Washington accepted command of the army with the understanding that he was not to leave Mount Vernon until the day should arrive for him to lead the army into combat. The chief responsibility for getting an army into shape was conferred upon Hamilton, who was designated inspector-general and was given the rank of major general.

There can be no doubt that all three of these great men, notwithstanding their sincere devotion to the country, used their new authority in a manner to consolidate the strength of the Federalist party. It would probably be impossible to ascertain the extent to which this action was motivated by mere partisan considerations and the extent to which it is attributable to their genuine belief that the obstructionist tactics of some of the Republicans were subversive and dangerous to the nation.

In North Carolina as elsewhere in the country some of the Republicans denounced the government's policy of firmness toward France. Jefferson did all he could to oppose any real preparations for war.¹¹⁷ Calling the Republicans the "peace party" and the Federalists "war hawks,"¹¹⁸ he avowed the former would "oppose all external preparations."¹¹⁹ Congressman Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, in 1797, before the gravest aspects of the situation had arisen, offered a resolution forbidding American warships to operate outside American waters.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 30.

¹¹⁵ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 33.

¹¹⁶ Hamilton's support of these acts stands as one of his greatest political mistakes.

¹¹⁷ See especially his letter to Madison, June 22, 1797; Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, IX, 407-408.

¹¹⁸ He used the term "war hawks" in letters to Madison, April 26, 1798, and June 21, 1798, Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, X 33 and 51 respectively.

¹¹⁹ Jefferson to Peter Carr, April 12, 1798, Liscomb, *Writings of Jefferson*, X, 30.

¹²⁰ *Annals of Congress*, VII, 366.

Washington wrote to Davie confidentially telling him that in choosing the officers around whom the North Carolina portion of the army should be built he should see to it that "all violent opposers of the Government, and French Partisans should be avoided; or they will disseminate the poison of their principles in the Army, and split, what ought to be a band of brothers, into parties."¹²¹ Washington had no personal political ambitions at this late period of life, and he was opposed to political parties; yet he was so alarmed at the stand taken by the leading Republicans that it became easy for the other military leaders to utilize his mighty prestige to add recruits to the Federalist party while building the army.

James McHenry, the Secretary of War, asked Davie to select from North Carolina ten or twelve captains, twenty-four lieutenants, and twenty-four ensigns. These, he said, should be men "whose attachment to the Government is unequivocal" and who had never shown "a decided inclination toward France, or French principles."¹²²

Davie wrote to his Federalist friends in various parts of the state requesting them to nominate men for the commissions. In one letter, for instance, he said he wanted a captain from Lincoln County, a lieutenant from Burke, a lieutenant from Wilkes, an ensign from Rutherford, and an ensign from Buncombe."¹²³ Some of his correspondents were unconscionably slow in replying, but the tenor of the letters passing both ways shows that minute and deliberate consideration was given to the political ideas and affiliations of every candidate considered.¹²⁴ Other qualities such as courage, character, and ability were also emphasized.

Could any party have conceived a plan better calculated to perpetuate its power? There was a Federalist administration at the nation's capital; the military leaders, Hamilton and McHenry, were zealous party men, and the commander, Washington, was assaulting the ideas of their Republican enemies; and key Federalist governors and others were selecting officers who they

¹²¹ Letter Dated Oct. 24, 1798; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. XXXVI, p. 516.

¹²² McHenry to Davie, Sept. 12, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹²³ To Maj. Genl. Smith, et al, Sept. 27, 1798, W. R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817, in North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. This letter is unsigned, but is obviously Davie's letter.

¹²⁴ Most of the letters of this nature are to be found in the Governor's Papers, State Series, vol. XXII, in the North Carolina State Department of History and Archives, Raleigh.

hoped would, in the future, be key Federalist men in their respective counties. With such a combination of power and potentialities, could the party ever be defeated? Ah, how fallible are man's most carefully laid plans; and how delusive, at times, our fairest prospects of happiness!

The French government notified President Adams that their country did not wish war with the United States and was willing to negotiate a settlement of pending disputes. Adams had never expected a land war,¹²⁵ and he came to perceive grave perils in the creation of an army that was largely under the leadership of his deadly political rival, Alexander Hamilton.¹²⁶ Early in 1799 he decided to try for peace according to the French suggestion,¹²⁷ and Governor Davie was chosen as one of the three peace envoys.¹²⁸

The peace movement demoralized the army¹²⁹ and brought general consternation to the Federalists. McHenry could see only "rocks and quicksand" ahead for the party "and the Administration in the attitude of a sinking ship."¹³⁰ This was by no means the only reason for the Republican victory in the national election of 1800, but it made a significant contribution toward that denouement.

Adams' decision to open peace negotiations threw the North Carolina Federalists into a panic—more especially since their leader, Davie, was removed from the scene.¹³¹ The successful outcome of the negotiations surely promoted the welfare of the nation and enhanced the historical reputation of the negotiators and the President who sent them. But the cause of the Federalists in North Carolina, as in the nation, was never to be retrieved.

In the gloom of defeat the Federalists attempted to make use of the public press as a sheet anchor to avoid complete inundation until a fairer day might dawn. Hamilton and his associates in New York established the *Evening Post* in the spring of 1801, "the blackest season the Federalists of New York had yet

¹²⁵ Adams to McHenry, Oct. 22, 1798, Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams*, VIII. (Boston, 1853), 613.

¹²⁶ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 387.

¹²⁷ *American State Papers; Foreign Relations*, II (Washington, 1832), 239.

¹²⁸ The governor's historic commission is retained in the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹²⁹ George Gibbs, ed., *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, II (New York, 1846), 236.

¹³⁰ McHenry to Hamilton, Nov. 10, 1799, Hamilton MSS, Library of Congress, vol. LX.

¹³¹ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 36.

known."¹³² In the following year Davie and his friends founded the Raleigh *Minerva* to propagate Federalist views,¹³³ and in 1803 the South Carolina Federalists established the *Charleston Courier* as a "vigorous party newspaper."¹³⁴

The leading Federalists throughout the land came to the dreary conclusion that the Republican victory, unless soon reversed, would bring general disaster to the nation. They thought Jefferson's election meant far more than a political defeat for themselves and their party. From the depths of their hearts they were convinced that a continuation of the Republicans in power would lead to an overthrow of society and to bloody excesses such as France knew in the darkest days of her Revolution.

"A higher tone of Jacobinism" was the phrase used to describe the spirit of the session of the General Assembly at Raleigh as early as November, 1800.¹³⁵ Hamilton was deadly serious when he wrote to his friend Gouverneur Morris that the Constitution, for which he said he had sacrificed so much and labored so diligently, was proving to be only "a frail and worthless fabric."¹³⁶ He believed the nation faced a calamity in "no very remote period."¹³⁷ His life, during the brief remainder of his earthly existence, was marked by this sad conviction. The aged Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina informed John Adams that he had long been convinced that "our planet [is] a mere bedlam," and that the "ravings of our . . . times" confirmed the belief. "Look round our whirling globe, my friend, where you will," he advised, "east, west, north, or south, where is the spot in which there are not many thousands of these mad lunatics?"¹³⁸ By 1802 the once powerful William R. Davie had come to believe that the nation's future was so dark that it would never again "see one clear day; and the highest graduation of our happiness will be marked by the observation, "there are flying clouds,""¹³⁹

¹³² Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post; A Century of Journalism* (New York, 1922), p. 9.

¹³³ Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 38.

¹³⁴ John Harold Wolfe, "Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina," *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 182.

¹³⁵ William Polk to John Steele, Nov. 28, 1800, Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 190.

¹³⁶ Letter dated Feb. 27, 1802, Hamilton, *Works*, X, 425.

¹³⁷ Robert Troup to Rufus King, April 9, 1802, Charles R. King, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, IV, (New York, 1897), 104.

¹³⁸ Gadsden to Adams, March 11, 1801, Adams, *Works*, IX, 579.

¹³⁹ Davie to Steele, Jan. 7, 1802, Hamilton. "William Richardson Davie: A Memoir followed by His letters . . .," *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, no. VII, p. 50.

OPERATION RECONSTRUCTION: A REPORT ON SOUTHERN UNIONIST PLANTERS

FRANK WYSOR KLINGBERG

The battlefields of the Civil War have served as training grounds not only for our own military men but also for foreign observers. The war strategy of Lee and Jackson, the counter-strategy of McClellan, Meade, or Grant were, perhaps, as well understood in Tokyo and Berlin as in Washington or London. But it remains for the historian to study in similar detail the tactics of winning the peace: of the southern civilian under invasion, occupation, and reconstruction. In terms of men and women, rather than exclusively of policy, the records of the Southern Claims Commission reveal some of the reasons for the failure to rebuild, within the southern states, a just and unembittered peace.

The Lincoln-Johnson plan of Reconstruction was, as Professor James G. Randall has pointed out, "forthright and practical. It included overthrow of the army and government that warred against the United States, abolition of slavery (though some of Lincoln's statements seemed to imply a concession here), pardon for the past, loyalty for the future, reunion, amnesty for Confederates, return of confiscated property, and home rule for the South."¹ This plan was clearly founded on the theory, with much fact to support it, that public opinion in the South was divided into three groups; the vocal minority who had spearheaded the whole secession movement; the bewildered majority who opposed but finally joined in the war; and another minority who, for a variety of reasons, resisted war as a solution throughout the days of the Confederacy. Presidential reconstruction would, then, consolidate the latent Unionism and utilize proved Unionists in reuniting the South with the nation. For, as Lincoln wrote as early as November, 1862, "To send a parcel of Northern men here as Representatives, elected, as would be understood, (and perhaps really so,) at the point of the bayonet, would be disgraceful and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such men to a seat."²

¹ James G. Randall, "Lincoln's Peace and Wilson's," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLII (1943), 226.

² A. Lincoln to the Hon. George F. Shepley, military governor of Louisiana, Washington, November 27, 1862, reproduced in J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), op. p. 700.

The fact that such potential leadership did exist within the states lately in insurrection is abundantly documented by the evidence accumulated by the Southern Claims Commission in the 1870's.³ The Hon. J. Madison Wells, who had served as governor of Louisiana from November, 1865, until the Federal military occupation under Sheridan in April, 1867, is a conspicuous example of a Unionist in office. Wells had made no secret of his Union sympathies during the war and, after a careful examination of his record, the Claims Commissioners concluded: "There is no doubt of his loyal adherence to the govt. of the United States throughout the war."⁴ Nor was his Unionism of the passive type. An old-line Whig and later a Douglas man, he had voted against secession candidates for the state convention in 1860. For a year he had succeeded in killing any appropriations in his parish for military purposes. "After all peaceable means resorted to . . . were exhausted," Wells told the Commissioners, "I then resorted to violence. I fought them wherever I could. Whenever they destroyed my property I would attempt to catch their wagons and wagon trains and kill their men." A fugitive from the Confederate authorities because of his "annoyance to them in the movement of their troops," he organized resistance in the pine woods.⁵ To consolidate the dissenting portions of his community he had circulated the word that he was going to raise the Union flag in the town of Alexandria.⁶ When his son, a Confederate conscript, deserted and joined the jayhawkers, Wells was accused of supplying these guerillas "with the sinews of war."⁷ So effective were his efforts that he was forced to leave the country, and a purse was made up by his Unionist friends to assist him to escape.⁸

³ The full title of this commission was Commissioners of Claims under the act of Congress of March 3, 1871, but it was more familiarly known as the Southern Claims Commission, the Commissioners of Claims, or the Claims Commissioners, titles which are used in this paper.

⁴ Summary Report of the Commissioners of Claims in the case of J. Madison Wells, Rapides, Louisiana, Southern Claims Commission claim No. 19675 [claimed \$450,658.80, allowed \$4,080.00 in 1880] included in the records of the Court of Claims, Congressional Number 435, Justice Department, National Archives. Hereafter the claims will be identified by their Commission number as follows: S.C.C. No. 19675.

⁵ Testimony of J. Madison Wells, in Washington, March 24, 1880, in S.C.C. No. 19675.

⁶ Testimony of Dr. John P. Davidson, in the case of J. Madison Wells, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 19675. Davidson said, "some of his friends feeling very certain that if Wells attempted a feature of that kind he would be killed, sent him word . . . that it would be at the peril of his life if he attempted it."

⁷ Testimony of Dr. A. Cockerille, physician and planter, taken in Louisiana by Enos Richmond, special agent for the commission, and submitted on February 20, 1880. In S.C.C. No. 19675.

⁸ Testimony of Nelson Taylor, keeper of a livery stable and U. S. Mail contractor, Rapides Parish, Louisiana. Taylor himself had contributed to the purse along with M. R. Ariel, John Bogan, Jr., Thomas McNeil, and H. T. Burgess. In S.C.C. No. 19675.

With the arrival of the Union army, he returned home to offer his services and in December, 1863, went to Washington where he conferred with Lincoln and with Chase.⁹ Wells's administration as governor (1865 to 1867) was a struggle for the re-assertion of the rights of southerners, as they were a part of the realities of reunion. Especially to the point in showing the possibilities of the Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction is the fact that he, an active Unionist, was elected with the support of Confederate veterans who, under President Johnson's proclamation of amnesty, voted in Louisiana in 1865.¹⁰ Wells's comment to the Commissioners on the Radical Republican policy which removed him from office may be given here for its eloquent brevity. "We had some difficulty about the levee," he testified on May 26, 1875. "I thought that as Governor of the State I had the right to appoint the levee Commission. General Sheridan appointed three Gentlemen himself & we differed and he removed me. . . . After his removal of me Congress gave the power to the Commanding General to remove Governors."¹¹

The career of Governor Wells is but one example from that brief period following the war, before the vindictives gained control of Congress, when genuine statesmanship might have restored the Union politically and psychologically as well as physically. Important recent studies show that the majority of men, South and North, were satisfied that the questions of slavery and the right of secession had been settled.¹² Many of them had opposed war as a solution in 1861, had waited long for the peace, and now, war-weary, were anxious only to return to the plow and the mill. Immediate and effective reunion was blocked, however, by Lincoln's death which strengthened the Radical party with its program designed to punish and reform the South. At its worst this program was vindictive and corrupt. At its best

⁹ Summary Report of the Commissioners of Claims in S.C.C. No. 19675.

¹⁰ For the details of this election see Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: a Social History of White Farmers and Laborers During Slavery and After* (University, Louisiana, 1939), pp. 210-212.

¹¹ Wells was presumably referring to the supplemental reconstruction act of March 23, 1867, which divided the South into five military districts and placed the federal commanders in charge of all political activities.

¹² Recent studies which reveal the extent of this attitude in the South are Frank L. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 446-456; Lillian Adele Kibler, *Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist* (Durham, 1946); Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1944); and Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1943). The political efforts for unity and the Radical counter-tactics which sabotaged them are discussed in Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year, a Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (New York, 1930), and James G. Randall, *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge, 1946).

it was difficult if not impossible to carry out in a hostile environment. Thus for the historian there is posed the complex problem of discovering to what extent reconstruction created the "solid South" as a political unit while reducing the area to what has been called a colonial status.¹³

In the case of such Unionists as Governor Wells, the doctrine of constructive treason held that they were equally guilty, with the most confirmed secessionist, of rebellion against the government. Each man had to prove his loyalty before the Southern Claims Commission, not by a single act, but by his resistance to Confederate taxes, bond issues, and conscription measures. By 1871, when the Claims Commission began their investigations, the Unionist had been thrice tested. First, he had been subject to social pressure and to the severe penalties of Confederate security measures. Secondly, with the arrival of the Union armies, his property, in common with that of the most confirmed Confederate, usually fell prey to the troops. Finally his leadership in the community and any property he had managed to retain were usually liquidated during the Reconstruction period prior to 1871. Because the planter Unionist has received less attention, in some respects than the "Loyalist" groups in the border states and the Appalachian highlands, he is featured in this study.

The history of the claims themselves is part of the story of assurance followed by repudiation. They grew out of federal provisions during the war designed to seek out Unionists to assist the federal armies as they advanced into the Confederacy, and sometimes to assist in setting up temporary governments in occupied areas. In 1862, for instance, the Quartermaster General ordered that quartermaster goods be purchased from the southern countryside. Certificates of the kind and qualities of such supplies were ordered to be issued, "payable at once, if known to be the property of loyal men, [or] . . . payable after the suppression of the rebellion on proof that the owner has not given

¹³ B. B. Kendrick, "The Colonial Status of the South," in *The Journal of Southern History*, VIII (1942), 3-22. A commentary on the period by a modern political figure in the South appears in Ellis Gibbs Arnall, *The Shore Dimly Seen* (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 98. Arnall writes: "Reconstruction brought to the South a good many cranks, who wanted to provide every rural Negro with forty acres and a mule; it would have been a good thing, indeed, if this had been done and the Negroes set on their feet as self-sustaining units in Southern economy; it might have been done if it had not threatened both to cost money and to interfere with the systematic looting of the section."

aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States after the date of receipt.¹⁴ In actual practice certificates were more commonly issued than cash. Sometimes these vouchers followed the prescribed printed forms, sometimes receipt of goods was acknowledged on fragmentary scraps of paper, more often no receipt at all was given.

As the war dragged on, vindictiveness grew. On July 4, 1864, two days after passing the severe Wade-Davis bill, Congress acted to repudiate these obligations to southern Unionists by nullifying any claim presented by any citizen of a state "lately in insurrection."¹⁵ Not until seven years later, on March 3, 1871, when congressional reconstruction had spent some of its fury, were these claims acknowledged. On that date a Congress which included for the first time representatives from all of the southern states provided for a commission to review and test the claims. The three Commissioners, appointed by Grant in 1871, held to the Radical ideology that continued residence in the South was evidence of disloyalty to be disproved only by the most positive proof of active Unionism.¹⁶ The review itself, an exhaustive process, was not completed for all cases until 1880.¹⁷ Thus, as one attorney charged in 1873, "for some nine long years the Govt . . . practically repudiated its promises to the Union Planters on the Red River who had given up their all to feed the distressed Army under Genl. Banks after his retreat from Pleasant Hills."¹⁸

The questioning of the claimants and their witnesses was recorded by short-hand reporters who preserved the idiom of each participant. Entered as evidence are such valuable historical data as copies of wills, deeds, and maps to establish title to lands; excerpts from plantation accounts; receipts and letters to show supplies on hand; and numerous sworn affidavits regarding the opinions and activities of the individuals concerned. Indeed,

¹⁴ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1899), series II, vol. II, p. 806.

¹⁵ *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 381-382.

¹⁶ Asa Owen Aldis, of Vermont, was president of the Commission and took an active part in all of its proceedings. The other two members had both served in Congress: Orange Ferriss, of New York, in the House during the 40th and 41st Congresses, and James B. Howell, of Iowa, in the Senate during the 41st Congress.

¹⁷ For the details of the Commission's procedure, see Frank Wysor Klingberg, "The Southern Claims Commission: a Postwar Agency in Operation," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXII (1945), 195-214; and "The Case of the Minors: A Unionist Family within the Confederacy," in *The Journal of Southern History*, XIII (1947), 27-45.

¹⁸ Rodrick McKee to the Third Auditor, Treasury Department, Washington, April 5, 1873, in the case of William Baily, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed \$104,492.40, allowed \$45,161.72 in 1874], General Accounting Office files. McKee's full letter outlines the series of repudiations which befell Bailey's claims as he tried to collect the money promised when the goods were taken.

if the full documental story contained in the 22,298 claims were reproduced in print, it would probably be as extensive, and perhaps as important, as the 130-volume *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*.

Who were the prominent southerners who would or could submit to such a test of their loyalty to the Union throughout the war? The case of J. Madison Wells has already been mentioned. Similar claims came from all sections of the South and represented all classes of Society. Family folklore in the South, with its accounts of a dissenting uncle, or cousin, confirms the fact that, even in the face of what was considered extreme provocation from the North, disagreement over secession not only split sections of the Confederacy but cut down the middle of some of the region's proudest families.

Mrs. Anna Fitzhugh, appearing to support her claim for wood taken from the family estate of Ravenswood, spoke sadly of her last conversation before the war with Robert E. Lee, a nephew by marriage. On the day, a Sunday before he left for Richmond to take command of the Virginia forces, Lee called for her at Ravenswood to take her to church. They discussed secession and, according to Mrs. Fitzhugh, Lee was "... as much distressed about it personally as I was. I don't think that he had made up his mind what he would do."¹⁹ Regarding her own opinions, she told the Commissioners, "I felt sympathy for my own people ... for they were my friends. . . [but] from the beginning to the end I never felt a moments hesitation or change. . . . As large as this country was, I thought it better to have it under one government than under two. . . . I didn't dream matters would come to the point they did. I thought our people had too much sense to go to war about such a matter." Mrs. Fitzhugh remained at Ravenswood, within the Union lines, throughout the war. Colonel John S. Mosby was an interesting witness to her reputation as a Unionist. In a later hearing of her case before

¹⁹ Testimony of Mrs. Anna Fitzhugh before the Commission, Alexandria, Virginia, January 3, 1873, in S.C.C. No. 14013 [claimed \$375,000, disallowed in 1875], General Accounting Office files. Mrs. Fitzhugh's loyalty to the Union was well established, but the claim was disallowed since the Commissioners found that she occupied Ravenswood only as a "tenant for life" by the terms of the will of her husband, William Fitzhugh. The wood taken from the estate was, therefore, considered to belong to Mary Custis Lee, the wife of General Robert E. Lee, to whom the estate would revert on Mrs. Fitzhugh's death. Since Mrs. Lee was clearly disloyal she was not, according to the rules of the Commission, entitled to any compensation. In this case, as in many others, the decision of the Commission was later tested in the Court of Claims. For the details of this procedure in the Fitzhugh case see Court of Claims. Cong. No. 20, Justice Department, National Archives.

the Court of Claims, he testified that he, with two of his men, had slept one night among the pines on the estate, but had decided not to seek breakfast at Mrs. Fitzhugh's house because, he said, "I understood she was on the Union side . . . a great many of my men were from Fairfax County, and I heard it from them."²⁰

Several relatives of another prominent Virginian, John A. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, also appeared before the Commission with their claims. His cousin, Hugh Morson, who had been an Assistant Surgeon in the United States Navy for ten years prior to the war, described the breach between the cousins over the right of secession which had not healed ten years later. "I was more intimate with him than a brother before the war," Dr. Morson told the Commissioners in 1872. But he added, "I have not seen him since 1861, when we parted after an intimate talk. . . . Letters pass through my wife when anything comes to the family."²¹ Filed as evidence in Morson's claim is a handwritten letter from Seddon, regretting his cousin's persistent Unionist activities within the Confederacy.

As to the Unionism of the Misses Fannie and Mary Scott, closely related both to Seddon and to General Winfield Scott, a former Confederate provost marshal at Fredericksburg, Virginia, told the Commissioners: "If they had been men they would have been arrested and sent to Richmond, and nothing saved them as it was but their relationship to the Confederate Secretary of War."²² Fannie Scott, who was seventeen when the war broke out, explained her convictions in the matter. "I belonged to an old line Whig house," she said, "and therefore believed secession was wrong."²³ The large losses suffered by these ladies, when some five Union regiments occupied their land over a period of eight months, are verified by a dozen letters from Union officers. A note from General Winfield S. Hancock recalled their "charity and kindness with the sick and

²⁰ Testimony of John S. Mosby, February, 1889, in Court of Claims, Cong. No. 20, Justice Department, National Archives. Mosby identified himself as the leader of the famous Mosby's Raiders. At the time of his appearance before the court he was a lawyer in San Francisco.

²¹ Testimony of Hugh Morson before the Commission, Washington, October 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 11613 [claimed \$13,461.50, allowed \$7,067.00 in 1872], General Accounting Office files.

²² Quoted in Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Fannie S. and Mary A. Scott, S.C.C. No. 3655 (claimed \$22,650.00, allowed \$3,790.00 in 1880), General Accounting Office files.

²³ Testimony of Fannie Scott before the Commission, January 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

wounded,"²⁴ while Colonel George B. Halstead deplored the damage done to "the beautiful oak grove near your residence," where his tent had been pitched.²⁵

In this connection, it is interesting to discover in the claims how frequently the women of the South expressed their interest in politics. Usually they reflected the sentiments of a husband or a father. But sometimes, as in the case of Mrs. Caroline Haden, of Dallas County, Alabama, political conviction produced domestic difficulties. Dr. William C. Cleveland, who had known her all her life, described Mrs. Haden as "decidedly" a Unionist, while he and Mr. Haden were "decidedly the other way. . . . I have heard Mr. Haden often say that a woman of her sentiments belonged and had much better be on the other side of the lines."²⁶ Another witness, who called himself a "strong southern man," concluded his statement with the comment, "Everybody said that Mrs. Haden was a Union woman. Her own husband said she was a Union woman."²⁷

The Unionism of Mrs. Stephanie Chotard, of Natchez, grew out of the fact that she had been raised in the home of her aunt, Mrs. Robert J. Walker, while Walker was serving as Secretary of the Treasury under Polk.²⁸ Mrs. Martha E. Fitz, of Issequena County, Mississippi, was the ward of Andrew Jackson in her youth, and, she said, ". . . from him imbibed an undying devotion to the Federal government" which persisted although the war had reduced her ". . . from affluence to poverty."²⁹ From Tennessee came the claims of Mrs. James K. Polk, a president's widow, and Mrs. Aaron V. Brown, the wife of Buchanan's Postmaster General, and sister of the Confederate General, Gideon J. Pillow. Mrs. Polk's claim was disallowed for lack of sufficient evidence on the taking of the property, but that of Mrs. Brown, a Democrat, was allowed.³⁰

²⁴ Letter of General Winfield S. Hancock to Miss Fannie Scott, St. Paul, Minnesota, January 30, 1872, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

²⁵ Letter of Colonel George B. Halstead to Miss Fannie Scott, Newark, New Jersey, July 31, 1871, in S.C.C. No. 3655, General Accounting Office files.

²⁶ Testimony of William C. Cleveland, minister and practicing physician, in the case of Caroline Haden, S.C.C. No. 17603 (claimed \$18,684.00, allowed \$5,650.00 in 1877), General Accounting Office files.

²⁷ Testimony of Nicholas Smith before Special Commissioner George Patrick, Selma, Alabama, March 4, 1874, in S.C.C. No. 17603, General Accounting Office files.

²⁸ Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Mrs. Stephanie Chotard, Natchez, Mississippi, S.C.C. No. 7125 [claimed \$51,172.00, allowed \$13,800.00 in 1875], General Accounting Office files.

²⁹ Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Mrs. Martha E. Fitz, Issequena County, Mississippi, S.C.C. No. 10510 [claimed \$10,000.00, allowed \$7,125.00 in 1874], General Accounting Office files.

Mrs. Brown's son, J. E. Sanders, who had served in the Confederate army on General Pillow's staff, described his mother's sentiments and her conduct: "She thought slavery was a moral wrong . . . and in consequence of this feeling of hers on the question of slavery and the further fact that her husband had been honored by the United States government with high position, she was opposed to the dismemberment of the Union. She often spoke of the inconsistency of the people of the South shouting for liberty and freedom while they themselves held four millions of human beings in severe servitude." General Pillow, on hearing that Mrs. Brown was receiving federal officers, told Sanders that she had "compromised" herself. ". . . this manner of speaking of my mother stung me more than I can tell," Sanders testified. "No other man could have spoken of her in this manner . . . without paying the penalty thereof."³¹

Commodore Edward Middleton, of South Carolina, owner with his brother of the Hobonny plantation, served with the United States Navy throughout the war, ". . . though thereby he became estranged from his brother and his family." The commodore's patriotism was sorely tried for, while he was serving his country on the U. S. S. *St. Mary*, in the Pacific, the federals under Sherman burned his mansion house and all plantation buildings, and carried off large supplies of rice, corn, peas, cattle, sheep, hogs, potatoes, and mules to the troops at Pochaligo.³² Further, the strict rulings against payment of claims to southerners, even in so obvious a case of loyalty to the Union, precluded any compensation for Middleton's losses until, in 1873, he received \$12,240.00 through the Southern Claims Commission's investigation.

Arthur Middleton Blake, representing another first family of South Carolina, refused to list his losses with the detail required

³⁰ *Consolidated Index of Claims reported by the Commissioners of Claims to the House of Representatives from 1871 to 1800* (Washington, 1892), pp. 34, 189. For a memorandum outlining the reasons for disallowing Mrs. Polk's claim for \$2,000 see Third General Report of Commissioners of Claims, *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 43rd Congress, 1st session, vol. III, no. 251, pp. 1-7.

³¹ Testimony of J. E. Sanders before Special Agent W. M. Fitzgerald, December 1879, in the case of Mrs. Aaron Brown, S.C.C. No. 1613 [claimed \$26,880.00, allowed \$1,869.50 in 1880], General Accounting Office files. In addition to the evidence given by her son, the investigation of Mrs. Brown's loyalty to the Union included a 25-page report from Special Agent Enos Richmond; 91 pages of testimony taken from 8 witnesses by Special Commissioner Trimble; 15 pages taken from 2 witnesses by Special Commissioner Charles F. Babcock; 44 pages taken by Special Agent W. M. Fitzgerald; and 8 pages taken before the Commission in Washington. This list is cited as typical, rather than unusual procedure in the examination of a large claim.

³² Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Edward Middleton, South Carolina, S.C.C. No. 10351 [claimed \$14,703.00, allowed \$12,240.00 in 1872], General Accounting Office files.

by the Commission, but presented his claim in an indignant sentence:

To the deprivation of the services & labor due to him of 401 slaves, and to buildings, furniture, objects of virtue and taste, books, pictures, linen, wines, and various buildings, mills, cotton gins, threshed rice & crops not harvested destroyed or used by the Federal Army \$400,000.

Benjamin H. Rutledge, Blake's attorney, explained that the slaves had been designated not "with the view of claiming payment for them as property, but by way of inducement to show the position of wealth and affluence of the said claimant before the late civil war in contrast with the absolute ruin to which he was reduced thereby." From this loss, Rutledge insisted, ". . . the claimant's loyalty and allegiance [in evidence], to the cause of the Government and the Union, should have protected both him and his property."³³

Throughout the records run the stories of such tremendous losses of property as the result of the arrival of the Union army. For each item claimed the Commissioners conducted extensive inquiries to determine the exact quantity furnished and a "fair" price, while all items which could not be called quartermaster or commissary supplies necessary for regular requirements were carefully excluded. A typical comment disallows payment for 600 pounds of sugar, one barrel of molasses, one barrel of flour, two barrels of corn meal, and 200 pounds of lard because evidence showed that they were taken ". . . by the soldiers 'in buckets and tins' in a lawless manner & must be put to the account of depreciation."³⁴

The confusion in the minds of the claimants, as a result of these careful distinctions, seems never to have been quite dispelled. Moreover the difficulty of proving the exact amounts taken is obvious, in view of the carelessness in giving proper

³³ Summary Report of the Commission and Brief of Benjamin H. Rutledge, attorney for the claimant in the case of Arthur Middleton Blake, Charleston, South Carolina, S.C.C. No. 4222 [claimed \$400,000.00, disallowed in 1873], File Room, House of Representatives. The Commissioners explained their disallowance as follows: ". . . the main objects of compensation are so clearly beyond our jurisdiction that, with the consent of the Counsel, we . . . disallow the whole claim upon the ground that it is not within our jurisdiction & respectfully refer it to Congress for their consideration."

³⁴ Summary Report of the Commission in the case of Samuel O. Scruggs, of Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 18534 (claimed \$10,000.00, allowed \$7,450.00 in 1875), General Accounting Office files. Scruggs had written anti-session articles to Louisiana newspapers, had contributed money and supplies for Union barbecues, and, with the arrival of General Banks, had cared for the Federal wounded at the hospital and in his home.

receipts, the chaotic conditions which accompanied military movements, and the passage of time. In 1874, long after she had filed her claim, Mrs. Susan V. Whitehead, of Greene County, North Carolina, found and triumphantly forwarded to her attorneys a tattered paper, which had been pinned to an old account book. It reads:

Property taken by 12th New York Calv'y from my plantation in Green Co.—last March 1865

22 mules

Overseers fine saddle horse

all the waggons, cartes, harness belonging to the waggons & carts

all the bacon but one or two peices, some 18 or 20,000 lbs

well cured for sale

4 barrels Lard

3 barrels pork

all of 800 barrels Corn

25000 lbs fodder

all Hicces cloathes

Bigg Aaron carried off to drive the 6-horse wagon

Antony too

My God all gone I am ruined.³⁵

In the letter which accompanied this account, Mrs. Whitehead wrote:

. . . I wept when I saw it. it layed bare my heart when it was written. The poor confederate paper, on which I wrote, the time rusty pin which bound it, the hurried hand that penciled, barely legiable [*sic*] figures & items, state of feelings described at margin, turned my thoughts backwards—far over the current of past years—showing me my honest accumulations scattered,—gone—overcome. I kissed the small scrip inanemate [*sic*] reminder of former Prosperity. If it will be of any use—use it.³⁶

The effect of depredation on such pro-Union sentiments as had survived within the Confederacy can easily be imagined. Milton Shirk, president of a "literary institution" in Shreveport, Louis-

³⁵ Filed with the claim of Mrs. Susan V. Whitehead, Greene County, North Carolina, S.C.C. No. 844 (claimed \$10,000.00, allowed \$7,838.00 in 1875), General Accounting Office files.

³⁶ Letter of Mrs. Whitehead to Hosmer and company, dated Marleboro, North Carolina, September 24, 1784, in S.C.C. No. 844, General Accounting Office files. Reuben Atkinson, 41, a former Whitehead slave who had lived with the family all his life gave an especially vivid account of the arrival of Sherman's army on a moonlight night in March, 1865. Mrs. Whitehead had inherited the plantation of 1,800 acres and 100 slaves from her father who was an "old line Whig."

iana, described how, having waited long for the Union army to liberate him, he freely gave over the keys to the college when it arrived, so that the buildings might serve as a hospital. But the college was not occupied. Instead, it was burned. "I confess," Shirk testified, "that when my property was destroyed, I felt ugly. . . . I considered that I had been in favor of the union throughout. I got some union men released who had been captured. It is difficult," he added, "to discriminate between a feeling that would prevail when a man's premises were all on fire, & set on fire by his friends."³⁷

The Commissioners occasionally deplored the losses thus sustained by honest Unionists, but they allowed no consideration to alter their prescribed procedure of refusing to recommend payment for such losses. For instance, in the claim of William L. Sharkey, one of the best known Unionists in the South, they disallowed 2 dozen knives, 2 dozen Napkins and 2 Table cloths, 2 Chafing dishes, 2 English Tea Kettles, 4 stew pans, waffle irons & tea kettle, 6 Goblets, and sundry other articles, even though they had disappeared as a direct result of the fact that Sharkey had given over the lower floor of his home as headquarters for General McPherson.³⁸ Prior to the war Sharkey had served for many years as Chief Justice for Mississippi; he had, during his lifetime, refused two cabinet posts; he was a member of the Baltimore convention of 1860; and after the war he had served as a provisional governor of Mississippi under Johnson. During the war he was imprisoned for treason to the Confederacy. According to E. P. Jacobson, U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of Mississippi, "Jefferson Davis not only hated him because of his sentiments but feared his great influence, but for which Judge Sharkey's life would have become one more offering on the altar of the Union."³⁹ The Commissioners themselves, in allow-

³⁷ Testimony of Milton Shirk, Shreveport, Louisiana, taken in Washington, October 25, 1872, S.C.C. No. 8308 (Claimed \$126,602.00, allowed \$5,205.00 in 1872), General Accounting Office files. Modern implications of the problem of reconstruction, as yet unsolved, are illustrated by similar reports from occupied areas today. William Henry Chamberlain tells of a conversation with a highly educated German who had been a confirmed anti-Nazi. Bewildered by the parallels between Gestapo methods and arbitrary occupation, he echoed Shirk's sentiments when he said, bitterly, "I was against the Nazis as long as they were in power. But I am a Nazi now, as from 1946, after your 'democratic' occupation." See William Henry Chamberlain, "The Denazification Fiasco," in *The Wall Street Journal*, September 5, 1946, editorial page.

³⁸ E. P. Jacobson to Asa O. Aldis, president of the Claims Commission, dated Jackson, Mississippi, November 16, 1872, in the case of William L. Sharkey, S.C.C. No. 2635 (claimed \$3,655.00, allowed \$1,920.00 in 1872), General Accounting Office files.

³⁹ Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 2635, General Accounting Office files. The first floor of Judge Sharkey's home was used by General James B. McPherson during the first siege of Jackson, Mississippi. As a result, Sharkey said, "My wife told me that all the Dining articles were [taken]—a part loaned to Gen. McP. & never returned & the remainder taken by the Gen's servants." See Sharkey's signed statement, dated June 20, 1871.

ing \$1920.00 of the \$3644.00 claimed, noted that Sharkey was ". . . so well known as a public character that we need but very briefly refer to the Evidence. . . . He was throughout the war a steadfast Union man & so known & reputed by all. . . ." ⁴⁰

The heavy losses suffered by the planter Unionists when the federal army arrived are quickly revealed in the Summary Reports of the Commissioners, who briefed each case in making their recommendation to Congress, which body had reserved the right of specific appropriation. A leaf from this Summary Report in the case of William Bailey may here be included as illustrative. Bailey, an old-line Whig who had known Clay personally, was a native of Virginia. He had lived on the Red River since 1850, and owned a plantation of 1500 acres. Regarding his Unionism the Commissioners wrote, "After the most thorough and searching inquiry we find Mr. Bailey to have been a constant consistent Union man during the whole war."⁴¹ Without entering further into this phase of the investigation, which continued over a period of three years, the report is here cited as it concerned the property involved:

No. of Item	NATURE OF CLAIM	AMOUNT CLAIMED	AMOUNT ALLOWED
1	44800 lbs corn—8000 bushels @ \$1.50.....\$	12,000.	\$10,000.
2	30,000 lbs fodder—15 Tons @ \$33.....	495.	300.
3	105000 lbs Hay—52½ tons @ \$33.....	1,732.50	1,050.
4	74 mules @ \$175.....	13,125.00	9,375.
5	10 cords wood @ \$5.....	50.00	30.
6	410000 lbs corn—7321 24/50 Bush @ \$1.50	10,982.18	9,152.
7	20000 lbs fodder—10 Tons @ \$33.....	330.	200.
8	5040 lbs Corn—90 bush @ \$1.50.....	135.	112.50
9	300 head Beef cattle @ \$40.....	12,000.	5,900.
10	150 head sheep @ \$6.....	900.	450.
11	110 hogs @ \$8.....	880.	550.
12	17000 lbs cured Bacon @ 12½ cts.....	2,125.	1,700.
13	1000 bus. sweet potatoes @ 60 cts.....	600.	600.
14	12 Bbl Molasses [sic] . . . 540 gals @ 75 cts	405.	324.
15	8 Hhds sugar . . . 9600 lbs @ \$12½.....	1,200.	960.
16	20 yoke large Oxen yoke chains &c.....	2,400.	—
17	21 Horses—Large—Blooded @ \$175.....	3,675.	—

⁴⁰ Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 2653, General Accounting Office files.

⁴¹ Summary Report of the Commission in the case of William Bailey, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed \$104,492.40, allowed \$45,161.00 in 1875], General Accounting Office files. The merits of the case were debated in Congress, and payment was thus further delayed. For the discussions of this case in both the House and the Senate see the *Congressional Record*, 42 Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4181-4184; 5141-5152.

18	2 carts & harness @ \$120.....	240.	100.
19	7 plantation wagons & harness @ \$150.....	1,050.	350.
20	30 sets plow gear @ \$15.....	450.	—
21	25 Bushels salt @ \$2.....	50.	25.
22	15 miles pl[an]ks & rail fence for wood....	15,068.40	2,850.
23	10000 lbs corn 178 32/56 bush. @ \$1.50.....	284.32	233.22
24	1000 lbs fodder—1/2 ton @ \$33...\$16.50.....	—	—
25	4410 Bush. Corn	6,615.	—
26	Use of engine mill &c. 36 days & nights.....	1,800.	—
27	2 Boilers engine Mill &c sold by Q[uarte]r M[aster]	5,000.	—
28	100 Bales cotton for bedding &c.....	10,000.	—
29	300 cords wood from Brick yard.....	900.	900.
		42	\$104,492.40
			\$45,161.72

The explanation of awards which accompanied this schedule shows how the Commissioners arrived at the amounts recommended for allowance. Hundreds of pages of testimony concerning the condition of the plantation prior to the visit of Union troops and the circumstances surrounding the taking of the goods are summarized as follows:

For the first 15 & for the 23^d & 24th items of his account the claimant produces vouchers or offers certificates. The property was all taken at the time of Gen. Banks second expedition up the Red river. 18 or 20 yoke of large oxen were taken (item 16) but they may be and probably are included in the 300 head item 9. The horses, item 17, are not satisfactorily proved. That they were taken is probable. It is certain from the testimony of Gen. Bailey's agent, Capt. Wittenberg, that ten were taken & he recovered them because they were taken without authority & again taken & as in the first instance apparently without authority. The taking for the use of the army is not proved nor is it clearly impossible.

Carts and plantation wagons (items 18 & 19) are not like horses mules & other similar property the legitimate objects of plunder by the thieves & "Bummers" who always follow large armies, & they were taken probably for use in building the dam across the red river. We make such allowance in value as we think just & reasonable. Items 20.26.27 & 28 are not "stores and supplies"—the cotton not having been used for hospital purposes. Items 21 & 22 were proved. The 15 miles of fencing was used for firewood. The damage to Gen. Bailey may have been all he charges but the value of the fencing as fuel for the army, can not exceed the sum allowed & our allowance in all cases must

⁴² Summary Report of the Commission in S.C.C. No. 980, General Accounting Office files.

be governed by such value—Item 25 is not allowed—The claimant has vouchers or receipts for over 15000 bushels & the parties giving them have intended & probably did intend they should cover all the corn taken. Item 29 was proved & its value as charged (\$900) allowed.

In fixing prices we have been governed as far as we were able by the prices paid by Commissaries & Quartermaster at or near the time & places, and otherwise by the prices current at New Orleans.⁴³

In the light of such procedures for testing each claim, it seems obvious that any man who, having suffered the consequences of opposing the Confederacy and having survived Union occupation would, by the time he had satisfied the Commissioners and paid his attorneys, receive small satisfaction from his token award.

In no case, of course, was any allowance made without full proof of loyalty to the Union. And when payment was made it was often so much reduced, such heavy expense had been incurred in proving the claim, and so many years had passed since the loss of the property, that it could hardly be called an "award." If it had been made, as promised, at the close of the war, the money could, as William Bailey wrote, have furnished "immediate relief" for the restocking of the plantation, "putting in new crops and thus providing for the support of my Family, including many of my former slaves who are waiting to get employment at wages."⁴⁴ By the 1870's it was often too late to be of much use. Indeed, the picture of economic distress caused by military action, loss of capital in stock and property, constitutes a significant part of the records.

The Commissioners made special note of the report of their special agent, R. B. Avery, who described the valiant efforts of Gray Smith of Mississippi to re-establish himself during this period. Smith had owned a plantation of which 1,000 acres were in cultivation prior to the war. At its close he was in debt to the amount of \$32,000 but, ". . . like an honest man, determined to pay it without recourse to fraudulent conveyance of lands, or going through bankruptcy." Sending his wife and

⁴³ Summary Report of the Commission in the case of William Bailey, Rapides, Louisiana, S.C.C. No. 980 [claimed \$104,492.40, allowed \$45,161.00 in 1874], General Accounting Office files.

⁴⁴ William Bailey to Edward M. Stanton, Secretary of War, November 24, 1864, in the William Bailey case, S.C.C. No. 980. Action on the payment had been deferred by a special military court on April 4, 1863 and by the United States Court in New Orleans in June, 1864. In 1866 Stanton ruled that Bailey could not be paid because of the current construction of the limiting act of July 4, 1864. The case was finally allowed after extended review not only by the Commission but by Congress.

daughter to live with friends in Memphis, he remained with his son on the plantation. There they worked themselves on the plantation and cooked their own meals. "Coffee they did not use. In this way they lived for seven years, and the family were not united until the old debts were canceled, by payment in full with interest, except one debt due a bank, and upon which the interest was remitted."⁴⁵ Immediately following the war, Smith had made out a claim for \$66,000.00 to cover his losses in "mules, horses, hogs, cattle, and other things." But, in his own words, "I had no money, and I was in bad health, and I could not go to Washington, and so have had this reduced to \$10,000 to enable me to prove it here."⁴⁶ During the war years he had raised about 700 acres in corn but, he added ruefully, the Union cavalry "were feeding on me every time they came to Holly Springs, and they made 72 raids there."⁴⁷ In 1878 the Commissioners recommended payment of \$7,000 of the \$10,000 he had claimed.

All of the 22,298 claimants who applied to the Commission were, of course, not found to be loyal, but it does seem clear that there was much active Unionist sentiment throughout the South.⁴⁸ Such a state of affairs was, indeed, an assumption by the northern government during the war. The dual-status theory drew fine distinctions between an individual and his state. Even the bitter confiscation acts provided that a "rebel" in the South have only sixty days to redeem his confiscated property, while a "loyal" man was allowed two years.⁴⁹ It is true that, with the events at Fort Sumter and with Lincoln's call for troops, the majority of southerners who had opposed the war accepted it as inevitable. But it is likewise true that many men of Union

⁴⁵ Statement of Special Agent R. B. Avery, dated Lamar, Mississippi, December 1, 1877, in the case of Gray W. Smith, S.C.C. No. 5686 [claimed \$10,000.00, allowed \$7,000.00 in 1878], General Accounting Office files.

⁴⁶ Claimants who asked in excess of \$10,000 were required to appear in Washington with their witnesses, and testify before the three Commissioners there. All claims from \$5,000 to \$10,000 were examined for the government "on the spot" in the communities of their origin, by the special agents. Local special commissioners took the sworn evidence for the smaller cases, following eighty detailed questions prepared for their use by the Commissioners. This evidence was then forwarded to Washington for review and decision.

⁴⁷ Testimony of Gray Smith, Holly Springs, Mississippi, taken at Lamar, Mississippi, December 1, 1877, by Special Agent R. B. Avery, in the case of Gray Smith, S.C.C. No. 4686 [claimed \$10,000.00, allowed \$7,000.00 in 1878], General Accounting Office files.

⁴⁸ A total of 5,250 cases was barred for non-prosecution and, of the remaining 16,991, only about forty-one per cent, or 7,092, were allowed following the rigorous examination of the Republican Commissioners. See Frank W. Klingberg, "The Southern Claims Commission: A Postwar Agency in Operation," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XXXII (1945), 208-209.

⁴⁹ See James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), especially the chapter entitled "Restoration of Captured and Confiscated Property," (pp. 316-341) for an enlargement of these distinctions.

sentiments throughout the Confederacy, while holding to their principles, adopted a policy of only passive resistance.

Madame Eugenia Bertinetti, of Mississippi, said of her situation during the war, "I was there between two fires continually. . . . I remained at home quietly & tried to protect what was left to me." When she refused to sell her cotton to the Confederate authorities, the 2,000 bales were all burned. When called upon to send her Negroes to assist in making fortifications or forts for the southern army, she encouraged them to take to the woods, or "at least I would say to them that this order had been given, & they might use their own discretion about it, and they would all disappear, & they never found any of them."⁵⁰ Even passive resistance often brought down upon the individual the censure of his community. In the case of the Rev. John T. Clark, an Episcopal minister of Halifax County, Virginia, his well known Whig sentiments, his vote for a Union candidate to the Constitutional Convention in Virginia in 1861, and his refusal to vote for the ordinance of secession made him a suspect. Clark was a native Virginian who had inherited "a large fortune, & many slaves but he summed up the censure of his community with the comment: "I was denounced at the time as an Abolitionist, a Southern man with Northern feelings, a Dirt eater, a Submissionist; & my friends were very uneasy & thought I had ruined my character, & it was for a good while under a cloud."⁵¹

In the early days of peace, as on the eve of war, the cohesive and the divisive forces within the Union often appear to have been in precarious balance. The industrialization of both ends of the Appalachians, a fact today, had been the expectancy of Calhoun during the years of his advocacy of a protective tariff and began in earnest in the post-bellum period. The struggle between plantation and farm in the South continued after the war as before. This conflict not only split Virginia but was active in every state. In the Mississippi Valley statistics on land holdings in the late 1850's showed a trend toward private

⁵⁰ Testimony of Eugenia Bertinetti, Washington, November 24, 1873, in her own claim, S.C.C. No. 154 [claimed \$22,325.00, allowed \$11,860.00 in 1873], General Accounting Office files. Mrs. Bertinetti's claim had been endorsed for payment by Lincoln on January 25, 1864, and by Andrew Johnson on June 8, 1866, but payment was withheld by the policy of refusing payment to southerners.

⁵¹ Statement of the Rev. John T. Clark to Special Commissioner M. F. Pleasants, February 10, 1873, in his own case, S.C.C. No. 13330 [claimed \$8,532.00, allowed \$5,255.00 in 1873], General Accounting Office files.

ownership of smaller acreages in the South which had more in common with the agrarian west than with the plantation.⁵² And, as Charles W. Ramsdell maintained, it seems probable that improved farm machinery, transportation developments, and increased immigration were, by 1860, setting the natural and impassable limits of the slave system.⁵³

Unionist leadership in the South, aided by these forces and vigorously supported by Washington, might have effected both reunion and the re-emergence of the two party system. The man of passive resistance was, perhaps, more representative of the real possibilities for this type of leadership in 1865 than the active and vigorous loyalist. His Unionism was less dramatic but more widespread. Tragically, for such men the congressional measures of the late sixties made no allowance, in spite of their own protests. In the view of the Radicals, every person, "without regard to his personal wishes, sentiments, feelings, without regard to his personal conduct, who resided within the territorial limits held by the forces in armed hostility" was, in the public sense, "... an enemy of the United States: just as much so in the public sense . . . as if he had been commander of the confederate forces."⁵⁴

What was the effect of such an attitude on Unionists of the stamp of J. Madison Wells, of Edward Middleton, of Judge William Sharkey, and of William Bailey? The terms of surrender and the first outline of the Lincoln-Johnson program had promised that the wounds of conflict would heal, leaving few scars. In Georgia, where pre-war Unionism had been powerful, the fate of the reviving Unionist party was described by Benjamin H. Hill, who told a Congressional committee in 1871: "we old whigs said, Well, you see all the evils of secession that we prophesied have come true; Now we suppose the people will believe us . . . in the meantime Congress came in, lumped the old Union democrats and whigs together with the secessionists, and said that they would punish us all alike" He summarized his post-mortem with a prophetic comment: "Congress by that act prevented us from

⁵² Two studies of trends in land ownership, based on statistics, are Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the late Ante-Bellum South," in *The Journal of Southern History* VI (1940), 24-45 and, by the same authors, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," in *The Journal of Southern History*, VIII (1943), 161-182.

⁵³ Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1929), 151-171.

⁵⁴ George F. Edmunds in *Congressional Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd session, part III, February 28, 1871, p. 1792.

saying to the secession democrats that all they said was untrue; that the northern people had no desire to oppress them, because the acts of Congress proved that they were right."⁵⁵

Without entering further into a discussion of proper policy, of correct interpretation of the Constitution, or of military strategy, we may return to the story of the Unionist planter as it is revealed in the records of the Commission. Here is clinical data on the response of the individual to Confederate measures conscripting men and property, on the shift of the war-time economy of the South from cotton to corn, on the effect on southern communities of measures from the North designed either to punish or to placate. If the Unionist planters disagreed with the course of their state they were, for the most part, unwilling to renounce it in adversity. And although they were often rejected by their southern families and friends only to be despoiled and victimized by their liberators from the North, they remained loyal to the cause of the Union and the people of the Confederacy.

⁵⁵ Statement of Benjamin H. Hill, later a Senator from Georgia, in Atlanta, October 30, 1871, in "The Ku Klux Conspiracy," *House Miscellaneous Documents* (1871), 42nd Congress, 2nd session, pp. 762-763.

THE ROBERT J. MILLER LETTERS, 1813-1831

Edited by D. L. CORBITT

The Revolutionary War, the writings of Thomas Paine, and the French Revolution exerted a great influence on religious life in North Carolina. Following the war, a wave of skepticism swept the state. Some thought there was no virtue. The population was small and scattered, and there were few ministers.

By 1800, however, Francis Asbury, Joseph Caldwell, Elder Stearns, and others were preaching at every opportunity. Camp meetings began to spread. People became interested in the Great Revival which was enveloping the state. These meetings were attracting people of different denominations. In a meeting held in Iredell County in March, 1803, there were fourteen Presbyterian, three Methodist, two Baptist, one Episcopal, one Dutch Calvinist, and two German Lutheran ministers. Religious activities began to increase in all sections of the state.¹

The Episcopal Church as an organization had collapsed during the Revolution. Because its clergymen had an unsympathetic attitude towards the Revolution, and because of its connection with the church of England it was slow in its efforts toward reorganization. At the close of the Revolution there was no American Bishop and the Bishop of London refused to consecrate one.² There was no other way to perpetuate the organization. There were a few active ministers in North Carolina, who made efforts toward reorganization in the 1790's, but nothing definite and lasting was accomplished before 1817.

Rev. Charles Pettigrew tried to organize the church in 1790. On June 5 of that year, Pettigrew, James L. Wilson, and two laymen met in convention³ in Tarboro, and approved the general ecclesiastical constitution adopted in Philadelphia in 1789. In this convention conditions in North Carolina were represented as "truly deplorable" because there was a great need for clergymen and because the opposing sectarians were "using every possible exertion to seduce its [the Episcopal] members to their different communions." A second convention⁴ was held in Tarboro, No-

¹ S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, II, 168 ff.

² R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina*, I, 390.

³ *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, Addresses and Papers by Clergymen and Laymen of the Dioceses of North and East Carolina*. p. 417. (Hereafter cited as *Sketches of Church History*.)

⁴ *Sketches of Church History*, p. 420.

vember 12, 1790, at which time delegates were appointed to the general convention to be held in New York in September, 1793. No representative from North Carolina, however, attended the New York convention.⁵ In November, 1793, another attempt was made to organize the church, and three clergymen and three laymen met in Tarboro for that purpose.⁶ The only thing accomplished was the selection of a standing committee. In May, 1794, four clergymen and four laymen again met in Tarboro,⁷ framed a constitution, and elected Charles Pettigrew bishop of the Episcopate of North Carolina. Robert J. Miller, then a Lutheran minister, attended this meeting. Pettigrew soon set out to attend the general convention and to be consecrated bishop but was interrupted by an epidemic in Norfolk, Va., returned to North Carolina, and died shortly afterwards. Between 1794 and 1816 practically nothing more was done. In the latter year Adam Empie returned to Wilmington. He and Bethel Judd of Fayetteville were most active toward the restoration of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina which was accomplished in 1817.

The letters reproduced here were written by Adam Empie, Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft, George W. Freeman, William M. Green, and William D. Cairns to Robert Johnston Miller.⁹ They relate entirely to the efforts to revive the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina and to the work of that church in the western part of the state the years following the election of Bishop Ravenscroft in 1823. These letters were presented to the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the North Carolina Department of Archives and History) in 1916 by W. W. Scott of Lenoir, N. C.

⁵ *Sketches of Church History*, p. 422.

⁶ *Sketches of Church History*, p. 423.

⁷ *Sketches of Church History*, p. 426.

⁸ Empie lived in Wilmington, 1811-1813; resided in New York, 1813-1815; and returned to Wilmington in 1816.

⁹ Robert J. Miller Papers, 1799-1831, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Robert Johnston Miller was born near Dundee, Scotland, July 11, 1758; was reared in the Episcopal Church; came to America in 1774; was a soldier of the Revolution; after the Revolution settled in Franklin County, N. C.; in 1785 became a Methodist minister, but withdrew from the Conference upon the separation of the Methodist from the Church of England; in 1786 moved to Lincoln County; since there was no Episcopal Church in the state accepted ordination in the Lutheran Church, reserving his Episcopal beliefs; took an active part in the efforts to revive the Episcopal Church in 1793 and 1794; was secretary of the Lutheran Synod, 1803 and 1804, and president, 1812; took an active part in the revival of the Episcopal Church, 1817, and was ordained a priest of that church in 1821; served in Lincoln, Iredell, and Burke counties; died May 13, 1834. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 369-411; G. D. Bernheim and George H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina*, pp. 155, 156, 164.

The editor has endeavored to give an exact reproduction of the letters without comment regarding errors in spelling, punctuation, and grammar except where the meaning is not clear.

Wilmington N. C. Novr. 22nd. 1813

Rev^d Sir

I have been in this State two years & I have endeavored by enquiry & by travelling about to ascertain what number of Episcopal Clergy this State contains If a sufficient number could be found it is greatly to be wished that the Ch^h could be organized, placed under the superintendance of a *spiritual Head* & accede to the ecclesiastical Union that obtains in the other Sections of the U. States.¹⁰

As I have lately understood that you are an Episcopalian & that you live somewhere in Burke¹¹ Co. I take this means of learning whether my information be correct Be good enough at any event to let me know whether you belong to the Episcopal order¹² And if so whether you are in Priest's or only in Deacon's Orders— as well as the number of your Congregation the place of your residence & the prospects of your Ch^h Inform me also if you know of any Episcopal Clergyman or Congregation in your part of the State & be assured that to hear from you freely & often will always give much pleasure to

Y^r Brother in Christ

A. Empie¹³

Rev^d. M^r Miller

Wilmington N. C. March 19th, 1814

Rev^d. & Dr. Sir

Your letter, which came to hand a few days ago, has given me much pleasure not because it brings me very welcome intelligence of an ecclesiastical nature, for from what you say the Ch^h. seems to be at almost its lowest point of declension, but because it speaks a language congenial to my heart, & breathes a spirit of piety of orthodoxy & religious zeal which I had almost despaired & which I greatly rejoice to find in this dark section of the Union Your desire & solicitude, to

¹⁰ The Protestant Episcopal Church had been organized and bishops elected and consecrated in Connecticut, 1784, Pennsylvania, 1787, New York, 1787, Virginia, 1790, Maryland, 1792, South Carolina, 1795, Massachusetts, 1797, New Jersey, 1815, and Ohio, 1819. Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, p. 575.

¹¹ Miller's residence, Mary's Grove, was then in a section of Burke County which later became a part of Caldwell County, about two miles from Lenoir, N. C. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 388.

¹² Although an ordained Lutheran minister, he retained his Episcopal beliefs and was the only minister of that faith in that section. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 269, 270, 274.

¹³ Adam Empie was born in Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1785; graduated from Union College in 1807; was ordained a Protestant Episcopal clergyman in 1809; was assistant rector at (Hempstead) Long Island, N. Y., 1809-1811; was rector at Wilmington, N. C., 1811-1814; served as chaplain and professor at West Point, N. Y., 1814-1816; was rector at Wilmington, 1816-1827; was president of William and Mary College, 1827-1836; was rector of St. James Church, Richmond, Va., 1836-1853; and died at Wilmington, N. C., March 6, 1860. He married Ann Eliza Wright, daughter of Joshua Wright of Wilmington. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 661.

see the Episcop. Ch^h. rise again from its ruins, are by me most cordially reciprocated & I hope & pray that the period of her resurrection is not far distant

But I regret that I cant flatter myself with the immediate prospect of effecting a change Ever since my return from the back parts of this state last fall I have been in such a wretched state of health that I have determined upon leaving this state & returning to my native climate New York.¹⁴ Perhaps however I may return to the Southward after the expiration of two three or four years And should nothing be done before that time I would again renew my exertions.

At present I know of but two Clergymen besides yourself Mr Hatch¹⁵ of Edenton & Mr G. Strebeck¹⁶ of Newbern At the same time I wrote to you I addressed letters also to Mr Micklejohn¹⁷ in Granville Co. Mr Burgess¹⁸ in Halifax Co. & Mr Gurrally¹⁹ of Murfreesburgh; but as I have rec^d no ans^r. from either of them, they either do not live there or else there are no such men in existence or else they do not think it worth their while to ans^r When you write me again I wish you would inform me, if you can, where Messrs. Blunt²⁰ Gurrally Wilson²¹ & Micklejohn now reside Tho I leave the state I am interested for the Ch^h. & will do any thing to promote its interests

The subject of Missionaries suggests to me more observations than I can crowd into this letter Your views however coincide with mine & since I have been here I have more than once urged my Northern friends to send a couple into this State. I shall with redoubled energy renew my suit as soon as convenient

If, on episcopal grounds, a union could be effected between our Ch^h. & the Lutheran, I should, under existing circumstances, deem it a most important & happy coalition Such connections have at the Northward taken place in many instances & it rejoices me to hear you say that the Lutheran clergy would give such a proposition a favorable hearing

For your offer of your journals I thank you If you ever have them conveyed to Rawleigh & left at Mr Gales²² by the 8th of April I shall

¹⁴ He went to West Point, N. Y., where he was chaplain and professor, 1814-1816.

¹⁵ Frederick W. Hatch was formerly of Maryland. He taught in the Edenton Academy, 1811-1812, and was rector of St. Pauls Church until 1815 when he returned to Maryland. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 256.

¹⁶ George Strebeck was rector of Christ's church in New Bern and principal of the New Bern Academy. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 256, 257.

¹⁷ George Micklejohn, a colonial minister, had served at St. Matthews in Hillsboro and St. Johns in Williamsboro. He had been captured with the Tories at Moore's Creek Bridge and parolled to Perquimans County. He lived in Granville County until he removed to Mecklenburg County, Virginia. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 85, 211, 265.

¹⁸ Thomas Burgess was a pioneer Episcopal minister whose field was the Parish of Edgecombe. For years he was rector of the Episcopal Church in Halifax. W. C. Allen, *History of Halifax County*, p. 229.

¹⁹ Joseph Gurley was active in the efforts to organize the church in the 1790's. He lived in Hertford County. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 190, 416, 429, 433.

²⁰ Nathaniel Blount served in Edgecombe and Pitt counties in 1793-1794. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 416.

²¹ James T. Wilson served in Edgecombe and Martin counties in 1793-1794. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 416.

²² Joseph Gales was editor and publisher of *The Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*.

deem it a favor On the 8th. God willing I pass thro R.²³ on my way to New York You will gratify me much if you will write to me at West Point, State of N. York where I expect to be stationed And if you will let me know in what points of discipline doctrine & Ch^h. gov^t. the Lutherans in this state differ from the Episcop. & on what terms they would accede to the Constitution of our Ch^h. you will farther greatly oblige

Your sincere friend & brother

A. Empie

Wilmington Jan^y 26. 1818

Rev^d Sir

My friend John Winslow²⁴ Esq of Fayetteville, informs me that he has forwarded to you a copy of the minutes of our convention & one of our Missionary Circulars.— I am rejoiced to hear that this State contains yet some remains of the good old Episcopal Church and am encouraged to hope that Zion here will soon raise up her drooping head. The Lord of the harvest grant it in his own good time.

Our next convention²⁵ will be held in Fayetteville, on the second thursday after Easter (e,e,) the 2nd. of April. I hope you will deem it expedient to use your influence to obtain contributions for the Missionary fund & to organize the Church in each of the Congregations, where you officiate; that each of them may send a delegate to our next convention; at which, I hope, you yourself will attend.— To be represented in, and in union with the Convention is very desirable on account of the Privileges attending it.— Those who are represented will have the advantage of regular visits from the Bishop²⁶ of Virginia, who has taken the superintendance of the church in this State; the advantage of our missionaries, who would officiate among them,— the advantage of the superintending care of the Church, to watch over their interests, to consult their welfare and to supply them when destitute, as well as to secure them against such impositions as they lately sustained in Salisbury.— If we but duly exert ourselves, by the blessing of GOD, we may soon have a flourishing Church and a Bishop of our own.— The Lord grant this for his Mercy's sake; and the Lord direct and bless you and all of us in all things relating to our Zion.

²³ Raleigh, N. C.

²⁴ John Winslow was active in organizing the Episcopal church. He was senior warden in St. John's Church, Fayetteville, N. C.

²⁵ This convention met according to schedule. Bethel Judd was re-elected president and Adam Empie was elected secretary.

²⁶ Bishop R. C. Moore had consented to perform the Episcopal duties in the state, but was unable to attend the convention. *Journal of the First and Second Conventions of the Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, 1817 and 1818*, p. 71.

A Bible Society²⁷ has lately been formed here, & we hope soon to organise a Prayer book society, the constitutions of both which I shall send you. I should be happy to hear that you had followed our example.— If we can aid you either with Bibles or Prayer books, tell us how, & we will gladly do it; and if you will form societies auxiliary to us or contribute otherwise to our Societies, we shall be happy to lend you our assistance to the utmost of our power; tho' you may perhaps find it more expedient to unite with some Bible or Prayer book societies, more immediately in your neighbourhood.—

I shall be happy Sir to hear from you on this subject & I beg you or any one that does write to me to inform whether there are any of the above Societies in your town or Section of the Country— Whence you generally procure your books, thro' what channel it is most convenient for them to come, Whether Bibles and Prayer books are much wanted in your part of the State, and whether the Bible & Prayer book Societies nearest to you be in this State S^o Carolina or Virginia.

I am most respectfully

Yr Brother in Christ

A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

I have just rec^d your very acceptable favor of Dec^r. 31st. for which I sincerely thank you And I assure you that my heart responds a sincere Amen to all your pious wishes & prayers I have no time at present to give a circumstantial answer to your question about your Ordination Nor could I well until I knew more about the circumstances Rest assured however that if you was formerly a member of our Convention you will not be deemed disqualified now No Sir— we shall be delighted to shake you by the hand & I pray God nothing may prevent me from having that pleasure at the ensuing Convention As you possess much knowledge in relation to the past history & present state of the Church your absence at that time I should most sincerely de-

²⁷ Bible societies were organized over the state beginning in 1813. The following notice appeared in the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, November 19, 1813: "Communicated. The friends of Religion of Christ—The Friends of mankind in the State of N. Carolina—are invited without distinction of denomination to attend a meeting at the State House in Raleigh, on Monday the 29 inst at 6 o'clock in the evening for the purpose of forming a Bible Society—a Society for the gratuitous distribution of the Sacred Scriptures. A Constitution will be prepared and then laid before the meeting for their adoption and organization."

From this organization other societies were organized throughout the state, and by 1823 the following societies had been formed: Asheville Bible Society, Camden Bible Society, Concord Bible Society, Fayetteville Bible Society, Franklin County Bible Society, Granville County Bible Society, Gates County Bible Society, Greensboro Bible Society, Halifax County Bible Society, Hertford County Bible Society, Iredell County Bible Society, Lincolnton Bible Society, Morganton Bible Society, Newbern Bible Society, Orange County Bible Society, Pittsboro Bible Society, Randolph County Bible Society, Smithfield Bible Society, Salisbury Bible Society, University Bible Society, Wilmington Bible Society, Warrenton Bible Society, and Wilkesboro Bible Society.

In 1822 Rev. Empie was corresponding secretary of the Wilmington Bible Society. Colin McIver, *The North-Carolina Register and United States Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1823*, pp. 103-104.

plore May the Lord preserve & bless you & grant us to meet each other then

A. Empie

Wilmington (N. C.) Octr. 24th 1820

Rev^d & Dear Sir

In a work lately published, written by Bishop White²⁸ of Philadelphia & entitled *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Ch^h. in the U. States of America* I see some *slight notices* of the history of the Prot. Ep. Ch. in this state But on this subject we remain still perfectly in the dark & I know of no person so well calculated to remove this obscurity as yourself since you alone survive of the Clergy who in 1794 recommended the Rev^v. Ch^s. Pettigrew for episcopal consecration The object therefore of this my address is to request you for the sake of that Ch^h. which you love & that holy cause in which you are engaged & that God whom you seem to commit to writing circumstantially all that you know about the history of the Pr. Ep. Ch^h. in this state & to communicate this to Bishop White or to myself or to the public through the medium of some public religious paper or at all events to dispose of it in such a way that the public may hereafter have the advantage of it

You, no doubt, know better than I could point out the various subjects which such an account ought to contain but of all other things I am most anxious to become acquainted with the state of religion & of the Ch^h. before during and after the revolution— the number names & character of the clergy during those periods— the names & situations of the several Churches together with the number of parishioners in each or at least the probable number— the various steps that were taken after the revolution to organize the Church promote its prosperity & improve the state of religion

Have any episcopal offices ever been performed in this state either before during or after the revolution Did not the Clergy generally keep parish registers & have not some of them left records behind which might be useful to the ecclesiastical historian— Was any connection ever exist or was any ever proposed between the Lutherans & Episcopalians of this state— if so what was the nature of it & where did it take place

These things & all others that might tend to throw light upon the history of religion & of the Ch^h. in this state I should be happy to learn & if you could by little & little as you have leisure furnish them

²⁸ William White was born in Philadelphia, April 4, 1748; graduated from City College, 1765; studied divinity under Drs. Peters and Duche; went to England for orders; was ordained deacon, 1770, and priest, 1772; took the oath of allegiance to the United States, 1776; was active in efforts to restore his church; was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania, 1784; published *Lectures on the Catechism*, and *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*; and died on July 17, 1836. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 470.

as above stated or communicate them to me you would confer a very important benefit upon the Ch^h. & the public & especially upon

yr friend & brother in Christ

A. Empie

Rev^d R. J. Miller

Wilmington (N. C.) Jan^y 8th 1821

Rev^d. & Dear Sir

I thank you most sincerely for yours of the 8th. ult. & the information it contains I shall deem it a great favor if you will continue your communications whenever you find leisure to make them There is no danger of wearying me out The more minute & circumstantial they are the better

I see you draw from written or printed sources Do inform me what those sources are & if you are in the possession of documents that nobody else has, please inform me what they are whether you will part with them & for how much & if you cannot consent to do this leave them so that they may be procured after your death

I myself have no idea, at least, at present, of writing the history of the Ch^h. in this state nor is there any prospect that the intelligence you communicate will speedily see the light For Bishop White has finished his work & I know of no person who is at present either writing or collecting materials I am however anxious that such information as you possess should not die with you & I wrote to you therefore for the purpose of having that information treasured up either in manuscript or in print & would advise you to publish it yourself & would offer you my assistance were it not that I am well assured we should not be able to sell copies enough to defray the expence of printing & I myself do not feel in circumstances at present to have it printed at my own expence As life therefore is uncertain & the information important the sooner it is in black & white the better

Have you rec^d. the journal of our last Convention & cannot you attend our next Convention²⁹ at Raleigh

I am still laboring under a malady in my eyes am scarcely able to read or write at all & must therefore bid you god speed & conclude by recommending you to God & to the word of his grace

With much respect & esteem

Yours &c

A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

²⁹ This convention was held in the Supreme Court room in Raleigh, April 28-May 2, 1821.

Wilmington (N. C.) Feby 28th 1821Rev^d & Dear Sir

I thank you most sincerely for the information you have been kind enough to communicate on the subject of the Ch^h. & likewise for that which relates more particularly to yourself I rejoice to find that you still retain your attachment to our Ch^h. & that you are so desirous of promoting her interests I pray God to make you instrumental of much good to Zion

Our Missionary the Rev^d. Mr. Wright³⁰ passed hastily through your neighborhood last fall but did not stay long enough to do much good God willing he will again visit that quarter next summer & if you both are spared he will not leave it until he has had an interview with you We expect too at our next Convention to admit two more to the order of Deacons both of whom will be employed as Missionaries in this state Taking them into connection with the candidates that still remain we have a tolerable prospect of supplying the wants of the Ch^h. May the Lord of the harvest bless the present & raise up abundance of future laborers

On that delicate & interesting subject on which you have kindly given me a few hints I shall be happy to hear farther from you when circumstances permit at the same time I highly approve the prudence & the piety that make you anxious to do the greatest good at the least possible expence.

Could you not by writing to Joseph Abernathy induce him to send on at some convenient opportunity the records which he carried with him For they can be of no possible service to him

My letter is short but my affliction of the eyes must plead my apology Do let me hear from you frequently & believe me to be most sincerely

Yr brother in Ch.

A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. MillerHillsborough May 4th 1821Rev^d. & Dear Sir

I have come to this place on a visit of two or three days & though my eyes will not permit me to say much I cannot refrain dropping you a

³⁰ Thomas Wright was born in New York, but moved to Wilmington to engage in business. He soon became interested in the ministry and was ordained a deacon in 1820. Most of his early years were given to Calvary Church and the Wadesboro community. In 1826 he moved to Salisbury as rector of St. John's Church. In 1832 he moved to La Grange and later to Memphis, Tennessee, where he died in 1853. *Sketches of Church History*, p. 398; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention . . . 1823*, p. 16; Robert B. Owens, *History of St. John's Church Salisbury*, pp. 12, 14.

few lines After you left us Judge Cameron³¹ Rev^d. Mr. Bedell & myself were appointed a Committee of delegation to attend the Lutheran Synod & God willing we expect all to attend The circumstances of your being among them is one highly favorable* to our contemplated union As Episcopalians many if not all of us would have scrupled to receive the communion from hands not Episcopally ordained but now as you continue still to minister as one of them the elements may be consecrated by yourself & this is a measure which for the sake of peace accomodation & unity we hope our Lutheran brethren will most readily adopt We pray that both sides may manifest a most conciliatory spirit that has nothing in view but the salvation of souls the prosperity of religion & the glory of God As for our part we are determined to yield every thing we can in consistency with our consciences our ordination vows the established rules of our Church & the consequent duties that we owe to the Laiety to which we belong

Do send to me as soon as possible by mail a Lutheran catechism & any thing else which can be sent by mail & which contains any portion of the formulas or the standards or an explanation of the standard doctrines of the Lutheran Church If it can be done in this way send me even a Lutheran prayer book & I will pay you for all when if the Lord pleases I see you at the Synod

And let me request you my Rev^d. Brother not to pay for the postage of what you send to me Though I have not a super-abundance thank heaven I have a competency & shall be happy to hear from you as often as you can make it convenient to write May the Lord long preserve you & make you eminently useful to the interests of our Zion

Very respectfully

Your much obliged friend & brother in Ch^h

A. Empie

*See middle of first page) I cannot help here again remarking that I discover in this the finger of God The Lord seems to remove every obstacle out of the way & thus encourages us to proceed in our work & gives us intimations of its happy termination

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

P.S. In what part of Guilford³² will the Synod meet? at Greensborough?

³¹ Duncan Cameron of Hillsboro, Rev. George T. Bedell, rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, and secretary of the convention, and Rev. Adam Empie, rector of St. James's Church, Wilmington, were appointed a committee to attend the Lutheran Synod. This committee was authorized "to consider of and agree upon such terms of union, as may tend to the mutual advantage and welfare of both Churches, not inconsistent with the Constitution and Canons of this Church." *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 400, 401, 407; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Church in the State of North Carolina . . .*, p. 19.

³² This synod was held June 17, 1821, at Lau's Church Guilford County, N. C.

Christs Ch^h. Rowan
13th. Sept^r. 1823

Rev^d and Dear
Sir & Bro^r

Your Favour of the 13th. Aug^t. I received on the 6th inst on my arrival in Salisbury— I am much obliged to you for the information given me, and regrett exceedingly that from the difficulty of Communication, I should be deprived of the pleasure of your Company, and also be abridged in the Visits I had intended, to all the Congregations under your Care—

Mr. Wright joined me on Thursday Morning at Mr. Halls— after I had dispaired of seeing either of you— and we have officiated on that day— today— and purpose the same tomorrow in this Congregation— From thence I shall visit St. Michaels³³ having had the means of giving them notice for Tuesday— But as there is no information, of the Congregations in the County of Lincoln being apprised of my Visit, and it would Consequently be labour lost, or nearly so to visit them— I have concluded with the concurrence of Mr. Wrights opinion in favour of the Measure, to proceed direct to Wadesborough— and thence by Raleigh, home—looking to some future opportunity, by Divine Permission, to meet you Face to Face and be refreshed with your Company—

I sympathise very sincerely with the laborious station you have to fill— knowing by Experience both the labour and the anxiety which it occasions— But it is in the Service of a Master, who has wherewithall to reward his serv^{ts} Your Time of Life too demands Repose, and it is much in my desire and Intentions to contribute to it, while at the same time I have in view the welfare of the Churches— In the present distress, no other mode presents itself, than that of obtaining Lay Readers, in the different Congregations— a Resource long known to the Church, and oftentimes much favoured— This removes much of the anxiety which preys on the Mind of the Pastor— while the Flock is out of his view— it keeps them to the Liturgy, and prevents their running into strange Pastures, for still stranger food. And thus provides an antidote to that Indifference, which invariably follows mixed Services— The want of suitable persons however, to fill this office, is the chief difficulty, but where ever they can be had, I am desirous to employ them. Will you therefore be good enough to point out to me such persons, in your different Congregations, as would suitably fill this office— and advise me of their Consent, that I may forward to you the requisite authority for them to act—

Mr. Wright accords with me in these views and we have prevailed on Mr. Barber³⁴ to fill the place, in Christs Church,³⁵ on the vacant Sundays which his other avocations will permit—

³³ St. Micheal's Church, Iredell County. Robert J. Miller was rector.

³⁴ William Barber was authorized by Bishop Ravenscroft to officiate as lay reader. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention . . . 1824*, p. 10.

³⁵ Christ Church, Salisbury, N. C.

I do not expect to be fixed in Raleigh before December— tho I may be there during the sitting of the Legislature— My present address is Boydton— Mecklenburg County Va where it will give me pleasure to hear from you. Tho my present visit has not been as extensively useful as I wished— I trust it will not be without its Influence on the prosperity of our Zion— and it will furnish me with the Means of making my future appointments with more precision, having furnished me with a more correct Idea of places and Distances—

The Friends of the Church in Salisbury have declared themselves, and organised, a Station which I consider of great Importance, if we could find a suitable person to take Charge—

I Pray God to keep you in health and Peace— to Bless your Labours, and Reward your Self Denial and Devotedness to his Cause with a Crown of Glory— and entreating your Prayers for Myself and the Church over which the Providence of allmighty God hath sett me I remain your affect^e. Friend & Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravensc[roft]³⁶

Whatever your Experience may suggest as profitable for general or particular good, in the administration of the affairs is expected, and will be thankfully received—

Raleigh 26th. Decr. 1823—

Rev^d and Dear

Sir and Brother

Your Favour of the 29th Oct^r, I received from Mr. Green³⁷ a few days past, on my way to this place, and heartily thank you, for your kind Solicitude, in behalf of myself, and the Charge over which I am called to preside— May your Prayers, and those of many others, be heard and answered, to the Glory of God, in the Welfare of his Church and People—

I regrett exceedingly, the Casualty, which prevented my seeing you, during my visit to the West, both on your account, and my own— as I counted on much information and advice from your long Experience and intimate acquaintance with the People of that Section of the

³⁶ John Stark Ravenscroft was born in Prince George County, Va., in 1772. While he was quite young his parents took him to England and settled in Scotland. His father died soon afterward. On receiving an education he later returned to Virginia to look after his property; studied at William and Mary; joined the Methodist Church, but becoming interested in the ministry joined the Episcopal Church in 1815; was ordained in 1817 and became rector of St. James's Church in Mecklenburg County, Va.; was elected bishop of North Carolina, 1823; and died March 5, 1830. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 52.

³⁷ William Mercer Green was born in Wilmington, N. C., May 2, 1798; graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1818; studied theology under Bishop Moore; was ordained a deacon 1821 and priest 1822; was rector of St. John's Church, Williamsboro, 1821-1825; served as rector of St. Matthews's Church, Hillsboro, which he had founded, 1825-1837; was chaplain and professor of rhetoric and logic in the University of North Carolina, 1837-1849; was bishop of the Diocese of Mississippi, 1851-1887; and was one of the founders of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 391.

Diocese— This, however, I trust yet to enjoy, thro' the spareing Mercy of God— not only at our ensuing Convention, but at Marys Grove.³⁸

I am truly thankful, that it has pleased God, to work any good Impression by my Means, in the congregation of Christ Church,³⁹ and at Salisbury— May he carry on his own work.

While confined by Sickness at Wadesborough, I did every thing in my Power, to get these two places supplied with a resident, Pastor— and succeeded so far, as to obtain Mr. Wrights consent to undertake . . . [illegible] makeing suitable provi[sions] . . . [torn] to the Lay Readers recommended by you, for the Different Congregations— with a Blank one for Smyrna,⁴⁰ should you be able to procure a suitable person to fill the office— I also enclose some Directions in the exercise of their Duty, which you will be kind enough to read to them—

Some pains and address, I doubt not, will be required, to prevail with the people, to accept of this kind of Edification— very erroneous ideas being instilled into their Minds, on the subject of Preaching. Even with many Episcopalians, the delusion had succeeded so far, that they are rather inclined to wander into strange Pastures, tho' bare and lean— than to feed on the rich Repasts provided for them in our Standard Divines— To counteract this, I know, will be a work of Time— But it is our Duty to instruct them, and try to keep them within our own Enclosures— Permit me to say, that much will depend on your personal Influence, and if not done in your Time, will hardly be done at all— May God spare you, and strengthen you for this work—

I will mention for Information that when I acted as Lay Reader I took the trouble to copy the Sermons I read— conceding so far to the Prejudices of the people— and with a very happy Effect; and could you prevail with yours, to do the same— it would no doubt render them doubly useful, and lessen the difficulty you will have in getting the People to attend . . . [torn] within a Month . . . [torn] the order, and the . . . [torn] in New York at 30 . . . [torn] on which there will . . . book, for charges. . . [torn] procureing them for . . . [torn]

I have seen . . . [torn] your proposition— . . . [torn] foot.

It will give me . . . [torn] you, and to write . . . [torn] Zion— very great . . . [torn] down, and they that . . . [torn] is sure— and, we trust, the sett . . . [torn] Watchmen however, must be . . . [torn] “Linen and woolen” . . . [torn] Ministrations, . . . [torn]

With Prayer for you . . . [torn] Temporal and . . . [torn]

[Jn^o S. Ravenscroft]

³⁸ Mary's Grove was Miller's residence.

³⁹ Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C.

⁴⁰ Smyrna Church, Lincoln County. Robert J. Miller was rector.

Raleigh 23^d Augt. 1824Rev^d and Dear Sir

According to my promise at Convention— I now apprise you in Time of my course of Visits in the Western Section of the Diocese— My own knowledge of the Country however, will only allow me to fix them as far as Salisbury— afterwards, you must arrange the times and places, within the Limits I have fixed—

I have written to Salisbury that I shall be there on the Third Sunday in October— and as I give the previous week to the neighbourhood of Christs Church Rowan, shall be able to leave Salisbury on the 18th. or 19th. for your Residence. I have notified Bro^r. Wright that I shall be in Wadesborough on the First Sunday in November— you have therefore from the Third Sunday in October to the First in November to dispose of among your Congregations— giving me reasonable Time to travel from place to place, and arranging it so as to forward me on my route to Wadesborough—

Should there be any Candidates for Confirmation, you will please to give notice of the opportunity— and take a List of the Names, for your own Register— and that I may be Certified, thro' you that they are properly prepared—

Rumour no doubt has reached you, with its usual exaggerations of the Case of our Bro^r. Hooper—⁴¹ It has ended however for the present, in his requesting permission to withdraw from all Ministerial Duty for a Season, to give his Mind time to recover its balance, and regain Composure— This I have assented to, not only as the best measure, but as absolutely necessary to his Health both of Body and Mind—

From the Principles laid down in my convention Sermon⁴² and approved of by that Body— he found that he was not an Episcopalian— and as Clergy and Laity were called upon to act upon our known principles, he felt it his Duty to apprise me, that he could not bear his part in the revival of the Church, in its distinctive Character— and therefore purposed to resign his Charge unless something from me in reply to that Letter should produce a Change— The issue of the Correspondence I have mentioned above— The prejudices of early Education, and the warmth of his personal Feelings, are yet too strong for

⁴¹ William Hooper was born in Hillsboro, N. C., August 31, 1792, the son of William and Helen (Hogg) Hooper; graduated from the University of North Carolina, 1809; received an A.M. Degree, 1811; was tutor, 1810-1817, and professor of ancient languages in the University, 1817-1822; studied at Princeton Theological Seminary one session; was ordained deacon 1819 and priest 1822; was rector St. John's Church, Fayetteville, N. C., 1822-1824; was professor in the University, 1825-1837; became an adherent of the Baptist denomination, 1831; was professor of theology in Furman Institute, near Winnsboro, S. C., 1834-1840; was professor of Romance languages in South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C., 1840-1846; was president of Wake Forest College, 1846-1849; was teacher of a boys school, Littleton, N. C., 1849-1851; was pastor of the Baptist Church, New Bern, 1852-1854; was president of Chowan Collegiate Institute, Murfreesboro, N. C., 1855-1861; was teacher in the Female Seminary, Fayetteville, N. C., 1861-1865; was assistant principal of Wilson Collegiate Seminary for Young Ladies, 1866-1875; married Fannie P. Jones, daughter of Edmund Jones, solicitor general of North Carolina; and died at Chapel Hill, N. C., Aug. 19, 1876. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 141-142.

⁴² This was his first convention sermon which he delivered in 1824. It was entitled "A Sermon on the Church." John Stark Ravenscroft, *Works*, I, pp. 38, 95.

Reason and Scripture— Nor am I sanguine as to the result of the consideration he may give the subject in his Retirement. He is greatly to be pitied— and has the sincere Commiseration of all his Brethren— He has been dealt with in the gentlest manner for which he expresses himself very grateful.

You have thus the outline of the only Circumstance of any Moment in the affairs of the Church, which has lately occurred— and will be able to correct the Misrepresentations of it, which are very plentiful all around— if they have reached you— I hope you have health enough to enjoy all the Blessings a gracious God sees fit to bestow upon you, and are looking forward with Christian Faith and Hope to that promised period— when Age and decay shall be exchanged for Immortal Youth and Eternal Glory—

Your affectt^e. Friend & Pastor
Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Raleigh 7th. Sept^r. 1824

Rev^d and Dear Bro^r

Since writing you on the 23^d of last month— I have seen the Rev^d. Mr. Green who thinks I have not allowed myself sufficient Time for the Congregations west and south of Salisbury— I therefore forward this to advise you that I have altered my appointment for Wadesboro— to the 2^d Sunday in Nov^r which will give you an additional week to dispose of among the Congregations in Lincoln— That is to say the appointments in my Letter of the 23^d Aug^t. will stand as there fixed to the 3^d Sunday in Oct^r at Salisbury, after that, at your disposal in Burke and Lincoln untill the 2^d Sunday in Nov^r. when I am to be in Wadesborough—

With Salutations of Mercy and Peace I am your affectt^e. Friend and Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. Mr. Miller

Charlotte 8th. Nov^r. 1824

Rev^d and Dear Sir

I have arranged with the Printer for the publication of the address at the price of three dollars— which is a dollar per quire; and Mr. Abernathy has promised to be in tomorrow, to take them out, and attend to the Distribution of those for Whitehaven— He has also promised to send those for the two other Congregations to Alfred Burton, to whom I shall write requesting him to forward them to Smyrna, and from thence to M^{rs}. Perkins's— for St. Peters, to be distributed— Whether this will be done I know not, and I confess I have my doubts, even of so much exertion in the Cause, but it is all I can do— I enclose you one,

as it may assist in bringing forward the same plan in your own neighbourhood—

I preached at Whitehaven on Thursday and Confirmed Seven persons— Mrs. Byers one— Mrs. Graham was there, but did not come forward—

I preached here yesterday on the Invitation of Dr. McCrie⁴³ but with rather a costive consent as I thought from Mr. Caldwell—⁴⁴ who after I had closed came up into the Pulpit— and requested the patience of the People for a short Discourse— This I sat and heard, but refrained from all mixture with them— They are very Jealous— but they appear to have it all their own way—

I was attacked on Friday night with a pretty severe Bowel complaint the consequence of cold from that inclement Sunday— It is however better, and I shall proceed on my way on Wednesday— I lodge at Dr. Hendersons,⁴⁵ who is much perplexed with the severe indisposition of his youngest boy, the House also is public— and I shall have to give up my Room to the first Lawyer that comes—

Robt. Burton⁴⁶ I learn was not at Statesville, neither will he be here, the Judge however will send the Sermon I hope.

You will not receive this untill you come to Whitehaven, you will however I trust be decided with all the Congregations— for I fancy if they have any hope that you will Continue to serve them, they will make no Effort—

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Miller and all your Family and believe me, very truly yr. Friend & Brother in our Common Lord

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

P.S. I shall expect to hear from you, at length between and Xmass—

Raleigh 26th. Novr. 1824

Rev^d and Dear Sir

I reached home day before yesterday haveing to take Fayette in my way in consequence of Mr. Hoopers proceedings— which I stated to you in my Letter from Wadesboro.

Thro' the good Providence of God, the intention to Divide the Congregation and dismember the Church by a new Schism, has failed— the Congregation remains united and Mr. Hooper is displaced from the Ministry, of which you are required to give notice after Divine

⁴³ Probably Dr. James McRee, a Presbyterian minister, who was interested in and president of the board of trustees of Western College, C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, pp. 650-670, 683-690; Colin McIver, *The North Carolina Register, and United States Calendar, for Year of our Lord 1823*, p. 97.

⁴⁴ Samuel Craig Caldwell was a son of David Caldwell. He taught school and was pastor of Sugar Creek Church. He also preached for the Presbyterian congregation in Charlotte. H. A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, pp. 204, 242, 243; J. B. Alexander. *The History of Mecklenburg County, 1740-1900*, p. 69, 254.

⁴⁵ The editor has been unable to identify this man. There were several Doctor Hendersons in and near Charlotte. See D. A. Thompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903*, I, 80 ff. Marriage Bonds of Mecklenburg County in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴⁶ Probably Robert H. Burton who was a lay-reader at Whitehaven, Lincoln County.

Service where you officiate— according to the annexed Form, which is provided to secure Uniformity in all the Churches—

Mr. Wright went with me to Fayetteville— and I hope has by this Time received the Call from Salisbury and Christ Church— if so that important Post will be occupied by a loyal officer—

I met with Rob^t. Burton in Charlotte and had a good deal of Conversation with him, in company with Mr. Abernathy— Upon the whole it was favourable to our views, and his Cooperation may be counted on at Whitehaven. If you receive this before you sett out for Lincoln, it will inform you that you will meet the addresses and a Letter from me waiting your arrival— and the people I hope prepared to exert themselves— You may tell them, that I shall pay every attention to have their wants supplied— and encourage them to go on in preparing their respective places of Worship, that when a Clergyman is obtained he may have a place to officiate in

I have not yet seen Major Forney—⁴⁷ haveing been close at my Table writing and answering Letters, and shall hardly get thro' today— This must excuse my being so brief— Remember me to Mrs. Miller and your Children, and to all the Brethren— and Believe me very truly your affectionate Friend & Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

P. S. I shall expect to hear from you on your return from Lincoln, at large—

Notice

The Congregation is requested to take notice that Mr. William Hooper, heretofore a Presbyter of this Church, haveing refused to conform to the articles and Liturgy of the Church, and haveing withdrawn from the Church, is displaced from the Ministerial office, according to the Provisions of the 7th Canon of 1820— by the Sentence of the Bishop with the advice of the standing Committee—

Raleigh 10th. Jany 1825

Rev^d and Dear Bro^r.

I have waited with great impatience to hear from you on the Determination of the Congregations in Lincoln— but hitherto in vain— This Impatience is sharpened by my learning on Friday last, that no call has yet been forwarded from Rowan to Mr. Wright—

I have of this date written to the respective Congregations to know the Reason— and as I addressed a Letter to you from Wadesboro: requesting your aid in preparing the Call and expiditeing the Business— I again made application that I may be informed of the true state of things, both in Rowan and Lincoln

In the applications made to me by young Clergymen for employment, it is impossible to act, where I am kept in the dark— and I have one or two at this moment, waiting better information on my part.

⁴⁷ Probably Daniel M. Forney who was a lay-reader at Whitehaven, Lincoln County.

Will you by return of Post relieve my anxiety as far as may be in your Power— as also— that it has not been sickness but absence that has kept you silent— Yet the Post travels in all directions, and I could as well have received a Line from S. Carolina as from Burke or Lincoln—

I am barely out of Bed with a severe cold which has followed me up for a month— I trust that you and yours enjoy good Health and with my Prayers for continuance of that and every Blessing to your Domicil I am

Your affect. Friend and Pastor

Jn^o. S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d Rob^t. J. Miller

Wilmington (N. C.) March 8, 1825

Rev^d. & Dea[r Sir]

Soon after our last Convention I rec^d. a copy of the Minutes of the Synod of the Ev. Luth. Ch in State of New York in which I observe a communication from the Rev^v. G. Shober⁴⁸ containing statements that appear to me incorrect & injurious to our Ch^h. You have I presume seen these minutes & the object of this letter is to request that you will bring or send on to me here or at our next Convention all the documents you have or can procure in reference to this subject to disprove the erroneous statements above aluded to Have you any document to *prove* that you came as a *deputy* from the Luther. Ch. *appointed* by them? Who sanctioned your deputation? Did you not bring us a letter from them appointing you & containing some *propositions* in *consequence* of which were sent deputies to meet them. Did not *they* make the *first* motion in this matter

I hope Rev^d. & Dear[r Sir] that your health is good & that you and yours are growing in grace as you grow in years

Respectfully & affectionately

Your friend & brother

A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

Raleigh 25th. Mar. 1825

Rev^d. and Dear Sir

I have once more, thro' the goodness of God; got about- and was able to preach last Sunday, once— the first time since 2^d Jany—

I have spent a good deal of thought on the Condition of the Churches in Lincoln, under the information of your letter of the 18th. Feby—

⁴⁸ Gottlieb Schober was a member of the Moravian Church; was ordained at Organ Church, October 21, 1810; labored in Stokes County, N. C.; and was a member of the Lutheran committee to work toward a joint meeting with the Episcopal Church. G. D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlement and the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, p. 461; G. D. Bernheim and George H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina*, p. 164.

but I do not see what is to be done for them. A clergyman of any description I have not to send— and if I had— I could not think of sending him there, on an uncertainty— or rather, to work for nothing and find himself, when I have vacant congregations, who are willing to give a reasonable support— If therefore they continue thus minded, the hope must be abandoned, at least for the present— People who will not help themselves, in so serious a Concern as Religion— cannot expect others to help them—

I shall however write to Mr. R. Burton on the subject, and by the same Mail that carries this— tho' what Interest to appeal to, that has not been already tried I know not— His professional Engagements prevent his being personally active in sounding and rouseing the People— but I can not help thinking, that if such Men as himself and Major Forney— were to shew themselves really in earnest, and engaged seriously for the cause; Many, not now thought of, would lend a hand— but the great Evil is, a Luke warmness, to the cause, even where they profess a preference for the Church— Untill this is remedied— things will continue as they are— May God preserve them from getting worse—

The Discussion occasioned by my Bible Society Sermon has been favourable to the Cause of the Church so far— The Presbyterians have taken it up— as trenching upon their foundation— This I am prepared for— part of the Controversy is now in the press— and I shall endeavour to have my part out as soon after convention as possible— What the Event may be I cannot predict— I only know this— that I have the question, now between us, perfectly in my favour— and in such a shape as to meet the apprehension of every plain mind— People must be roused from the Delusion, that all professions of Christian Faith are equally safe for Salvation— Nothing else can start them to think, and stir them, from that apathy, into which they are sunk, on this vital Interest.

I hope your health is such, and that of your family, that you will be able to begin your Spring Duties with vigour— and that thro' Gods blessing, the buds of Grace, will keep pace with the Natural buds, around St. Andrews⁴⁹ Let me recommend to you, not to have more than two preaching places— occasional preaching at distant places of worship seldom prospers— With a fixed Congregation, a man may learn their condition, so as to suit his public services to their wants— Moreover, one fixed Congregation, adds more to our strength, than 20 floating neighbourhoods—

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Miller and your Family, God bless you and them— also to Col^o. Bairds family, when you can— Shall we see you at Convention? I hope so— I shall leave this place, God willing, on the 11th. of April, for Newbern, on my way to Washington where we meet on the 21^t My Wife is only in tolerable health, she desires to be remembered to you.

Your affect^e. Friend & Pastor
Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Wilmington (N. C.) May 31 1825

Rev^d. & Dear Sir

I was in hopes of having seen you at our Convention or of receiving from you at that time the documents I mentioned It however even now is not too late & I think that it is but right & what might be expected that we should take notice of such things as tend to reflect dishonor upon the Church or upon ourselves I have accordingly written to Mr. Quitman⁵⁰ of New York briefly & plainly stating the whole case without insinuating any thing disrespectful to Mr. Shober but charitably presuming that he did not intend to injure us or misrepresent the truth My statement however merely concerns our Conventional act As far as you are personally implicated & indeed as far as you can corroborate my statement, with all due respect for the Bishops opinion, I must be permitted to say that I think it your *duty* not to keep silence In my opinion you ought to write to the President or Secretary of that Synod to which Mr. Shobers communication was made & state without passion *in the calmest manner* those things only which you can *prove* either by testimony or by documents As you will gain nothing but lose much by speaking of Mr. Shober as he is & as you believe him to be let charity put the best possible construction upon his words & his deeds So upon the supposition that he has forgotten or been misinformed or judges or expresses himself inaccurately & profess to write for the purpose of giving more correct information, preventing erroneous impressions & defending your own character & that of your Church Say nothing that can irritate either Mr. Shober or his brethren abroad any further than the facts & truths you are obliged to state in self defence but let your pen be guided by the kind forgiving & charitable spirit of the gospel

May the Lord direct & bless you
A. Empie

Rev^d. R. J. MillerRaleigh 8th. Sept^r. 1825Rev^d and Dear Sir

Your Favour of the 26th. August caught me, (which is not common) in arrears to your former Letter— but in Truth I have so much on my hands at present indeed thro' the whole Summer, that I sometimes wonder I am not further behind— a better Reason for the delay however was— that I was waiting for some certain information as to the obtaining a Missionary for the west— and I can now say— that I have

⁴⁹ St. Andrew's Church, Burke County.

⁵⁰ Frederick Henry Quitman was born in Westphalia, Aug. 7, 1760; was educated at the University of Halle; received Lutheran orders in 1781; became pastor at Curaco in the Carribean Sea; came to New York, 1795; was pastor at Schoharie, N. Y., for two years; was pastor at St. Peter's on the road between Phinebeck and Red Hook; was president of the New York Synod; was a compiler of hymn books; published several works; and died June 26, 1842. J. H. Brown (ed.), *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XI, 419.

the Rev^d. Mr. Brainards⁵¹ Letter, adviseing me, that he will leave Vermont about this time, and be with us, as speedily as he can travel— My object was to have had him in time to have spent the Summer Months to the west, and the Winter and Spring in the Lower Country, where our prospects are very flattering—

I am grieved at the Report you give, of the State of Christs Church Rowan— and the more so— as I had hoped that Mr. Wrights Services, were prepareing the way for a united Effort to settle him among them, during the ensuing winter— and I will yet hope, that a favourable issue will ensue at my next visit this fall—

We must expect every Effort to be made by the Presbyterians to hold their ground— They feel that the Blow is a mortal one— and they are contending *pro aris et focis*—⁵² Their advantage moreover is great in the ignorance of the People— but this should stir us up to exertions to enlighten them—

I am sorry, but not surprised at the report you give of Lincoln— It is very hard to overcome a wrong direction given to the views and Conduct of the People in Religious Concerns— I shall however write to day to Robert Burton, on the subject of the expected Missionary, and so as to draw from him an Expression of his views of the state of the Neighbourhood. By that I shall be in a great degree guided in extending my Visit into Lincoln—

I have endeavoured to send you, my answer to Mitchell &c. but postage is now so high on pamphlets that we have to look for private conveyances not many of which present themselves— Even our Journals are thereby delayed—

What do you think of opening the next Convention⁵³ at Hillsborough— the right is yours— and I much wish you would undertake it— as from your age, Observation and Experience of the various results, of opposite views of Religious Truth, you might give “the Conclusion of the whole matter” as a most valuable Legacy to the Church. Please to think it over, asking Counsel from above, and remember that you have plenty of Time to prepare it— I speak with the utmost seriousness when I say— that great things might grow out of it and the last, very public, act, of your ministerial Life, be the most extensively useful—

Give my Love to M^{rs}. M. and your Family, and to the Brethren— yours in Christian Love and Hope

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

⁵¹ Rev. Coralus C. Brainerd was ordained Oct. 16, 1825. He was rector of the congregations at Warrenton and Williamsboro; was junior principal of the Female Academy; and died in Warrenton, Oct. 27, 1826. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . .* 1826, p. 10; *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1826.

⁵² For altars and firesides.

⁵³ The convention was held at St. Matthew's Church, Hillsboro, May 18-22, 1826.

Raleigh 22^d Oct^r. 1825Rev^d and Dear Sir

I did myself the Pleasure sometime past to address a Letter to you in reply to a communication from you previously received— which I hope has come to hand— Haveing now arranged by trip to the west— I send this to inform you of my Motions— in the Hope of either seeing or hearing from you when in Salisbury—

I have had a communication from Mr. Robert Burton, on the subject of the Congregations in Lincoln— which confirms the unfavourable prospect given in your Letter— and renders it a needless labour to visit them unless I had more Time at my disposal— I have also had intimations that the State of the congregation in Rowan is not favourable— I shall therefore Confine my Labours this Fall to to that quarter in the Hope to bring the two congregations of Christ's Church and St. Lukes⁵⁴— to some definite arrangement on the Subject of a fixed Pastor— I propose being at Christs Ch^h. on the Second Sunday in November— and have sent the necessary information to Mr. Hall— I have also written to Mr. Wright to meet me, and should rejoice to see your Face and obtain your Influence in retaining the sound part of that Congregation— Let me Hope, that neither your age or Infirmities or the state of the weather will prevent your meeting us— and this the rather— because it will be the only opportunity to see you before Convention, from which, I wish to be able to go out with you—

In the rest of the Diocese our prospects are good, and our progress visible— I have lately Consecrated one of the old Churches— St. Johns Williamsboro'— and ordained, one Deacon⁵⁵ and one Priest— The Calls upon my attention and Services in the middle and Eastern Sections of the state, are alone sufficient for all I am equal to— and there is the strength of the church— My Labour has been incessant since I was able to travel last spring—and thro' the Mercy of God my health is firmer than it has been for many years—

There is a great deal more to say to you, than I can find to put upon Paper— and therefore I am the more desirous to see you— I shall go from Christs Church to Anson, and return to Salisbury— giving them Time to consider and act definitely— I am in daily Hopes of the arrival of a Missionary— but as he will come late I shall employ him in the lower Country thro' the Winter and to the west in the Summer season—

I hope you have taken into full Consideration my proposition respecting the Convention Sermon— that you will feel it a Duty— and that God will spare and assist you to give that Testimony to his cause— For I most seriously think that such a view of the Subject as your long Experience entitles you to take, and such a delineation of the Effects of Indifference and Liberality on the Subject of Religion, as

⁵⁴ These two churches had been served by the same pastor.

⁵⁵ James H. Otey was ordained a deacon and Carolus C. Brainerd was ordained a priest, Oct. 16, 1825. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1826*, p. 10.

your observation enables you to give, will be a valuable Legacy to your younger Brethren, to your Friends to your Family— and to the cause of God— Stir yourself up then to the Effort, and in the Strength of a Single Eye and of the help of God, speak as one who hath found Grace to be faithful and wishes to leave a Legacy to the Church of God—

Remember me in the kindest manner to Mrs. Miller your Children Col^o. Bairds family and all Friends

Believing me your affection^e. Friend and Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Raleigh 25th. Februry 1826

Rev^d and Dear Sir

Much and very laborious occupation has prevented me hitherto from dropping you a few lines as I intimated when in Rowan— I have not however lost sight of my Duty to enquire after your Welfare and that of your family— or of the purpose I am desirous you should fullfill in opening the next Convention at Hillsborough the 18th. of May— The Duty devolves on you in rotation— and as it will probably sit the next year still farther to the Eastward, we could hardly expect your attendance at such a distance, at your advanced age, was it to please God to continue you among us—

My object however, as I intimated to you, looks further than the mere routine of Duty— As the oldest Man and Clergyman among us— and haveing witnessed more of the Changes and Chances which have befallen the Church than any other— and haveing had experience of the Effect of different Systems of Conduct, on her Interests— We could derive great Benefit from the Result, as witnessed by yourself— and the whole Body be edified and Strengthened in cleaving to the true Foundation of the Hope given to Man thro' the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Even to the Dessenters themselves, it would present a warning of great Effect, when comeing from one so well known and esteemed— and in so solemn a Manner—

I would not however be understood as at all dictating to you— but only throw this out as a hint which you may be able to improve—

I hope the Winter has not treated you harshly— and that as the weather is beginning to break away into something like the Spring, you will in some degree renew your youth— and look forward to the Month of May, as giveing you one more opportunity to meet your Brethren— and enjoy the Comfort and Consolation of mutual Fellowship in a common Cause and a common Hope— It will give me great pleasure to see you Face to Face— as I am sure it will all your Brethren—

I have been laborously engaged in preparing a Reply to Dr. Rice⁵⁶ of Virginia— which in spite of me has swelled into a volume of nearly 200 pages— It is in the press however— and if ready by Convention which I hope, will send you one—

I beg to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Miller and your Family— and to Col. Reads family— and sincerely hope, that your health and Strength will be sufficient for all that your Master requires of Service at your hands— and that when you have finished your Course here, you will begin a higher and nearer Service in his immediate presence never to end or be interrupted—

Your affected^e. Friend & Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. Mr. Miller—

Raleigh 7th. August 1826

Rev^d and Dear Bro^r.

Many apologies are due for my seeming inattention to you— but in very truth, there is nothing either of forgetfulness or disregard in the long interval since I received your Letter by Mr. Fleming— During the Convention I was [s]o occupied that it was literally impossible to find more time than sufficed for rest, and hardly that— Since my return home, my occupation has been incessant, and with the very hot dry weather, brought me to such a state of Debility, that I had to decline public Duty and endeavour to rally my strength— Within this few days I perceive that I strengthen— but my Circuits come on again, and if traveling does not agree with me, I shall be sadly disappointed— I have certainly thought of you however every day— and heard with great pleasure that you had so far recovered the Effects of your Fall, as to be able to return home— We were all not a little disappointed at your absence but truly concerned at the painful Cause— and I felt it the more, from the Fear that your leg might be so much hurt as to occasion as much suffering as you endured in 1823— I regretted your absence also on your own account as it would have been very pleasant to meet your Brethren— to see of what kind our young Ministers are— and to be the Eye Witness of the Interest which our influential Laity

⁵⁶ Dr. John Holt Rice, a Presbyterian minister, alleged that the Episcopal Church was popish and even anti-christian. Bishop Ravenscroft said “. . . much exertion has been put forth (by Rice) to give false impression of their (Episcopalians) influence on the civil religious liberties of the county.” Rice’s statements were published in the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*. Ravenscroft replied in an article entitled, “The Doctrines of the Church Vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. John Rice . . .” This article of 209 pages was published in *The Works of the Right Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft*, . . . (New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 1830, 2 vols.) I, 215 ff.

John Holt Rice was born in 1777; studied at Liberty Hall Academy and New London Academy; in 1796 was appointed tutor in Hampden-Sidney College; studied medicine but gave up the idea of becoming a doctor; later decided to become a preacher; in 1803 began to preach and became pastor of Cob Creek Church, Charlotte County, Virginia; in 1815 began to publish in Richmond *The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*; in 1824 became professor of theology at Hamden-Sidney; and died Sept. 3, 1831. H. A. White *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, pp. 212-220.

take in the advancement of the Church— May God preserve you yet to see all this, in some Convention at Salisbury—

Certainly great things are done, and doing for us— but I fear we are not as sensible of him that worketh them, as we ought to be— we look too much to the arm of Flesh— I find the Eyes of all North and South, are on this Diocese— and I pray God, that no false step, or Forgetfulness of our Living Head, may require him to humble us—

I long greatly to make one more visit to the West, but for my Life cannot see when it will be, But for the Gen^l. Convention I would have done it this fall— I wish to make one more trial in Lincoln tho my Hope is small— No Missionaries are to be procured, there is such demand for fixed Services— We must therefore leave it to the Lord of the Harvest and double our diligence, while we are able to work.

I hope you have received the Pamphlet I sent to you by the way of Salisbury— and have let your Neighbours see it— some of them may be able to profit by it— It is makeing much noise in Virginia—

You have also received the Journals I trust before this— and will thereby be informed as to our prospects generally— I hope Mrs. Miller continues able to nurse you and to contribute to your Comfort in all things— that your children are well and prosperous and your crop fruitful— Great Scarceity not to say Famine, threatens all this Middle Country. Thousands will not make bread to eat— May we see the rod and him who appoints it— The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God and the Fellowship of the Spirit, be with you and yours—

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft
Raleigh 22^d Jany 1827

Rev^d. and Dear Sir

Your acceptable favour of the 17th. Oct^r. has remained thus long unanswered because of my absence in Philadelphia from whence I did not return until the 12 Dec^r. and since then by the pressure of many kinds of business upon me, and by some, tho' not serious indisposition. The passed year has been one of great concern to this Diocese in the loss of two of our young and most active labourers with neither of whom, I believe, you were acquainted— It has however been otherwise favourable to the church, and I humbly trust, that he who hath seen fit to remove, will also provide, Labourers for his vineyard— Mr. Pierson⁵⁷ and Mr. Brainerd, were both very acceptable men, and it will not be easy to supply the wishes of their people with similar men— The proceedings of the Gen^l. Convention were not of any very marked character— yet the advantage of intercourse and interchange of opinion, among the members, is very profitable to the general Interests, and compensates for the labour and expense of the Journey—

⁵⁷ Joseph Pierson was rector of St. Peter's Church, Washington, N. C. This church was reported as a new congregation in the convention journal of 1824. Pierson died in Washington, D. C., after an illness of 48 days. He was 28 years old. *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1826.

Your information of the state of the Church in the West, does not surprise me— and tho' I have not given them up, I have ceased to be sanguine as to any revival of the Cause with the Divine permission however, I purpose seeing them in the course of this Spring— to make one more effort to rally the scattered flock— and start them afresh— But of the Time I cannot now speak with certainty—

I am happy that the accident you met with has had no bad effect on your general health— and I trust you are still able to do something for the Master— at St. Andrews and Johns River⁵⁸— If we can keep the Flax smoking until another generation arises as it will have more information and of course fewer prejudices, our success may be greater— at present the ignorance of the people is too great and too general, either to estimate aright, the claims and character of the church— or to see thro the artifices of the Sectaries, who certainly speculate largely on this ground— and it is with an Eye to this very point— that I have endeavoured to draw the Presbyterians out, on their Foundation— and to shew that they have none, that a sincere and informed Christian would trust to— I am sorry however to say that the books are all disposed of; the Edition was small— and tho' sold at a high price, was a loseing job, and to a considerable amount—

I am sorry to learn that your active little woman is so afflicted with her cough— I trust however, that she will not only be spared to you, but so spared as to be able to nurse you and keep you comfortable while you remain with us—

I have seen Mr. Matthew Baird but once, since he has been in Town, but had a very little chat with him about the Church, Mr. Forney I have not seen— but mean to do so— and talk largely with him— Mr. Burton I have lost all hope of— God willing however, I will go to that neighbourhood once more— and bring them to the point— My greatest difficulty will be, in finding a Missionary— Clergymen are so scarce— and many of them are affraid to come to this Diocese— supposeing it to be unhealthy

I want three at this moment, and have places ready for them, with a good support for a single man, but have no good prospect of a supply— My trust however is upon him who watches over his Cause— and as he sees good, will move the wills— and stir up the desires of his people to put forth an Effort for the re[vival] of his church— and to him I commit you and all your concerns— requesting to be kindly remembered to your Wife and to such of your Family as are with you— and to Col^o. Bairds family— My wife is well, but is at present in Virginia—

Your affect^e. Friend and Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

⁵⁸ Located on the Catawba River. Robert J. Miller was rector.

Raleigh 26th. June 1827-Rev^d. and Dear Sir

Feeling a strong desire to see you and your good woman once more, if the Lord will- and make up to your Flock the services which sickness and other engagements have interrupted to my great regret- I shall make my Summer Tour this year in the west, and you may give notice for me at St. Andrews on the first Sunday in August for the usual Services- and for Confirmation and the Communion- I take Salisbury of course in my way- and have appointed Sunday the 29th. July for the consecration of Christs Church Rowan- where I shall be rejoiced to meet you if your health will possibly permit- Mr. Green is to be there, and perhaps another- but the Ceremony is always more interesting in proportion to the number of Clergymen-

I have so little encouragement from Lincoln, that I consider it a waste of my Time to go there- and especially without you- which I cannot expect now- Indeed the last letter I received from Robert Burton, seemed to close up that door- and the more so- as we have no Missionary to send among them- Should it please God however to give us a Missionary suited to the place I will not forget them- But in the mean time, I have too much on my hands for the time allotted me, to spend it, where there is so little prospect of advantage to the Church- My Health also, has given way under fatigue, Exposure and years- and tho' I am now gaining- yet I feel that a little matter would throw me back- This you know better than I do, by your own experience- Yet still, where Duty calls me I am willing to spend and be spent for the cause-

Our convention⁵⁹ was reasonably well attended, in Newbern, and the goodness of the Lord, is manifest in the increase he gives us thro'out the Diocese, yet it is mixed up with some Calamity in the Death and removal of Clergymen, whose places are hard to be supplied- Remember me kindly to your Family to Col^o. Beards- & all friends-

Your affect^e. Friend and PastorJn^o S. RavenscroftWilliamsboro N^o. Ca. 16th. June 1828Rev^d. and Dear Sir

Circumstances having occurred which prevent my commencing my Visits to the Western churches, a week earlier than my original purpose, as I wrote you I could do- if necessary for your convenience in joining me at Salisbury- I lose no time in informing you thereof, lest you should form your plans upon it, and be dissapointed- My attendance at Salisbury therefore is fixed for the 4th Sunday in July, being the 27th day of the month- It would however be cruel in me, to drag you so far from home, to meet a dissapointment, which may

⁵⁹ The convention was held in Christ's Church, New Bern, May 17-21, 1827.

take place— owing to the very precarious state of my wifes health— which has been severely attacked since I wrote to you, and in such wise, as to render it very uncertain, whether I can leave her—

If it shall please God— so to order this Event, that I can leave home with propriety— I shall pass from Christs Church to Beatys Ford in order to visit the Whilehaven⁶⁰ and Smyrna people, to sett Mr Wiley⁶¹ in as a Missionary for a few months— and to try the virtue of the Catawba Springs upon my own health— from thence I shall pass thro Morganton, on my way to Buncombe— proposing to pass Sunday the 17th. Aug^t. in Morganton— where I much wish you would endeavour to be on the 16th., running the risk of dissapointment, for so short a distance—

Returning from Buncombe I hope to reach your house on the 28th. Aug^t. and spend the following Saturday and Sunday at St. Andrews, and a few days more with you, before I sett out on my Journey home-wards—

This appointment you may make for me at St. Andrews reserving the knowledge that it may fail, to yourself, but being in readiness to account for it— should it happen—

It would please me greatly should it be so ordered that we could be together in Lincoln, but on the present uncertainty, I cannot expect you to encounter the fatigue, Mr. Wiley however will go on, whether I go or not, and it would be greatly useful to him, to have your Countenance and advice— I mean him also to help you, in your neighbourhood— and if you can find work for him, round about— don't let him be idle— He goes chiefly for Exercise and Health, and if I am prevented, will be in Lincoln nearly a month sooner— I shall send him first to Cap^t. Byers and Major Forney— and next to you—

I hope your health is as good as you have reason to expect it— that your Family is in Comfort, and that you are waiting for your change, in Patience and assurance— May the Lord multiply his comforts to your soul, and keep your Body from suffering more than you can cheerfully bear—

Your affect: Friend and Brother

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. Rob^t. J. Miller

Salisbury 28th. July 1828

Rev^d. and Dear Sir

Not meeting you here, I send these few lines to apprise you, that I have been permitted to commence my Journey and have progressed

⁶⁰ Whitehaven was in Lincoln County about 16 miles from Charlotte. Robert J. Miller preached there as a Methodist, Lutheran, and Episcopal minister. After a misunderstanding over the use of the building, the Lutherans built another church about two miles to the north and called it Whitehaven. Whitehaven as an Episcopal congregation ceased to exist after 1846. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 266, 269, 270, 369-400.

⁶¹ Philip B. Wiley was ordained a deacon in St. Paul's Church, Edenton, April 30, 1825. He was deacon of Christ's Church, Elizabeth City, 1825-1826. In 1827 he moved to Fayetteville as rector of St. John's Church. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention . . . 1826*, p. 16; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention, . . . 1828*, p. 14.

this far— My Health presents no very marked improvement, but as it does not decline, I may hope the Exercise will be advantageous—

Mr. Wiley joined me here, and goes on with me from Christs Church to Lincoln, to which place I have sent notices to day I shall spend about a week at the Springs and preach for them, if they wish it, as will Mr. Wiley, if his health will permit. Should he conclude to act as Missionary I shall send him up to you, and write by him from Lincoln—

As it is possible I may be a day sooner or later in getting to Morganton than I mentioned (the 17th.) I have considered that it would be fatiguing you needlessly to meet me there on that day, as I requested, and as I shall only pass thro on my way to Buncombe— You need not put yourself to any trouble to get there—

Health is generally enjoyed in this place with the exception of the Children, among whom there is an Epidemic Cold— I go to Christs Church this week— and to Beatties Ford on Monday the 4th. Aug^t.

Mr. Wright desires to be remembered to in the kindest manner— he talks of going with us to Lincoln—

My Love to your Family

Yours in haste

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Catawba Springs 12th. Aug^t. 1828—

Rev^d. and Dear Sir

I wrote you from Salisbury informing you, that after a residence of about a week at this place, I should proceed Westward, on the remaining part of my Journey— and, that as my Motions would be regulated by the prospect of Benefit to my health— it might occasion so much uncertainty in them— that I was unwilling to give you the fatigue of a ride to Morganton, at the risk of not finding me there— I hope you have received the Letter, and as this ought to reach you in sufficient time to answer my purpose— I write to inform you further, that I understand by persons from Morganton, that notice is given for me to preach there next Sunday— This notice, as judging it to be made at your instance, I would certainly attend to, however much it might delay my purpose of reaching the Warm Springs as early as possible, but I further learn, that a Presbyterian Camp Meeting commences on Saturday next, near Morganton— and as that is a complete bar to all expectation of a Congregation, unless at the Camp ground— where I cannot consent even to be seen— I shall merely pass thro' Morganton, on my way Westward—

A similar interruption in my intended appointments for this neighbourhood, has been occasioned by a Methodist Camp Meeting within a mile of this place, which began last Friday, and is to conclude this morning— so that I have preached but once, on an appointment of Mrs. A— Burton, at Unity— and on Sunday at the Springs— to such of the

company as were kept from the Camp ground, by the witness of the weather—

The state of the Rev^d. Mr. Wileys health being such as to prevent his traveling on horseback, he has declined acting as a Missionary, in this region— and returned yesterday to Salisbury, in the Stage, on his way home— In truth, the prospect is so dark for the Church, not only here, but even in Salisbury— that it would have been Time and Toil, and money, expended in vain—

I leave this place tomorrow for Buncombe, and shall pass the Sunday in Asheville— where if there is opportunity I shall preach— From thence to the Warm Springs for a week or so— and thence to your house, where— God willing, I hope to be, on or before, the 29th. inst. and to find you, in good health—

I am much benefited by my Journey— by these Springs, and particularly by the warm bath— which makes me more intent upon reaching the natural warm Baths of French broad— I have directed my Letters to be sent to Lower Creek⁶² P. Office— and will thank you to retain them for me— I am anxious to hear from my Wife, whose health, was too much impaired to permit her taking any part of the Journey with me, as was intended, Remember me kindly, to such of your Family as are with you— and believe me very sincerely—

Your affect: Friend and Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. R. J. Miller

Williamsboro'. 26th. Sept^r. 1828

Rev^d. and Dear Bro^r.

In the short letter I wrote you from Milton, I promised to write you more at length on my reaching home— This I now comply with—

On reaching Mr. Bufords,⁶³ where my wife was— I found her less indisposed, than her letter (written a fortnight before) led me to apprehend— Her health is very seriously impaired, and the symptoms of no very favourable Character— tho' as they are not of an immediately dangerous description— there is the more hope, that by skilfull treatment, under the divine Blessing, she may be restored to health, at least to a more comfortable portion thereof— than has been her lot for the last 15 months— I expect her at home to day or tomorrow— it not being convenient for her to return with me— nor for me to remain with her, seeing the necessity was removed, and my own health required immediate attention—

At Milton I was attacked with Jaundice, which has already done away, my gains in point of bodily strength, by my sojourn among the

⁶² This post office was in Burke County and Rev. Robert J. Miller was postmaster in 1830. *Table of the Post Offices in the United States, Arranged by State and Counties as they were October 1, 1830, . . .* p. 139.

⁶³ Probably John Buford of Mecklenburg County, Virginia.

mountains— I am again as weak, as at any period since the commencement of my disorder, last Christmas— Whether it may prove a clearing up of the disease, or an indication of the deep root it has taken— God alone knows— in whose hands I contentedly leave it, using such means for relief and cure, as medical skill directs.

But be the event what it may— I fear there is an interdict, upon my carrying into effect, my plans for the Winter, which, instead of visiting the Churches— must be occupied in attending to my Wifes health and my own

I hope yourself and your family continue to enjoy the health and Comfort I left you possessed of— and that a gracious God, will be pleased to continue to you and them, all things really good for you— and that what he pleases to send, you will be enabled by Divine Grace— to consider the best things— This is the sum of my Philosophy— and I pray God to encrease it in me, more and more—

I have very favourable news from Tennessee as regards the progress of the Church— Having none of the Prejudices, of a political cast, to contend with— Our Principles are more dispassionately considered— and of Course produce more Effect— Nothing of moment has occurred in the Diocese, and there is one application for one of our vacant Churches—

May the Evening of your days pass peaceful and happy, in the Enjoyment of the Hope that maketh not ashamed— With my Love to your Family and Mrs. Beards, I am

Your affect: Friend and Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

P. S. Let me hear from you

(General)

Williamsboro 16th. Oct^r. 1828

Rev^d. and Dear Sir—

It has been suggested to me, that it will be peculiarly appropriate— for the Episcopal Congregations in this Diocese, to observe with due solemnity the direction of the Church, for an annual Thanksgiving Service to Almighty God, “for the Fruits of the Earth, and all the other Blessings of his Merciful Providence—” In this I most heartily concur, as I doubt not you also do—

It is indeed a year of most bountiful production, and calls for encreased Thankfulness, when viewed in connection with the distressing pressure upon the Pecuniary Concern of the Community— which must have been grievously aggravated by a failure of the present crop—

As there is no reasonable expectation that the Civil Authority will appoint a day for general observance— You will therefore give due notice to your Congregation, that the First Thursday in November

will be devoted to this Duty in all our Churches— In the performance of which I trust, the Blessing of God will be with you, and continued to you in all things—

Your affect: Pastor

Jn^o S. Ravenscroft

Rev^d. Mr. Miller—

Raleigh Jan. 19. 1830

Rev. & dear Sir

Having come to Raleigh to pay as I believed and still somewhat fear my last visit of duty to our good Bishop, he has requested me to address the Brethren on the subject of the reorganization of our Missionary Society, which was proposed you will recollect to the convention which met in Salisbury— He has made his Will & devised to the Society certain property on condition that the Society shall be remodeled so as to make it more efficient than it has hitherto been— It is to be called “the Bible, Common Prayer Book Tract & Missionary Society of the Diocese of North Carolina”—⁶⁴ & the Bishop wishes that an auxiliary should be formed in every parish & an annual collection made for the general fund The annual subscription for membership will be \$2. but donations will be received to any amount however small— Now if you can do any thing it will help along a good cause & show a willingness on the part of your little flock which will be highly gratifying to our good Father should he be spared to us— which may God of his mercy grant I sent you some time since by mail 1 doz. of the Bishop’s Sermon, which you will recollect I obtained for publication— did you get them?— & how many have you sold?— they were 12½ cents each— if any of them have been sold, be so good as to remit to me the money before the meeting of our next convention in Wilmington—

I hope God has preserved your health & prospered you in your labors— I was gratified when we last met at the testimony you bore of his mercy to you— May that mercy be continued, so that when you shall be called hence you may be enabled to say with Paul— “I have fought a good fight— I have finished my course— I have kept the faith, & henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of rejoicing, which the Lord the righteous image will give me at that day”

Believe me affectionately your Bro: in Christ

Wm. D. Cairns⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The name of the original society was “Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina.” Colin McIver, *The North Carolina Register and United States Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1823*, p. 102. This change in organization brought about book and tract depositories at Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Edenton. Different parishes which resulted from missionary activities are Charlotte, Lincoln, Pittsboro, Morganton, Lenoir, Asheville, Kinston, Scotland Neck, Goldsboro, and others. *Sketches of Church History*, pp. 313, 314.

⁶⁵ Wm. D. Cairns, formerly of Virginia, was rector of St. James’s Church, Wilmington, N. C.

P. S. The Bishop sends his remembrance to you— He is a little better this Eve— but still in great danger of his old disease— Mr. Freeman⁶⁶ has removed to Raleigh— Mr Wiley⁶⁷ to Washington— Mr Jones⁶⁸ of Vir. to Fayetteville— & Mr Elliott⁶⁹ has left us— Mr Freeman desires to be particularly remembered to you— You will be pleased to hear that the New Church ⁷⁰ in Raleigh is finished, & that it is rapidly increasing in members, & piety under Rev. Freeman's ministry— My charge in Wil.⁷¹ also is in a very flourishing condition— Mr Goodman⁷² of Newbern has added 26 to his communion since last convention— The church in Elizabeth City also is doing well— so you see we are not without Gods testimony for good unto us—

Wilmington March 16 1830

Rev. & dear Sir

Our beloved Bishop hath entered into his rest. He died in Raleigh early on the Morning of the 5th. inst. in the full possession of his intellectual faculties, & perfectly resigned to the Will of God. We have been bereaved indeed but our loss is his infinite gain— O how precious in this our state of trial is the promise of that blessed Lord who hath said that he would be with his church even unto the end of the World!— Verily the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it— And if we are faithful & believing our covenant God will ever be faithful unto us—

As you will probably, before receiving this see full obituary notices of our deceased Father in some of the papers, it will be unnecessary for me to say more and a call from town this morning will excuse me for sending you so short a letter— I am surprised that the Sec. of Con. did not send you your quota of the Journals— You will do well to write to him for them— He resides in Fayetteville— In the mean time I have sent you four— which I hope you will duly receive—

And now may God of his infinite mercy bless & prosper you in all your labours for the good of souls— and tho' he sees it right to try you by the removal of some of your earthly dependancies, in the death of valuable communing members— may he fill up the breach which his own hand hath made— & comfort your heart with the assurance that

⁶⁶ George W. Freeman was born in Massachusetts in 1789; came to North Carolina in early manhood and taught school in Warren and Granville counties; while teaching school became interested in the church and became a lay-reader; was ordained a deacon Oct. 6, 1826, and priest May 20, 1827; served two years at St. Peter's Church, Washington, and churches in Beaufort County; was rector of Christ Church, Raleigh, 1829-1840; served two years in Tennessee and three years in New Jersey; in 1844 was chosen Missionary Bishop exercising jurisdiction in Arkansas, Indian Territory, and the Republic of Texas; and died in 1858. *Centennial Ceremonies held in Christ Church Parish, North Carolina, A.D., 1921 Including Historical Addresses*, pp. 14, 15.

⁶⁷ Philip B. Wiley was at Fayetteville. See above p. 512, note 61.

⁶⁸ William G. H. Jones was rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville part of the year 1830. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1830*, p. 11.

⁶⁹ Charles P. Elliott of South Carolina served Calvary Church, Wadesboro, 1827, and Christ Church, Raleigh, 1828. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1827*, p. 16.

⁷⁰ Christ Church.

⁷¹ Wilmington, N. C.

⁷² J. R. Goodman, formerly of Pennsylvania, was ordained priest at St. Paul's Church, Edenton, April 16, 1828, and was rector at New Bern.

they have only preceded you into that world of glory for which *you* have been instrumental in preparing them—

Pray for *me* that I may be enabled to be faithful and believe me with sincere regard.

Your young brother in Christ

Wm. D. Cairns

Rev. Rob^t. J. Miller

P. S. You will learn from the Journal, that our next convention meets in *Wilmington*— not Washington, as you supposed— There is a mistake in the Journal, corrected however in the Secretary's notice— We shall meet on the 20th of May— Do try to be with us—

Raleigh 30 June 1830

Rev. & Dear Sir.

Mr. Hepburn,⁷³ Executor of the late Bishop Ravencroft's will, has deposited in my hands, a suit of clothes nearly new, belonging to the Bp's wardrobe, which he desires you to accept as a memento of our departed Father—

Mr. H. being unwilling to make any common disposition of the apparel mentioned, enquired of me whether there was any Clergyman of this Diocese, who would be likely to prize such a relic I mentioned yourself— having no doubt— that if you did not choose to wear the dress in question, you would be gratified to possess anything that once belonged to one whom you so much revered & esteemed.

The parcel is now in Hillsborough, in the hands of Walker Anderson⁷⁴ Esq^r. who will forward it to you by the first opportunity— and to whom you may apply should an opportunity of sending to him offer itself sooner—

You have doubtless heard before this of our proceedings at the convention— The next convention is to be held on the 19th. of May 1831, in this place— at which time, it was recommended that we should go into the election of Bishop— Dr. DeLancy⁷⁵ of Philadelphia was the person talked of, and unless it should be previously made know that he will not accept, will in all probability be elected—

⁷³ Ebenezer McHarg Hepburn, was one of the children reared by Bishop Ravenscroft. He also reared Alexander McHarg Hepburn.

⁷⁴ Walker Anderson was an active layman in St. Matthews' Church, Hillsboro. He served at different times as lay delegate, finance committeeman, standing committeeman, and delegate to the general convention. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1831*, p. 5, 10. *Journal of the Proceedings of . . . the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1832*, p. 3, 6, 24.

⁷⁵ William Heathcote De Lancey was born in Mamaroneck, N. Y., Oct. 8, 1797; graduated from Yale, 1817; two years later entered the Episcopal ministry after studying theology under Bishop Hobart of New York; served in New York; in 1822 became Bishop White's personal assistant; in 1827 declined rectorship of St. Thomas's Church, New York; in 1830 was elected provost of the University of Pennsylvania; in 1833 was elected rector of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia; in 1839 was elected bishop of the diocese of Western New York; and died in Geneva, N. Y., April 5, 1865. J. H. Brown (ed.) *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 342.

The Late Bishop's⁷⁶ works are to be published in *three* or *four* volumes & will be put to press in the course of the ensuing fall or winter—

We have sustained a great loss my Dear Sir, but I trust we shall soon be able to say of our departed Diocesan, that “though dead he yet speaketh”— He was indeed a wonderful man, and we can have no hope of having his loss entirely Supplied— but we have the promise of our great Head that his Church shall not be forsaken— and I have no doubt, that what now appears to be “not joyous but grievous,” will be finally overruled, by the good Providence of Him who governs all things account to the secret councils of his own will, to the good of that “little flock,” to which I firmly believe it is the “Father’s good pleasure to give the kingdom—”

I should be pleased to hear from you, and to informed of the state of your health— I trust you will be permitted to attend the next Convention, where you will be heartily greeted by all the brethren— and by none more warmly than by

Your very Respectful and affectionate friend & Brother
Geo: W. Freeman

October 30th 1830

Hillsboro’

Rev & Dear Sir

The accompanying box contains I believe some Articles that once belonged to our late excellent Bishop. It was sent to me to be forwarded to you by the first safe opportunity. I know not what is in it, but suspect that it contains some Clothing which the Bp’s Executor at the suggestion of a friend, wishes you to accept at his hands. The Bp did not forget you in his Will, but bequeathed to you as well as some of the rest of his Clergy some trifle as a token of his regard. I know not whether it is in the box or not.

I write in great haste, and have only time to add that I hope you will receive the package in Safety. It would give me pleasure to hear from you at all times.

Most affectionately
Yr Brother in Christ

W. M. Green

My health is much improved

Hillsboro’ Jan 17th 1831

Rev & Dear Sir

Judging you by myself, I presume that you would be glad to hear what yr Brethren of the lower country are about, and I therefore seat myself to tax you with a letter. How much is it to be regretted that

⁷⁶ *The Works of the Right Reverend John Stark Ravenscroft, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina. Containing his Sermons, Charges, and Controversial Tracts; to which is Prefixed a Memoir of his Life.* Was printed in 1830 by the Protestant Episcopal Press, New York.

our Clergy are so widely separated by distance from each other; and how many delightful opportunities are thus lost of drawing closer the cords of brotherly love. But it is a part of our "trial," and we must bear it patiently & cheerfully.

Yr kind answer to my little note was duly received; and I rejoiced to hear of yr continued health. May you yet be spared to do much good!— Do take care of yourself during this severe winter, in order that we may see you at our next Convention.⁷⁷ It will be an important period to the future interests of the Church, and I hope that all of our Clergy will be at their posts. The more I hear from different parts of the Diocese, the more need do I see for supplying the place of our late beloved Diocesan. But I much fear that we will not have grace enough to be of one mind at that time. It is truly difficult to pitch upon any one man who would be generally acceptable to the Diocese, and at the same be contented with the small salary that we offer. This however will be the duty of all us, to resolve that no private prejudice or prepossession in favour of, or against any man shall then influence us, that all we do may be with an eye single to the glory of God, and the good of his Church. I have lately been corresponding with some of the brethren, but so difficult is it to communicate profitably by letter that we are no nearer our aim than before. You have no doubt been informed that at our last Convention Dr DeLancey of Philadelphia was the unanimous choice of our Clergy. He was addressed on the subject a few months since, and positively declined having his name brought before the Diocese. Since then the names of Dr Empie, Dr Montgomery⁷⁸ of Philadelphia Dr Wainwright⁷⁹ of N. York, Mr Potter⁸⁰ of Boston, Mr Johns⁸¹ of Baltimore, Mr Anthon⁸² of N. York, and our good Brother Freeman, have been brought forward for consideration and their respective merits dis-

⁷⁷ This convention met in Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C.

⁷⁸ James Montgomery was born in Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1787; was educated in a boys' school in Maryland, attended a grammar school in Princeton and graduated at Princeton University in 1805; studied law and was admitted to the bar; was ordained a priest, 1817; was rector of Grace Church, New York, 1818-1820; returned to Philadelphia in 1820 and shortly afterwards was elected rector of St. Stephens's; was trustee of General Theological Seminary; and died March 17, 1834. Hamilton Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church: In the Diocese of New Jersey from its Foundation in the Year of our Lord, 1803, to 1926.* pp. 160, 161.

⁷⁹ Jonathan Meyhew Wainwright was born in Liverpool, Feb. 24, 1792; was brought to America in 1803; graduated from Harvard, 1812; was instructor in Harvard 1815-1817; received orders 1816 and 1818; was rector of Christ Church, Hartford; was rector in Grace Church, New York, 1821; was rector of Trinity Church, Boston, 1834; was interested in church music; published sermons and other works; and died in New York, Sept. 21, 1854. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 515.

⁸⁰ Alonzo Potter was born in Beckman (now La Grange) New York; graduated from Union College in 1818; studied theology under Dr. S. H. Turner; taught at Union College; was rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, 1826-1831; returned to Union College; was elected bishop of Pennsylvania, 1845; and died July 4, 1865. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* III, 470.

⁸¹ Henry Van Dyke Johns was born in New Castle, Del., Oct. 13, 1803; studied in Princeton University and Union College; organized the first parochial charge in Washington, D. C.; was rector at Baltimore and Frederick, Md.; and Cincinnati; later returned to Baltimore and died in 1859. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V. 253.

⁸² Probably Henry Anthon who was born in New York City on March 11, 1795; graduated from Columbia, 1813; prepared for the ministry under Bishop Hobart; was ordained deacon, 1815, and priest, 1819; served several churches in New York state; was popular in the South; was active in missionary work; and died January 5, 1861. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 441.

cussed. To the first named it is objected that his family is too large to be supported on our small Salary, and that he is not as popular with the laity as with the Clergy. For my own part I shall rejoice if we succeed in getting so good a man.— The 2nd is objected to (and justly I fear) on account of his hasty & imprudent temper. The 3d has been sounded by Br Cairns, and refuses to accept. The 4th has been very lately nominated, and therefore but little said of him. He is undoubtedly a young man of great promise, but he is so delightfully situated where he is that I have no expectations of his accepting the call. The 5th is my favorite next to Dr Empie. His name for talents & piety & prudence is well known thro out our church; but he is suspected somewhat of being what is called a low-church-man. For my own part I have no serious fears of him, and would gladly see him at the head of our Diocese. The 6th has also been very lately named, and I know not enough of him to express any opinion. As to Br Freeman, there are several of our influential lay men who are very desirous of his election. And for myself I would cheerfully vote for him if it were the desire of a majority of our Convention. He certainly possesses many of the requisites for a Bishop, and might well be trusted. I find however that three of our Clergy are opposed to him, and where our number is so small we must endeavour to be unanimous.

I have thus given you all the information that I can on this subject so interesting to us both. Should there be hereafter any probability of our fixing on one man I will appraise you of it. In the mean time we should make it a matter of earnest & frequent prayer, for the occasion is one of great moment, and the individual responsibility of all concerned should be duly felt & thought upon—

I was glad to hear that you received in safety the box which accompanied my last letter, and that the several articles fitted you so well. I expect that you will treasure them with all the zeal of a Roman Catholic for his “sainted relics.” Our good Bishop bequeathed several little articles to his Clergy, as memorials of his fatherly affection

It would give me sincere pleasure to hear from you at all times, but especially at the present, when the benefits of your longer experience & riper judgment are so much needed by your younger brethren. On your way to Convention you will, of course, tarry with me, and thus give me the opportunity of repaying the hospitable entertainment that I once received at “Mary’s Grove.” With hearty prayers for yourself & family, believe me

your truly affectionate brother

W. M. Green

P. S. I thank you for your kind enquiries after my health, Through the mercy of God I am again restored to bodily soundness. Pray for me that I may lead a new life, and give myself unreservedly to God.

BOOK REVIEWS

The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By E. Merton Coulter. [*A History of the South*. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (eds.), in ten volumes.] (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1947. Pp. 426. \$5.00.)

The publication of Professor Coulter's volume marks an auspicious beginning of a project of great significance to historians and to others interested in the history of the South. The last quarter century has seen the writing of many excellent articles, monographs, and biographies in the field of Southern history. Now, with the aid of these historical "bricks," there is being built an integrated structure revealing the life of the South from Jamestown to the present. Professor Coulter has set a high standard for the nine volumes to follow.

The story of Reconstruction has been told and re-told so often that one may recognize the difficulty of making it more complete or of presenting a new approach. Indeed, Professor Coulter does follow a well worn path, for the most part, in recounting the details of political Reconstruction and in describing the reaction of southern whites to the measures of the Radical Congress. However, as is indicated in the author's preface, the emphasis is on the *South* during Reconstruction rather than on *Reconstruction* in the South. More than half of the chapters deal with the economic, social, and cultural life of the southern people during the twelve crucial years following Appomattox. It is here that the greatest contribution is made. Much useful information in the field of social history has been assembled, and the narrative is enlivened by the inclusion of contemporary quips, anecdotes, and verses taken from local newspapers, letters, and diaries. Some of these are apt to be remembered after the statistical tables on cotton production are forgotten.

Due emphasis is given to the southern attempts to attract northern and foreign capital and bring about a diversification of the southern economy. Most of the industry of the "New South," however, resulted from southern enterprise. And despite the cotton mills which sprang up in many communities, the South of Reconstruction days was still predominantly rural and agricultural. The greatest changes which were evident were the substitution of free labor for slave labor and the breaking up of many of the antebellum plantations into tenant farms.

Often "the bottom rail was on top"; some women as well as the men were forced to take to the hoe and the plow. "A Southerner declared in 1872 that he did 'not think that manual labor was looked upon as degrading in the South any more than it . . . was in Europe or in the North'" (p. 201). But where the old aristocracy was characterized by poverty it lost none of its pride.

The Old South had its cities as well as its plantations. These urban centers such as New Orleans, Charleston, and Richmond suffered the ravages of war but soon began to show signs of recovery. Indeed Richmond's population was almost fifty per cent larger in 1870 than in 1860. "Yankee" Atlanta, with its good railroad connections, forged ahead in a phenomenal manner. On the other hand, Memphis was almost wiped out by yellow fever in the 1870's. Professor Coulter includes much significant material on these and other southern cities.

Southerners of the Reconstruction period obviously did not spend all their time rebuilding ruined cities and run-down plantations or even damning the Yankees; "they continued to play, laugh, and waste their time on things not too ponderable." Circuses drew crowds, and horse races often constituted the principal drawing card at the agricultural fairs. Country folk found pleasure in getting together for picnics and barbecues. The more sophisticated revived the Mardi Gras, staged tournaments suggested by those in Walter Scott's novels, or visited the Virginia springs in the summer. Public hangings furnished a spectacle for whites and blacks alike.

To label Professor Coulter an "unreconstructed rebel" would be manifestly unfair, yet his writing does reveal him to be a Southerner with a capital "S." This may be regarded as both an asset and a liability. As a Southerner he understands southern people and their mores; when he speaks of corn pones and "hushpuppies" and of "feist" dogs he knows whereof he speaks. But his very understanding of and manifest sympathy with the southern whites of the Reconstruction period leads him to follow the traditional line in appraising political Reconstruction and to pass lightly over opposing points of view. Certainly there is nothing of the revisionist in his judgment that: "Radical Reconstruction was doomed to fail. With a crass, materialistic design, it was cloaked in a garb of high idealistic justice, but its rulers were

inexperienced, ignorant, and corrupt" (p. 162). Northern educators and missionaries who came south after 1865 he regards mainly as meddlers who did more harm than good. With respect to the former slave, Professor Coulter says: "Though the Negro was not free from crime and poverty, race prejudice, and uneven justice, he was vastly better off than the mass of his race in his native Africa, and there was a closer and friendlier feeling of his employer toward him than capitalistic Northerners showed their workmen" (p. 381). The sentiment therein expressed is at least faintly reminiscent of Thomas R. Dew.

William A. Mabry.

Randolph-Macon College,
Ashland, Virginia.

Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda, 1861-1865: Letters and Cargo Manifests. Edited by Frank E. Vandiver. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1947. Pp. 155. \$3.00.)

Mr. Vandiver's book deals with one of the most important phases of Confederate history, because in the Civil War, as in the more recent ones, material went a long way in determining the final outcome. Since the South was an agricultural section, it was necessary to import many of these things necessary for waging successful war, while the lack of ships and the gradually tightening blockade added to the difficulties of keeping the Confederate armies equipped.

Realizing the necessity of securing supplies from abroad, the Confederate government sent to Europe Captain Caleb Huse and other agents to purchase them. These agents worked with Fraser, Trenholm and Company, Liverpool branch of the Charleston banking firm of John Fraser and Company. Huse and his associates had some difficulty in procuring the things needed by the Confederates, and they found it even more difficult to get ships to carry them across the ocean. The first vessel to carry war material to the Confederates was the *Bermuda*, which arrived in Savannah, September 28, 1861, and she was followed by the *Fingal* on November 12, 1861.

These and other ships made their way directly from England to Savannah and other southern ports, but it was soon discovered that large cargo ships were best to carry supplies across the Atlantic, while smaller and faster ones were more suitable for blockade running. Therefore the Confederates soon adopted the policy of using the larger vessels to carry goods from Europe to the West Indies, from which they could be carried on to their destination by the small and fast blockade runners. The problem of transferring the goods from the ocean-goers to the blockade-runners was no small one, for it required large-scale operations in the West Indies.

To facilitate this most essential task, the Confederate Army sent to the West Indies Major Smith Stansbury and other officers. They also engaged John Torry Bourne, a merchant of St. George's, Bermuda, as special agent to handle Confederate goods at that port. Stansbury and Bourne had to help find the ships and crews to carry the goods through the blockade. It was difficult to keep enough coal for the steamers, and docking facilities had to be made available. Often when goods arrived from Europe, there was no vessel to carry them to the Confederates; so warehouses had to be made available to handle the goods until the blockade-runners were ready. Carrying out these and other functions constituted for Stansbury and Bourne one of the most important and difficult jobs in the Confederate service.

Mr. Vandiver's book gives a great deal of information about the work of those two agents. Following an introductory explanation of the general problem, he has published four of Bourne's letter books. Most of the letters were addressed to business firms in the Confederacy, in England, in the West Indies, and even in the United States. Being a private businessman himself, Bourne dealt with such men and concerns, principally John Fraser and Company, and Fraser and Trenholm and Company. Bourne also carried on a considerable amount of correspondence with Major Huse but very little with other Confederate officials.

In addition to the Bourne letter books, Mr. Vandiver includes a letter book kept by Major Stansbury for the period from June, 1863, to November of the same year. While Bourne's letters were those of a private businessman, Stansbury's were more of an official nature, for he was constantly reporting to the Confed-

erate Chief of Ordinance, Colonel J. Gorgas, from whom he received his orders. In fact, most of Stansbury's letters are addressed to Colonel Gorgas, Major Huse, Bourne, and other Confederate officials. Stansbury was constantly instructing Huse, Bourne, and others to get things needed by the Confederates.

In addition to publishing the letter books, Mr. Vandiver has reprinted the cargo manifests of a number of ships which left the port of St. George's, Bermuda, between April 22, 1862, and April 8, 1865. These manifests contain the name and tonnage of the ship sailing, the name of the ship that originally brought the cargo to St. George's, the place from which the cargo came, and an itemized statement of the cargo itself. The vessels sailing from St. George's usually varied in size from 250 to 500 tons, but there were some much larger and a few smaller ones. All of the ships leaving St. George's were registered as being destined for some other West Indian port, and most of the cargoes originally came from England. In the main, the cargoes consisted of weapons, ammunition, raw materials, food, and "merchandise."

These cargo manifests are valuable in that they tell what kind of supplies came to the Confederates via Bermuda. Of course the lists are probably so incomplete that they give no idea of the total quantity. Furthermore, since they are only the cargoes that left St. George's, there is no information as to how many of them got through the Federal blockade. The letters are likewise incomplete and furnish no information as to the extent of the operations, but they throw considerable light on the many problems involved in blockade-running.

Mr. Vandiver made a definite contribution to Confederate history when he secured the letter books from William E. S. Zuill, who found them about twenty-six years ago in possession of Charles Skinner Bourne, a blind storekeeper and son of John Torry Bourne. The Bourne letters were recorded in tissue-leaved books by the water-copy method, and some were so faded as to be almost indecipherable, while in others the ink had eaten through the thin paper, leaving the pages in "rags." The Stansbury letters were in one thin foolscap-sized book but in much better condition. These letters combined with the cargo manifests, which were found in the Customs Office at St. George's,

constitute a definite contribution to the history of blockade-running, one of the most essential phases of the Confederate service.

William P. Roberts.

University of Georgia,
Athens, Georgia.

The Dixie Frontier, A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War. By Everett Dick. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. Pp. xix, 374. \$4.50.)

This volume vividly recreates the conditions of frontier society in the South through an accretion of significant detail rather than by broad generalizations. The Dixie frontier, as defined by the author, includes southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois where the southern upland stock settled as well as the region west of the Appalachian mountains. The author has given a very realistic, even earthy, flavor to his work by digging into numerous sources, including unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. theses. Although this study presents the frontiersman in his environment, particularly noting the influence of the canebrakes, it is essentially a two-dimensional picture, a work of description rather than of analysis. Nevertheless, its delineations of such vanished phases of American life as station life, the food, dress, amusements, the emotional religion of the southern pioneers, dressing skins, making lye soap, frontier justice, electioneering, primitive methods of transportation, and the militia system are meticulously accurate.

The frontiersmen who are presented in these pages are far from romantic figures. The women, with their brown, coarse hands, shapeless linsey-woolsey dresses and ignorance of the world, wielded the rifle as well as the hoe, spent lonely lives rearing broods of unkempt children, and working incessantly. The men were hard-favored and greedy for land and unscrupulous in acquiring it, cruel, particularly in dealing with Indians, shiftless, dirty, and relentlessly inquisitive. Their speech was picturesque, redolent of their life in the wilderness, containing such phrases as "playing possum," "I'm stumped," "will not do to tie to," "the latchstring hangs out," "log-rolling," "a buck" for a dollar, etc., which have survived in the American idiom. Contrary to the common conception, the frontiersman frequently

suffered from bad health, especially from diseases which have disappeared or greatly diminished in our own era—malaria, the milk sickness, rheumatism, and consumption. His remedies were violent, bleeding, calomel, emetics, blisters. *The Dixie Frontier* does not omit the slave and the early evolution of the plantation. In two final chapters the author sums up what he regards as frontier characteristics, such as individualism, hospitality, versatility, freedom from sentimentality, informality, boastfulness, contempt for tradition, and democratic spirit. The style is rough-hewn, constructed very much as the pioneer built his log cabin. It is an honest and reasonably critical work, which the social historian will welcome for its rich information concerning the mores and manners of the southern frontiersman.

Clement Eaton.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawha. By Ruth Woods Dayton. (Charleston, West Virginia; West Virginia Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. 320. \$5.00.)

This book will have considerable appeal to the West Virginia genealogist, antiquarian, and student of early American architecture. The author has utilized many records, newspapers, and monographs and she has presented her material in a readable, homey fashion. Especially attractive are the drawings of early homes along the upper Kanawha. Author Dayton has visited many of these and adds to the cold historical fact the warmth and enthusiasm engendered by such visits. The map of the Kanawha on the end papers is an excellent one and enhances the utility of the volume.

The reviewer is inclined to doubt that many of the "tales" repeated have reasonable validity, but the author is careful not to sanction such tales as fact. In many cases the material presented is a reshuffling of old stories, but in several cases the arrangement is of such nature that it enables one to make a new interpretation of old data. The expansion of settlement into transmontane Virginia during the pre-national period is a subject well worth investigation, and from the standpoint of history it

is to be regretted that this volume does not emphasize more the general trend of settlement. This reviewer does not believe that houses built in or near Charleston after 1800 can properly be called "pioneer homes." If such is the case, then many of the homes included are more properly "early West Virginia homes" than "pioneer homes." The relevance to the subject of such material as the building in 1913 of the first chemical plant in the valley (p. 133) is questionable. But the brief accounts of the Ruffners, Kenton, and Boone are well written and highly germane.

The author has succeeded in presenting an account of family relationships which should make this book a standard reference for "F. F. W. V.'s." The book is well written, and it is to be deplored that more "housewives" do not take time to write such understanding and readable accounts of the regions with which they are acquainted.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Judge Robert McAlpin Williamson, Texas' Three-Legged Willie. By Duncan W. Robinson. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1948. Pp. 230. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

This is an entertaining and instructive volume, for it presents a well balanced account of the career of a colorful character of Texas history. Robert McAlpin Williamson, a cousin of Mirabeau B. Lamar, was born in Georgia in 1804, and at the age of twenty-three he moved to Texas as a colonist under Stephen F. Austin. He served Texas with distinction as a lawyer, editor, soldier, judge, and legislator. Professor Robinson deals adequately with each of these phases of his subject's career. The author presents also for the reader's enjoyment the lighter side of Judge Williamson's life, for this versatile Texan was a great hunter, a popular singer and banjo player, and a superb storyteller. In fact, he was probably responsible for some of the "tall tales" about himself which Texans will always delight in telling.

Williamson lived eight years at San Felipe de Austin, capital of Austin's colony. Here he built up an important law practice, and three years after his arrival he became the district's first

prosecuting attorney. For a time he served as editor of the *Texas Gazette*, which Professor Robinson calls "the most important pre-revolutionary journal to be published in Texas." The volume under review is enlivened by some of the humorous stories which editor Williamson passed on to his readers. When Williamson assumed the duties of alcalde of San Felipe in 1834 he had already become distrustful of Mexican authorities. Disagreeing with his friend Austin, he was one of the earliest and most ardent advocates of resistance to what he regarded as Mexican misrule in Texas. In fact, he became the orator of the Texas Revolution. Professor Robinson thinks that Williamson's speech of July 4, 1835, was "one of the genuinely heroic utterances of the times."

Not the least of the services which Williamson rendered Texas was that as first major of the Texas rangers with the original responsibility of protecting the Texans from the Indians. A contemporary described Major Williamson as "an intrepid Indian fighter." In 1833 the Texas Congress elected him to the office of district judge, in which position he served also as an associate justice of the republic's supreme court. Later Williamson shared in the making of the laws, for he served as a member both of the Texas Congress and of the Texas state legislature.

Duncan Robinson has done an excellent job of biographical writing. He has made good use of the sources, both primary and secondary, and he has told his story well. The work is more than a biography of a famous Texan; it is a study of Texas and of Texans a century ago. The reader gets a vivid picture of conditions surrounding the pioneers in Austin's Texas colony and a refreshing story of the events leading up to the creation of the Texas Republic. The volume is well documented and the printing and binding are excellent.

Jefferson Davis Bragg.

Baylor University,
Waco, Texas.

The Hatfields and the McCoys. By Virgil Carrington Jones. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xii, 293. \$3.75.)

This volume is a carefully documented account of the most famous feud among the mountaineers of the Southern Appalach-

ians. In 1873 Floyd Hatfield found and appropriated a long, lean, razorback sow and her litter. Randolph McCoy, Floyd's brother-in-law, claimed that the hog was his. Bitter words led to a mountain trial in which Preacher Anse, a Hatfield, acted as judge. The twelve jurors were equally divided between the Hatfields and the McCoys; but Selkirk McCoy, who had married a Hatfield, was traitor to his clan and voted against his cousin Randolph. There have been bigger trials, larger courts, and weightier crimes, but few verdicts which have initiated such disproportionately bloody results. The decision in favor of the Hatfields stirred latent hatreds and began a feud which eventually required the declaration of martial law, involved the militia of two states, and resulted in a legal battle fought to the United States Supreme Court. The leader of the Hatfields, on the West Virginia side of the Tug River, was "Devil Anse," who as Captain Anderson Hatfield of the Confederate Army had made a name for himself as a guerilla fighter and phenomenally accurate sharpshooter; Randolph McCoy was the leader of the Kentucky McCoys. Inciting incidents multiplied during the 'seventies and 'eighties: the seduction of Rose Anne McCoy by Johnse Hatfield, the stabbing of Ellison Hatfield at a drunken election meeting, and the kidnapping and shooting of the three McCoy boys who had murdered Ellison. Bitter hatred arose from a dastardly midnight ambush and burning of Randolph McCoy's home by the Hatfields. As Randolph and his family ran out of the blazing cabin, his daughter Allifair and his son Calvin were riddled with bullets and his wife clubbed. The next morning he returned to find his wife still unconscious, her bloody hair frozen to the ground. She recovered to outlive her husband, but that sight roused in him a thirst for revenge unquenched to the day of his death. After 1888 the fury of the vendettas diminished, though the legal battles between the governments of Kentucky and West Virginia over extradition and trial of captured feudists continued for many years.

Virgil C. Jones's work is interestingly written. Footnotes, appendices, photographs, court records and affidavits, and the reports of first-hand inquiry and investigation in the feud region show the care with which he attempts to brush away the accumulated legends and to untangle the contradictory and inaccurate

accounts of contemporary newspapers. In his use of sources and in his analysis of the probable course of events his judgment is good.

In the recital of many mountain shootings and labor troubles which, in the latter half of the book, Jones rather elaborately shows to be unconnected with the feud, the narrative becomes somewhat confused and less interesting. Occasionally he describes as factual, thoughts and actions of the characters which in a way savor more of fictionalized biography than of historical method. His style is uneven, ranging from colloquialism ("They slapped him in the hoosegow," p. 88) to elaborate metaphor ("Along the slopes trees fraternized in their nudity and swayed lonesomely in the clutches of the freezing breezes. . . . For better or worse, nature was caught with her curtains down," p. 93). Mr. Jones does better when he eschews purple passages.

William P. Cumming.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer. By Richard Bardolph. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. xxix, nos. 1-2. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. Pp. 200. \$2.00.)

In this monograph the author undertakes to show what agencies, prior to 1870, were active in the state of Illinois in promoting better farming and to what extent the farmers were exposed to those agencies. The more difficult task of assessing the impact of agricultural literature and agricultural exhibitions on actual farming methods the author, except in general terms, quite wisely leaves to the more daring future historian.

The writer states in his preface that an unusual amount of spade-work has gone into the preparation of this volume. Indeed, after reading the first chapter of forty-nine pages devoted to "Books and Farmer Education," one is prepared for a broad treatise on agricultural literature in the United States. The disproportion of background and body almost amounts to an artistic defect.

With scholarly thoroughness, attested by ample documentation, Dr. Bardolph has traced in detail the efforts of agricultural societies, newspapers, farm journals, and periodicals to enlist the

interests of the farmers of Illinois in adopting improved farming methods and techniques.

Prior to about 1850 the results were not impressive. The well-nigh universal prejudice against "book farming," lack of capital, and the fact that not many farmers were readers interposed formidable barriers to progress. After 1850, however, more progress was noticeable. Agricultural societies displayed more energy and the agricultural press under the leadership of the *Prairie Farmer* (established experimentally in 1840) and the *Illinois Farmer* (founded in 1856) adopted the policy of printing communications from "down-to-earth" farmers. Editors urged farmers to write about their experiences and problems, going so far as to promise to revise the essays for publication. Another favorable factor, according to Dr. Bardolph, was the subsidization of agricultural societies by the legislature in 1853. In response to this action, county agricultural societies began to multiply and to support the revived Illinois State Agricultural Society in the conduct of its annual fairs and in the publication of its *Transactions*.

Among the men prominent in staging the agricultural revival of the 'fifties were Dr. John A. Kennicott, M. L. Dunlap, John P. Reynolds, and Jonathan B. Turner.

In noting the contents of the agricultural journals, the author points up some interesting facts concerning prairie farming. For example (p. 113) he states that the pioneer farmers preferred the wooded land to the prairies on the assumption that land which did not produce trees would not produce crops. In addition, he uncovers the wide-spread fallacy that wheat turns to "cheat."

Besides exposing humbugs, the agricultural press devoted much space to such practical matters as fencing, diversification of crops, fertilizers, soil breaking, agricultural instruction in schools and colleges, and railroad and warehouse regulation. It is evident that by 1870 the farm papers of Illinois were meeting the needs of the farmers at many vital points. The writer concludes that of all the agencies for the instruction of farmers before 1870, the farm journals were the most influential.

The volume is provided with an extensive and valuable bibliography and a satisfactory index. Appendix A carries the titles

of all the agricultural journals published in Illinois to January, 1870, and Appendix B supplies a brief sketch of prominent American horticultural writers to 1870.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

A Free Church in a Free State—America's Unique Contribution. By Frank J. Klingberg. (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press. Pp. 66. \$1.00.)
Church and State. By Evarts B. Greene. (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press. Pp. 48. \$1.00.)

These two small volumes are in the Fundamental Series on Religion sponsored by the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship. The recent discussions, arising out of court litigations, of the relations between church and state emphasize the timeliness of these brief statements; while the eminence of the writers serve to enhance the prestige of the series. Professor Klingberg's volume traces the influence of religion in American life and advances the point of view that the founding of America by men from self-governing churches had much to do with the growth of the spirit of freedom in the United States. The diversity of religious faiths in the early years of this country's history induced a measure of toleration and helped build the American way of life.

Professor Greene discusses the relationship between church and state since the seventeenth century and indicates some of the factors that have affected this relationship. While church disestablishment had been achieved long before the middle of the nineteenth century, a close and sympathetic relationship between church and state has persisted down to the present day. In the fields of military service, education, property and its taxation, and marriage both sides have been willing to make practical adjustments "without always pushing theories to their extreme logical conclusions."

Because of the brevity of these essays, one could not expect an exhaustive discussion of the subjects covered. Perhaps it would have been desirable, however, for Professor Klingberg to have said more about some other aspects of the church's influence; the spread of the spirit of intolerance by the early church leaders

and the denial of even the theory of equality and brotherhood by many who professed to adhere to the principles of Christianity. One would have welcomed, also, a discussion by Professor Greene of the subtle and indirect influences which organized religion exerts in the area of politics and government. Perhaps some of the succeeding volumes will treat these aspects of the role of the church in American history.

John Hope Franklin.

Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets. Compiled by Donald E. Thompson. (University, Alabama; University of Alabama Press, 1947. Pp. 210. \$1.75.)

This planographed, briefly annotated bibliography is a checklist of 3,339 items in the T. P. Thompson Collection in the University of Alabama Library. For research students the value of the collection will be greatly enlarged by this checklist with its index which includes more than a mere list of proper names. Though generally concerned with the literature, history, and social life of Louisiana, the collection contains items only indirectly connected with the state as, for example, some of the works of Lafcadio Hearn, Commodor Perry's account of his expedition to Japan, and Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*. A preface by W. Stanley Hoole calls attention to the value of the Thompson Collection and gives something of its history.

Nannie M. Tilley.

East Texas State Teachers College,
Commerce, Texas

HISTORICAL NEWS

Miss Christiana McFayden, an assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to complete her work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Elizabeth Cometti, as assistant professor of history at the Women's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to accept a position as an associate professor of history at Marshall College.

Mrs. Carolyn A. Daniel, as instructor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has resigned to complete her work for the doctorate at the University of North Carolina.

Miss Zoe Swecker, an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded the Cleo Hearon fellowship at the University of Chicago for graduate work in history.

Miss Lenore O'Boyle of Greenwich, Connecticut, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Miss O'Boyle has an A.B. degree from Bryn Mawr College, and an M.A. degree from Yale University and expects to receive a Ph.D. degree from Radcliffe College next February.

Mr. Robert G. Hocker of Havestown, Pa., has been appointed as assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Mr. Hocker is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, where he is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree next year. Mr. Hocker served four years in World War II as a captain in General Patton's Army.

Mr. Alexander H. McLeod of Lumberton, N. C., has been appointed an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Mr. McLeod is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, where he is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree next year.

The Social Science Forum of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been endowed as a memorial to Dean Harriet Elliot, and in the future it will be an annual event. At the first forum twenty-seven colleges and universities in six states were represented by some 400 delegates. Attendance at the seven sessions varied from 1,200 to 2,500 persons. The second forum will occur November 11, 12, 13, 1948, with "Freedom and Security" as the central theme. Among the leaders will be Vera Micheles Dean, research director of the Foreign Policy Association; Max Lerner, columnist of the *New York Star*; Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University; C. O. Hardy, director, congressional Committee on the Economic Report to the President; Gardner Murphy, chairman of the psychology department, City College of New York; William Carleton, chairman of the social science division, University of Florida; and United States Senator John Sparkman of Alabama. Inquiries should be directed to the Chairman, Social Science Forum, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Wayland F. Jones, an instructor in history at the University of Richmond, has been appointed an instructor in history at Wake Forest College.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College has been promoted to professor of history and head of the Department of history. Dr. Wallace will appear on the program of the American Historical Association at its winter meeting and will discuss the paper of Dr. Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University entitled "The Papal Policy in 1848."

Miss Helen Brandon, an assistant professor of social science at Atlantic Christian College, has resigned to spend the winter in Florida.

Ninety Bits of North Carolina Biography, by C. H. Hamlin, is now in its second printing. This publication is widely used in public schools of the state.

Mr. Cloyd W. Paskins, an associate professor of history and sociology at Elon College, did graduate work during the summer at the University of Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico.

Dr. H. E. Hirsch, chairman of the department of social sciences at Elon College, taught a series of courses on contemporary European and Russian history during the summer session at the University of Vermont.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College on August 6 delivered an address before the Alabama State Bar Association in Montgomery on the subject, "An Historian Looks at the Lawyer."

The North Carolina Society of County historians conducted a tour of southeastern Harnett County on June 20. The group attending the tour, which was under the conduct of Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington, visited the homesite of Ebenezer Folsome, commander of the Cumberland Militia during the Revolution; Neill's Creek Baptist Church, organized about 1778; Barbee's Inn at Barclaysville, which George Barmcroft visited in 1852 and afterwards wrote of his experiences; Shaw's Halfway House, the home of the Dushee Shaw family who settled there in 1756; "Plenty Plains," the home of Farquhard Campbell of Revolutionary fame; Averagesboro, a ghost town on the Cape Fear River; "Lebanon," the home of Mr. Eugene Smith, a direct descendant of "Ferry" John Smith who built the house before the War for Southern Independence, the home was used as a hospital during the battle of Averagesboro in 1865; Chicora Cemetery, where are buried many of the soldiers who fell during the battle of Averagesboro; Bluff Church (Presbyterian) established in 1758 through the efforts of Rev. James Campbell. A picnic lunch was served on the banks of the Cape Fear River. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Miss Nell Hines of the State Department of Archives and History and Mr. Charles M. Heck of Raleigh, were on the tour.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians also made a tour of Randolph County on July 18. The group visited the

site of the first courthouse, the site of old Trinity College—later moved to Durham and now Duke University; Cedar Falls, the site of the first cotton mill established in Randolph County, 1839; Franklinville and the famous Faith Rock over which Andrew Hunter reputedly plunged his horse "Big Doe" to escape David Fanning's men; Marlboro Friends meeting house, the site of early camp meetings and at one time known as Bell's meeting house; and Sandy Creek Baptist Church, founded in 1755 by Rev. Shubal Stearns. A picnic lunch was served in Randleman. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. W. S. Powell, Miss Nell Hines, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History went on the tour as did Mr. L. Polk Denmark and Mr. Charles M. Heck of Raleigh. Dr. J. C. Prichard, a retired Methodist minister and now the official host of Asheboro, served as guide and Mrs. Laura M. Worth made the local arrangements. Many other people from Randolph and adjoining counties also made the tour.

Members of the North Carolina Society of County Historians on August 8 made a tour of Anson County. Miss Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro arranged and conducted the tour, which consisted of visits to the following places: the Captain Patrick Boggan house, the oldest house in Wadesboro; the office of Dr. Edmund Fontaine Ashe, built about 1838; the marker to Risten Tyler Bennett; the ancestral Hammon home; the home of Col. L. L. Polk, at Polkton, the first commissioner of agriculture in North Carolina; the remaining building of Carolina Female College at Ansonville, which was established in 1852 and abandoned in 1868; Mt. Vernon Methodist Church; the site of the first courthouse; and the Lilesville Baptist Church, which was established in 1777 and where Dr. Max Cook, pastor of the church, gave a talk. Mrs. Mary Bennett Little provided a picnic lunch in the grove of her home in Wadesboro. In addition to the local people attending the tour were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Miss Nell Hines of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; Mr. L. Polk Denmark and Mr. Jeffrey F. Stanback, also of Raleigh; Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the society, and Mr. M. R. Turlington, Lillington; Mr. A. B. McArtan and Mr. A. V. Dawkins of Linden; Mr. J. H. Monger and Mr. Robert Monger of Sanford; Mr. James

G. W. MacClamroch and Mr. Raleigh C. Taylor of Greensboro; Mr. Isaac London and Mr. W. H. Covington of Rockingham; Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Mr. Donald C. Griffin, and Mr. Steve Harris of Forest City; and Miss Sarah Locke Blythe of Charlotte.

Mr. Nelson H. Harris of Shaw University recently published an article entitled "Negro Higher and Professional Education in North Carolina," in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XVII, no. 3, summer, 1948.

On September 3-6 Hendersonville held its first annual Apple Harvest Festival, and in connection therewith there was presented a historical pageant, "Pomona," written by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department, attended the pageant.

Books received include *A Plea for Federal Union, North Carolina, 1788*, a reprint of two pamphlets with an introduction by Hugh T. Lefler (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1948); F. J. Sizemore, *The Building and the Builders of a City* (High Point, N. C., 1948); Leonard W. Labaree, *Conservatism In Early American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1948); Charles S. Sydnor, *Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948); W. Edwin Hemphill, *Gold Star Honor Roll of Virginians in the Second World War* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia World War II Historical Commission, 1947); Dan S. Hardin, *History of Missionary Methodism, 1913-1948* (Forest City: The Forest City Courier, 1948); William Way, *The History of Grace Church, Charleston, South Carolina: The First Hundred Years* (Durham, N. C.: The Seaman Printery, 1948); Samuel Cole Williams, *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765* (Marietta, Georgia, Contentional Book Company, 1948); W. Edwin Hemphill, *Pursuits of War, The People of Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia, In the Second World War* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Albemarle County Historical Society, 1948);

Charles Crossfield Ware, *Roundtree Chronicles, 1827-1840* (Wilson, North Carolina: Christian Missionary Convention, 1947); *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1946-1947* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XIII, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); Pierce Butler, *The Unhurried Years: Memories of the Old Natchez Region* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948); Marion Tinliny and Godfred Davies, *The Western Country in 1793 Reports on Kentucky and Virginia* (San Marino, California, 1948).

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