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NORTH CAROLINA BAPTISTS AND SLAVERY

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Differences of opinion over the question of slavery brought significant changes in the organization of the Baptist denomination of the United States. North Carolina Baptists moved more slowly toward the idea of the formation of a Southern Baptist Convention (1845) than did those of Virginia and the Lower South, manifested less ardor in the growing spirit of Southern nationalism, and were less willing to withdraw from the Union in 1860. But, when circumstances demanded a decision, North Carolina cast its lot with the other Southern states in defense of its institutions—its “way of life.” And North Carolina Baptists concurred in and supported the decision.

Northern and Southern Baptists, slaveholder and non-slaveholder, met in the City of Philadelphia, May 18-25, 1814, and joined together in the formation of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, commonly called the Triennial Convention. The purpose of the convention, as stated in the constitution, was to carry “into effect the benevolent Intentions” of the Baptists “by organizing a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the Energies of the whole Denomination in one sacred effort for sending the glad tidings of Salvation to the Heathen, and to nations destitute of pure Gospel-light.” Dr. Richard Furman of South Carolina was elected president¹ and James A. Randaldson of North Carolina was among the official delegates to the first convention.²

The organization having been effected, the convention elected a board of commissioners, “agreeably to the Constitution,” to be

¹ *Proceedings of The Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes; Held in Philadelphia, In May [18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25], 1814*, p. 3. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*.)

² *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, p. 7.

called the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States. Randaldson was named one of the commissioners.³ The newly elected board met on May 24, 1814, to elect officers. Richard Furman was chosen president, but he declined the office on account of the "great distance" of South Carolina "from the seat of the Board."⁴

At the formation of the Triennial Convention in 1814, Northern Baptists were indifferent toward the institution of slavery that existed among Southern Baptists. As the number of slaveholders among Baptists increased, pro-slavery sentiment in the South became more and more pronounced while antislavery sentiment became less and less noticeable. In the North the opposite trends were taking place. Antislavery sentiment was gaining in strength and proslavery sentiment was declining. These opposing trends were destined to bring significant changes in the societies of the American Baptists.

Slavery ultimately became an issue in the Triennial Convention and the Baptist boards, but North Carolina Baptists moved more slowly in breaking away from the convention and took less part in the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention than did the Baptists of Virginia and the Lower South. North Carolina Baptists, however, once convinced that there was no alternative for Southern Baptists under the circumstances but the formation of a Southern convention, voiced a "cordial" approval of the organization formed in Augusta and gave it their wholehearted support.

In 1840 the Antislavery Baptist Convention met in New York at the same time the Baptist boards were meeting. Elon Galusha, president of the Baptist Antislavery Convention, was also a vice-president of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board.⁵ At the meeting in 1840 the Antislavery Convention issued an address to the Southern Baptist churches.⁶ The address was signed by the president.⁷

As a result of the address to Southern Baptists, the North Carolina Baptist Convention passed resolutions expressing their "views and feelings" concerning the "movements of the Baptist

³ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, pp. 3, 10.

⁴ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, p. 12.

⁵ *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, July 4, 1840; *American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.—Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting [April 29, 30, 1840]*, p. 1. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Board*.)

⁶ *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, May 16, 1840.

⁷ Mary Burnham Putnam, *The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845*, p. 21.

Abolitionists of the North." It was the "opinion" of the convention that the "movements of the northern abolitionists" were "uncalled for," "schismatical, and mischievous" in tendency. The convention expressed "regret" for the "position" taken by "certain abolitionists connected with the Baptist church, in announcing a sentiment of non-fellowship against their brethren of the South" and debarring Southern ministers from their "pulpits and communion tables." "But," said North Carolina Baptists, "as their [the Antislavery Baptists'] position has been taken, we consider them alone responsible for the separation which must thereby be effected."⁸

North Carolina Baptists expressed the opinion that it was "due to the South" on the part of their "northern brethren, to disavow in some form all concurrence" in the "schismatical movements of the abolitionists." They feared that "unless some such disavowal" were made, the existing "friendly relations" between Northern and Southern Baptists would be "seriously endangered." They believed that the "remedy," a disavowal of the movements of the abolitionists, rested "mainly" on Northern Baptists and that the continued friendly and "effective" relations between Northern and Southern Baptists depended upon the "seasonable application of the remedy."⁹

Thomas Meredith refused to print the address of the Antislavery Convention to Southern Baptists in the *Recorder* on the ground that "documents of no sort in favor of the slaveholder" could "get admission" into the Northern papers.¹⁰

After the Baptist Antislavery Convention's declaration of non-fellowship with Baptist slaveholders, Southern Baptists became apprehensive of what might take place at the next meeting of the Triennial Convention scheduled to meet in Baltimore in April, 1841. Basil Manly, after conferring with John L. Dagg, issued a call for a convention of the Southern delegates who

⁸ *Proceedings Of The Tenth Annual Meeting Of The Baptist State Convention Of North Carolina, Held At Johnson Liberty, Johnson County, N. C., Oct. 2-5, 1840*, p. 5. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention*.)

⁹ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention (1840)*, pp. 5, 6; *Minutes Of The Cape Fear Baptist Association, At Cross Roads, Columbus County, North Carolina, October 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1840*, p. 4 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Cape Fear Association*); *Minutes Of The Goshen Association, Held At Concord Meeting House, Duplin County, N. C. On the 2nd, 3rd, & 4th days of October, 1840*, p. 3 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Goshen Association*); *Minutes Of The Raleigh Baptist Association Held At New Hope, M. H., Wake County, North Carolina, October 10th, 11th & 12th, 1840*, p. 4 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Raleigh Association*).

¹⁰ *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, July 4, 1840.

were to attend the Triennial Convention, to meet prior to the Triennial Convention for the "distinct and sole purpose of conferring together on the slavery question, and determining on the position proper to be assumed by them, when meeting their brethren in the General Convention."¹¹

When the Southern delegates met in convention a paper written by Spencer Cone was read which had been "voluntarily presented by the leading members of the Board, as expressing their views in relation to the course of the Abolitionists." (Cone, of New York, had been president of the Triennial Convention for nine years, 1832-1841.) "In connection with this paper, the belief was expressed that the leading abolitionists would be left out of the various Boards." The paper was "deemed satisfactory for the present," and the convention of the Southern delegates "adjourned to assemble at the call of the President, at the close of the meetings [of the Triennial Convention], when, [and] if the elections" had "resulted in the choice of objectionable officers and managers."¹²

The Board of Managers issued an address, November 2, 1840, which declared its position to be neutral. The board reaffirmed its position in a report to the Triennial Convention in 1841. The convention approved the report and had the address published in the minutes.¹³ The address stated that the "view entertained by the Board as to the relevancy" of the "subject" of slaveholding was that it did "not come under their cognizance in any form; nor," they added, "within the scope of the General Convention, with the present constitution."¹⁴

J. J. Finch, the only delegate from North Carolina who attended the Triennial Convention in April, 1841, reported to the North Carolina State Convention in October of the same year that a "large majority" of the "body" of the Triennial Convention were "entirely opposed to making Slave-holding a test of christian fellowship," and that he had witnessed the "strongest attachment between the northern and southern members of the Baptist Church."¹⁵

¹¹ *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, November 28, 1840.

¹² *The Recorder and Watchman*, May 15, 1841, quoting the *Religious Herald*.

¹³ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), pp. 24, 25.

¹⁴ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), pp. 79-81.

¹⁵ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1841), p. 6.

Thomas Meredith said that he had "purposely abstained" from any remarks on the proceedings at Baltimore until the "different and opposing accounts" had come in and had been "duly compared" with each other so that he "might safely presume" that he had been "fully and correctly informed on every important particular." He explained that it was "no part" of his "purpose" to disturb the "treaty of peace" which seemed "to have been enacted between the Northern and Southern delegation." Whatever may be his own "views of this compact, or of the principles on which this compact was based," he presumed it contained the "best terms that could be obtained" and, as it had been "duly ratified by the formal announcement" of the Southern delegation, he was "entirely willing that its efficacy should be tried." He trusted that what he said would not be "so construed to imply opposition" on his part. Meredith thought that the difficulty of the South, in regard to what had taken place at the Triennial Convention, was that "instead" of the Northern Baptists "denouncing" abolitionism, the "acting boards" had "declared their determination to maintain neutral ground."¹⁶

The Baptist Antislavery Convention appointed a "temporary" Provisional Foreign Mission Committee in 1842 whose purpose, as stated later, was "solely with the hope of a thorough reform in the Triennial Convention."¹⁷ The Provisional Committee issued a circular addressed to the antislavery Baptists in the United States. The "special object" of the circular was to ask the views of the antislavery Baptists "in relation to the course to be pursued" at the meeting of the Triennial Convention in April, 1844. More specifically, what should be "demanded of the Triennial Convention in order that the abolitionists may continue in it?" The circular stated that the "Events which occurred at Baltimore and previously" had proved "beyond all doubt" that Southern Baptists would not co-operate with those of the North, "except on the ground of being recognized as brethren in good standing!" The Provisional Committee recognized:

¹⁶ *The Recorder*, June 12, 1841.

¹⁷ *The Recorder*, March 23, 1844; September 21, 1844.

three ways in which our feelings can be satisfied. Either, 1. By the slaveholders retiring from the Convention; or, 2. By a mutual separation and a division of the funds and missionaries, allowing the South to take all those who may prefer their patronage; or 3. By a change in the constitution of the Convention; which shall make freedom from the sin of oppression, one of the essential qualifications for membership.¹⁸

Meredith said "it is perhaps a duty which we owe our readers, and the cause generally, to insert" the circular in the *Recorder*. This he did on March 23, 1844.

The demands of the Provisional Committee of the Baptist Antislavery Convention caused considerable uneasiness among Northern and Southern Baptists. The Triennial Convention met in Philadelphia, April 24-30, 1844. In an effort to forestall any dissent in the convention, Reverend George B. Ide of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, introduced the following resolution:

Whereas there exists, in various sections of the country, an impression that our present organization involved the fellowship of the institution of domestic slavery, or of certain associations which are designed to oppose that institution, —

Therefore *Resolved*, That, in cooperating together as members of this Convention in the work of Foreign Missions, we disclaim all sanction, either express [*sic*] or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery; but as individuals, we are perfectly free both to express and to promote, elsewhere, our own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit.¹⁹

The resolution was "adopted with great unanimity."²⁰

Meredith says that the adoption of the resolution disclaiming all sanction of "slavery or of anti-slavery" was passed with "only a dissenting voice," and was "generally hailed as a harbinger of peace"; but instead, it "was but the beginning of evil — but the entering of the abolition wedge."²¹

Meredith's allusion to the "beginning of evil" referred to the discussions that took place in the meetings of the American Baptist Home Mission Society which convened between sessions of the Triennial Convention. The meetings were monopolized

¹⁸ *The Recorder*, March 23, 1844.

¹⁹ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.

²⁰ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), p. 15.

²¹ *The Recorder*, August 3, 1844.

by a discussion of the slavery question. At the first meeting of the board, the day before the Triennial Convention assembled, slaveholding became the subject of discussion. Samuel Adlam of Maine introduced the subject by a motion which was amended by Richard Fuller, striking out all after the word *Resolved*. The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, the question has been proposed—whether the Board would or would not employ slaveholders as missionaries of this Society; and whereas, it is important that this question should receive a full and unequivocal answer, therefore

Resolved, That as the Constitution of the Home Mission Society clearly defines its object to be the promotion of the Gospel in North America, and as it is provided by such Constitution that any auxiliary society may designate the object to which the funds contributed by it shall be applied and also claim a missionary or missionaries, according to such funds, and select the field where such missionary or missionaries shall reside,

Therefore, 1st: That to introduce the subjects of slavery or anti-slavery into this body, is in direct contravention of the whole letter and purpose of the said Constitution, and is moreover, a most unnecessary agitation of topics with which the Society has no concern, over which it has no control, and as to which its operations should not be fettered, nor its deliberations disturbed.

2: That the Home Mission Society being only an agency to disburse the funds confided to it, according to the wishes of the contributors, therefore, our co-operation in this body does not imply any sympathy either with slavery or anti-slavery, as to which societies and individuals are left as free and uncommitted as if there were no such co-operation. ²²

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 123 to 61. ²³

Immediately following the adoption of this resolution John S. McGinnis of New York proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of three from the north, three from the south and three from the west, with the President of the Society as chairman, to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of the Society, or to report such alterations in the Constitution as will admit of the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery. ²⁴

²² *Twelfth Report Of The American Baptist Home Mission Society Presented By The Executive Board At The Anniversary In Philadelphia, April 23, 1844, With The Treasurer's Report*, pp. 5, 6. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society*.)

²³ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society*, p. 6.

²⁴ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society*, p. 6.

The resolution was adopted and a committee was appointed to report at the next annual meeting, April, 1845.

The appointment of the committee to consider altering the constitution or dissolving the Home Mission Society called forth a flood of protest from North Carolina Baptists. They expressed "regret" at the appointment of the committee and hoped that "no action" would be taken to "accomplish either" a change in the constitution or the dissolution of the society.²⁵ The Beulah Association gave as one reason for not altering the constitution of the Home Mission Society that, if they were "rightly informed," "none except the leading abolitionists" had "ever wished the constitution altered."²⁶

The action of the Triennial Convention in April, 1844, on the question of slavery supposedly settled that matter among the Baptists. The Foreign Mission Board had declared its position to be neutral.²⁷ The Triennial Convention had disclaimed "all sanction, either express or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery," in "cooperating together" in the "work of Foreign Missions," and had declared that "as individuals" they were "perfectly free both to express and to promote, elsewhere," their "own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit."²⁸ And the Home Mission Society had taken the position that "to introduce the subjects of slavery or anti-slavery" into that body was in "direct contravention of the whole letter and purpose" of the constitution.²⁹

The Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention made application to the American Baptist Home Mission Board for the appointment of Reverend James E. Reeves,³⁰ a slave-

²⁵ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1844), p. 16; *Minutes Of The Eleventh Session Of The Beulah Baptist Association, Held At Madison, Rockingham County, N. C. on the 16th, 17th and 18th days of August, 1844*, pp. 8, 9 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Beulah Association*); *Minutes Of The Flat River Baptist Association; Held At Buffaloe Church, Mecklenburg Co., Va., August 9-12, 1844*, p. 7 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Flat River Association*); *The Recorder*, June 15, 1844; July 20, 1844.

²⁶ *Minutes Beulah Association* (1844), p. 9.

²⁷ The circular of November 2, 1840, was a declaration of the neutral position of the Foreign Mission Board. The policy of neutrality was reaffirmed in the report of the Board to the Triennial Convention in 1841, and was approved by the convention. *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), p. 23. The circular of November 2, 1840, was readopted by the Foreign Mission Board in 1843. *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Society* (1843), pp. 12, 13.

²⁸ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.

²⁹ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1844), pp. 5, 6.

³⁰ B. M. Sanders, chairman of the Executive Committee, gives the name as Reeves. Meredith spells the name Reeve.

holder, as a missionary within the bounds of the Talapoosa Association. The board "declined" to entertain the application.³¹ Meredith, writing on October 19, 1844, said that he had learned from a printed circular "issued from the Home Mission Rooms" that "Mr. Reeve, the Georgian slaveholder," had been "neither appointed nor rejected." Meredith said that "Mr. Reeve did not fail to receive appointment from the fact that he was a slaveholder." If the "application [had] been made for him in the usual and appropriate manner without reference" to "his holding slaves and without expressed design to *test* the action or policy of the Board, he would have been appointed." It was Meredith's opinion that the Home Mission Board had "acted wisely and faithfully," and was "entitled to the renewed confidence and adhesion of the South."³² Meredith said that he had learned "through a private medium, that a similar application, and for a similar purpose" had been made to the Home Mission Board by Virginia.³³

The Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention (B. M. Sanders,³⁴ chairman) made a formal expression of its views, October 22, 1844, in the form of five "remarks" or resolutions on the position, regarding the appointment of Reeves, taken by the American Home Mission Board. The Executive Committee declared first that the Home Mission Board had "confounded" the questions of "morality of slavery" and the "relation which slaveholders bear to the societies" of the Triennial Convention and their "eligibility to offices" in the societies. Second, the Home Mission Board had "not only misapplied the resolutions of the Society" but had "also violated the instructions therein given." Third, the "reasons alleged for the refusal" to appoint Reeves "utterly" failed to "justify" the action. The Executive Committee believed that the "occasion" demanded "plainness of speech." Fourth, the "rejection" of their application went "far to evince the necessity of a Southern organization for their "benevolent operations." And fifth, the "only hope for the preservation" of the existing societies rested upon

³¹ *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Georgia Baptists Compiled for the Christian Index*, p. 204.

³² *The Recorder*, October 19, 1844; October 26, 1844.

³³ *The Recorder*, September 21, 1844.

³⁴ The name is also spelled Saunders.

the "attachment" of their "brethren to the principles of church independence." ³⁵

Meredith agreed that there was one view of the subject taken by the Georgia committee that was "incontrovertible" and that was the "view of candor and plain common sense." He said, "if a slaveholder *can* or *will* be appointed, why not appoint him at once, and have done with it? If he *cannot* be appointed, why not say so, plainly and let the parties know what to depend on?" Meredith held that, since the "celebrated adjustment" or "compromise" or "whatever it may be called," adopted at the Triennial Convention in Baltimore in 1841, the "principle of action" was not a principle of "plain dealing—not of open handed, straightforward candor and decision—but of compromise, adjustment, and shifting and dodging from side to side." He wrote, "if we mistake not, our good brother Sanders was a party, down to the present day," of the "grand principle" of "compromise" and "adjustment" of the Baptist societies. Meredith thought that Sanders was "clearly mistaken" when he said the Home Mission Board had "misapplied the resolutions" of the society and violated the instructions therein given. In Meredith's "view" Sanders did not come "nearer the fact" when he undertook to split the "question of slavery into two divisions—namely, the morality of slavery, and the eligibility of slaveholders to office of the Society."

Meredith thought the difficulty was the policy of *neutrality* which could exist only in the "heads of sophists and speculatists." Although he did not agree with the board's evasive action, he thought there was room for such action because of the so-called policy of "neutrality." He said that the board had been "drilled for years in the art of dodging slavery and anti-slavery questions" under the policy of "neutrality." The board was expected to please both Northern and Southern men, "abolitionists and slavery men." And under those circumstances Meredith declared that he was "compelled to say" the board had come "as near acting well their part, as any set of men, placed in like circumstances, could have been expected to do."³⁶

³⁵ *The Recorder*, November 30, 1844.

³⁶ *The Recorder*, November 30, 1844.

The Home Mission Society had adopted a neutral position on slaveholding. The Triennial Convention, however, agreed to "disclaim all sanction, either express or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery."³⁷ After the American Baptist Home Mission Board rejected the application of the Executive Committee of Georgia, the Alabama Baptist State Convention made demands on the American Foreign Mission Board as to its position in the appointment of slaveholders as missionaries. The Alabama Convention, meeting in November, 1844, resolved that it was its "duty" at "this crisis" to "demand from the proper authorities in all those bodies to whose funds" they were contributing "the distinct, explicit avowal that slaveholders are eligible, and entitled equally with non-slaveholders, to all the privileges and immunities of their several unions; and especially to receive any agency, mission or other appointment, which may fall within the scope of their operations or duties."³⁸

In reply to the Alabama resolutions the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board wrote Reverend Jesse Hartwell, president of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, that to the "knowledge" of the Board "no slaveholder" had applied to be a missionary. The letter explicitly stated that the Board sent out "no domestics or servants," and such an "event as a missionary taking slaves with him were it morally right, could not, in accordance" with "all" their "past arrangements or present plans, possibly occur." The board said further, "If, however, any one should insist on retaining them [slaves] as his property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain, we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery."³⁹

The reply of the American Foreign Mission Board to the Alabama resolutions brought action from the Virginia Baptists. The Virginia Foreign Mission Board addressed a circular to the Baptist churches of Virginia, in which it declined to "express an opinion" on the "expediency" of pressing the American Foreign Mission Board to give expression to its "views on the subject of slavery, under the exciting and embarrassing circumstances un-

³⁷ *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.

³⁸ B. F. Riley, *A Memorial History Of The Baptists Of Alabama*, p. 82, quoting *Minutes Alabama Baptist State Convention*.

³⁹ *The Recorder*, March 8, 1845.

der which they were placed." At the same time the Virginia Board declared that they "must" speak with "frankness and firmness" regarding the action of the Foreign Mission Board, and that they considered the action of the American Board an "outrage" on their "rights." Since the Triennial Convention would not meet for two years and since "redress" could not be expected from the convention, the Virginia Foreign Mission Board called for a convention of Southern Baptists to meet in Augusta, Georgia, "on Thursday before the 2nd Lord's day in May." The Virginia board recommended that "churches and associations" of Virginia "appoint delegates to the proposed Convention."⁴⁰

North Carolina Baptists officially took no part in the controversy over the appointment of slaveholders as missionaries. They seemed to bear out Meredith's statements in "Our Position Defined," an editorial in the *Recorder*, August 24, 1844. In the editorial Meredith said, "If the South and the North shall separate, we say, let the South have no agency in bringing about the result." But as for the abolitionists, "we are clear for permitting them to withdraw—and for thanking them for doing so."⁴¹

In January, 1845, Meredith expressed the opinion that the Alabama resolutions were "uncalled for."⁴² The following March he said that the "whole matter, from beginning to end — from the Alabama resolutions to the Virginia circular," was "a most unnecessary, if not a most unwise and hurtful proceeding."⁴³ In April Meredith commented on the fact that the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board had remained "perfectly silent, and offered no word of explanation nor conciliation." Its silence, he confessed, left "little ground to hope" that the board had been "misunderstood, or that they really intended to do right." Still, contended Meredith, the convention could not be "fairly held accountable" for their agents until it had had an opportunity "either to confirm or condemn" the proceedings of the board. In a postscript, he suggested that the Southern states, involved in the slavery controversy with the "Boston Board," "*suspend all further connexion and co-operation*" with

⁴⁰ *The Recorder*, April 5, 1845, quoting the *Religious Herald*.

⁴¹ *The Recorder*, August 24, 1844.

⁴² *The Recorder*, January 18, 1845.

⁴³ *The Recorder*, March 29, 1845.

the board until it reversed its proceedings, and await the action of the Triennial Convention at the next session, 1847.⁴⁴

The regular annual meeting of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board was held in Providence, Rhode Island, April 30, 1845. At that time a committee, with Francis Wayland as chairman, was appointed on the "communication from the Alabama Baptist State Convention and the Reply of the Acting Board." The committee reported that in case appointments involving slaveholders arose they "could not desire" their "brethren to violate their convictions of duty by making such appointments, but should consider it incumbent upon them [the Board] to refer the case to the Convention for its decision."⁴⁵

The committee appointed in 1844 "to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of the Society; or to report such alterations in the Constitution as will admit of the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery" reported to the American Baptist Home Mission Society meeting in Providence, April 29, 1845. The committee made a "majority report adverse to any alteration of the Constitution, or plan of operation." Nathaniel Colver of Massachusetts, a member of the committee, immediately made a "counter report." Both of the reports, "after much discussion, were laid on the table."⁴⁶

The "subject of the division of the Society, or devising a plan of harmonious co-operation" was then discussed and a "select committee" was appointed "in relation to a mode of separate action and organization." Members of the "select committee" were John S. Maginnis and Elisha Tucker of New York, Greenleaf S. Webb of Pennsylvania, James B. Taylor of Virginia, and Barnas Sears and James H. Duncan of Massachusetts. Francis Wayland of Rhode Island declined to serve. The select committee reported and the society agreed that should "separation among former friends and patrons of the Society, be deemed necessary," the charter of the society should be retained by the "northern and other churches, which may be willing to act together upon the basis of restriction against the appointment of

⁴⁴ *The Recorder*, April 19, 1845.

⁴⁵ *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Board* (1845), pp. 8, 9.

⁴⁶ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1845), p. 6.

Slaveholders," and that the Executive Board should adjust "upon amicable, honorable and liberal principles, whatever claims may be presented by brethren who shall feel, upon the separation, unable further to co-operate with the Society, or disposed to form a separate organization at the South." 47

David Benedict says that the dispute among Baptists "about slavery, in an earnest manner," was "respecting a system" whose "evils" the North had "but little knowledge, only by report." "Strong efforts" were made "by many Northern men to restrain the freedom which had thus been exercised" among Baptists and the "operation" of those efforts, "in the end, led the Southern Brethren to go off by themselves." 48

A convention of Southern Baptist delegates met in Augusta, Georgia, May 8-12, 1845, for the purpose of organizing a Southern Baptist Convention. R. McNab from "Kennansville" church and A. J. Battle from Wilmington church were the only delegates from North Carolina who attended the meeting. M. McDaniel was elected a delegate from the Wilmington church but did not attend. 49

Delegates representing various Baptist bodies of the South met in Augusta according to appointment and organized the Southern Baptist Convention. The convention issued an address "*To the Brethren in the United States; to the congregations connected with the respective Churches; and to all candid men*" designed to "explain the origin, the principles and the peculiar circumstances in which the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention became necessary." It reviewed briefly the history of the Triennial Convention. It pointed out the article in the constitution defining those who might be appointed as missionaries, namely, "Such persons only as are in full communion with some church in our denomination; and who furnish satisfactory evidence of genuine piety, good talents, and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause." The address called attention to the fact that at the "last two Triennial Conventions, slavery and anti-slavery men began to draw off on different sides." It also pointed out that the "nobler spirits on each side" had endeavored to ward

⁴⁷ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society (1845)*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ David Benedict, *Fifty Years Among The Baptists*, p. 129.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings Of The Southern Baptist Convention, Held In Augusta, Georgia, May, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, And 12th, 1845*, p. 8. (Hereinafter cited as *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention*.)

off any division among the Baptists by adopting a resolution disclaiming "all sanction" of "slavery or anti-slavery" in cooperating together and recognizing the right of individuals to promote elsewhere their views on those subjects, in a Christian manner and spirit. The address explained that this "important and plain declaration" had become a "perfect nullity" before the "close of the first year of the triennial period."⁵⁰

Southern Baptists adopted a resolution at the convention in 1845 stating that they regarded the "harmonious and unanimous action" of the convention and the "christian spirit" that "governed its deliberations" as a "pledge of the divine blessing in the origin and prosecution" of the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention.⁵¹

While the Southern Baptist Convention was in session in Augusta, Meredith wrote that he was of the "opinion" that the "movement [for a Southern Baptist Convention] was projected in haste, and without sufficient reason for such a measure," and that it would have been "better, on several accounts, had more time been allowed both for observation and deliberation." "But," said he, "the thing itself has now been shown to be not only right, but indispensable." And, "Since the meetings at Providence, if the matter is correctly understood, no Southern man can doubt the necessity of separate Southern action. . . . Although we cannot now be with our brethren in Augusta, *personally*, we shall be with them in *spirit* and in *heart*." He expressed "trust" that the delegates at Augusta would "make thorough work" of what they had set out to do, and "let the world see, that if separate we *must*, we will separate *fully* and with *one* accord."⁵²

The Baptists of North Carolina had moved more slowly than those of Virginia and the Lower South toward the recognition of what was believed to be a need for a convention of Southern Baptists. They took little part in the organization of the convention, but later, and apparently with "one accord," North Carolina Baptists in the State Convention, the Western Conven-

⁵⁰ *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1845), pp. 19, 20.

⁵¹ *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1845), pp. 15, 16.

⁵² *The Recorder*, May 17, 1845.

tion, and various associations "heartily" and "cordially" endorsed the Southern Baptist Convention.⁵³

The organization of a *Southern* Baptist Convention in 1845 was visible evidence of the sectional spirit which had been growing for some time in Baptist ranks. Southern Baptists had developed a feeling of separateness from other Baptists of the United States and at the same time had come to possess a consciousness of a common Southern tie in their ideologies and institutions. After 1845 Baptists in the South thought of themselves as *Southern* Baptists.

Southern Baptists organized a *Southern* Baptist Publication Society at Charleston, South Carolina. North Carolina Baptists sanctioned the formation of a *Southern* Society and urged that "all Publications, as far as possible, be purchased" from the Society's "Depository in Charleston."⁵⁴

The division in convention organization of the Baptist denomination in the United States over the question of slavery tended to ease, for a time, the tension which had been caused by the differences of opinion among the Baptists as to the eligibility of slaveholders to appointment as missionaries. During the decade of the 1850's the opinion of Southern Baptists was attuned with the opinion of Southerners generally in the "ebb and flow" of the slavery controversy as it manifested itself in the issues of the day. North Carolina Baptists believed in the "right of secession" but were more reluctant to sever the old bonds with the Union than were those states of the Lower South.

Thomas Meredith expressed the opinion of North Carolina Baptists regarding slavery in the territories in 1849 when he said,

⁵³ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1845), p. 6; *Proceedings Of The Western Convention, Held at Boiling Spring Camp Ground, Henderson County, N. C., August 30th, and days following, 1845*, p. 34 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes North Carolina Baptist Western Convention*); *Minutes Beulah Association* (1845), p. 7; *Minutes Of The Thirteenth Anniversary Of The Liberty Association, Held at Jersey Church, Davidson Co., N. C., August 16, 18, 1845*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Liberty Association*); Geo[orge] W. (Elder) Purefoy, *A History Of The Sandy Creek Baptist Association, From Its Organization In A.D. 1758, To 1858, Being An Enlargement Of The Centenary Sermon Delivered By Him At Its One Hundredth Annual Session At Love's Creek Meeting-House, Chatham County, N. C., On The 3rd Day Of October, 1858*, p. 217. (Hereinafter cited as *History of the Sandy Creek Association*.)

⁵⁴ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1859), p. 20; *Minutes Cape Fear Association* (1850), p. 11; *Minutes Of The Forty-Third Anniversary Of The Chowan Baptist Association, Held At Pleasant Grove, Hertford, N. C. [May 17-119, 1849]*, p. 18 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Chowan Association*); *Minutes Flat River Association* (1849), p. 5; *Minutes Liberty Association*, p. 3; *Minutes of the Pee Dee Baptist Association, September 24-27, 1847*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Pee Dee Association*); *Minutes Of The Fourth Session Of The Union Baptist Association, Held With The Church, At Wilmington, N. C., Oct. 2nd-5th, 1846*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Union Association*); *Minutes Union Association* (1847), p. 6.

“we believe Congress has nothing to do with it,” because it is a right of “free and independent communities” to be able “to choose their own institutions.” Meredith contended that the “late attempt” by Northern men “to interfere with the legislation intended for the use of the Territories” was, in a “land of boasted liberty,” an “oppressive and ferocious policy.”⁵⁵

When Congress continued to debate the question of slavery in the territories during 1850, Meredith declared that so far as he had been able to learn Congress was “doing little more than quarrel about the slavery question, and other points” which had “no connection with their proper business”; and, he added, unless the “state of things” be “essentially changed,” the “sooner” Congress adjourns and goes home, the “better” it will be for “all concerned.”⁵⁶

The slavery issue in Congress in the late 1840's led Southerners to believe their course to be one of two alternatives: either to submit to the continued encroachments upon their rights of equality in the Union and further outrages upon their rights guaranteed by the Constitution or to resist any further encroachments with firm, united, and concerted action. When a Southern convention was called to meet in Nashville, Tennessee, Meredith voiced the opinion of North Carolina Baptists again when he said that “this is a subject” to which “we turn with a heavy heart.” “That the time should ever come [said he], when it can be a question, whether this glorious Confederation of States should be dissolved, is a consumation most devoutly to be deprecated.” “And still,” said Meredith, “at present, we can see no other alternative.” Meredith declared that the “proposed abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as also that in the territories coming within the latitude of the slave-holding states,” was “so palpable a violation of the Federal Constitution” that he did not see how it could be “bourne” by the Southern states. He expressed the hope that the representatives of the nation would “respect the Constitution” and that the “current of mischief” would be arrested in Congress. In case, however, the North would not abide by the Constitution, Meredith saw “no alternative for the South, but to stand upon her reserved

⁵⁵ *The Recorder*, April 28, 1849.

⁵⁶ *The Recorder*, January 19, 1850.

rights"; and he believed if that were necessary there was "no more suitable way of carrying it into effect than by a Convention of the States." "We can but hope, therefore, that North Carolina will represent herself in the proposed Nashville Convention; and that men will be sent distinguished for their clear and cool judgment, not less than for their settled and disinterested patriotism."⁵⁷

After the Nashville Convention and the Compromise of 1850, which was accepted as final, the slavery dispute abated for a time, only to be aroused again over the Kansas-Nebraska question. Dr. Francis Wayland's participation in the political controversy concerning Kansas and Nebraska was a shock to North Carolina Baptists. As a minister and as president of Brown University, Wayland was greatly admired and respected by Southern Baptists. He was a conservative at the time slavery was an issue in the Baptist boards (1840-1845) and declined to serve on the "select committee" appointed relative to a "mode of separate action and organization" of the Home Mission Society.⁵⁸ But in 1854 Wayland wrote his son: "I am glad to hear of your interest in the Nebraska question. It is the most important that has occurred in my time. We need to have the religious feeling aroused on the subject. It is now intolerably torpid. Keep within a sound discretion, and go forward in the business."⁵⁹

The *Recorder* for March 31, 1854, (J. J. James, editor) said that one of the "most surprising things" in the "Politico-religious fanatical movement" was a "speech by Dr. Wayland" to the citizens of Providence, Rhode Island, "protesting against the Nebraska Bill." For Dr. Wayland, "an aged and learned Divine and scholar," who had ever "prided himself for the calm, sober and rational manner" in which he had discussed "literary, moral, and religious subjects," to "appear as an orator of a promiscuous assembly and a co-worker with political fanatics and agitators" was "more" than North Carolina Baptists could accept. James said that Wayland's speech was "about half political and

⁵⁷ *The Recorder*, January 26, 1850.

⁵⁸ *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1845), p. 7.

⁵⁹ Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir Of The Life And Labors Of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., Late President Of Brown University. Including Selections From His Personal Reminiscences And Correspondence*, p. 133.

half religious, appealing in the most direct manner to religious sympathy to prevent the regular and just legislation of the country." Furthermore Wayland had "greatly mistaken and misrepresented" the views of Southern men in regard to the moral character of slavery when he represented Southerners as "acknowledging" slavery to be a great "*wrong, utterly indefensible in itself and the great curse that rests upon the Southern States.*"⁶⁰ Because of the loss of confidence in Wayland the trustees of Wake Forest College ruled that "Wayland's *Moral Science*, be dispensed with, in the Instruction given at Wake Forest College."⁶¹

The editor of the *Recorder*, writing toward the close of the year 1856, said that there was "abundant cause for thanksgiving:" the nation had safely passed the "political crisis," the Union still stood in its "majesty and greatness," and "Fanaticism," which had "ragged with great violence" in some sections, had been "overruled" and "peace and comparative quiet restored."⁶²

The Abolitionists, however, were not satisfied with the Kansas-Nebraska Act nor the election of 1856. Under the caption "Northern Fanaticism" the *Recorder* reprinted the call of the Abolitionists for a convention to "sever the Union."

Call For A Northern Convention.

Whereas it is obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided by slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations; between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous.

And whereas Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary and Legislative; has -o [*sic*] interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the Territories, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States; and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel.

And whereas there seems no probability that the future will in these respects, be different from the past, under existing State relations;

⁶⁰ *The Recorder*, March 31, 1854.

⁶¹ Minutes Board of Trustees, Wake Forest College, Tuesday, June 10, 1856. (In bursar's vault, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.)

⁶² *The Recorder*, December 18, 1856.

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at Cleveland, Ohio, October 28 and 29, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a Separation between the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.⁶³

The committee of arrangements for the convention were T. Wentworth Higginson, F. W. Bird, Wendell Phillips, Daniel Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, and Joseph A. Howland. More than 6,000 persons, representing sixteen states, signed the call for the convention. It was estimated that with organized effort the number of signers might have been increased ten-fold.

James concurred with the editor of the *Christian Observer*, a Presbyterian paper of Philadelphia, in his remarks on the call for the convention to sever the Union. It was the opinion of the editor that "partisan Fanaticism" was "capable of an enormity," for it presumed that it was "doing God service when persecuting the Church." He expressed "regret" that "sane men should dream of holding a large meeting to deliberate on the expediency and practicability of overturning the Constitution and government" of the country. In conclusion he said: "It will not be strange, if appeals shall be heard from the pulpit, within five years, for the aid of Sharp's Rifles as the proper instruments to consummate the purpose of these treasonable philanthropists."⁶⁴

The call for this convention to sever the Union was a step toward translating into reality earlier resolutions of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1844 that body had

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power, have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chain of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American church, and the grave of the present Union.

Resolved That the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation to dissolve the American Union.⁶⁵

Meredith had reprinted the resolutions in the *Recorder* in 1844 so that North Carolina Baptists might "form their own opinion" and be "on their guard against the pernicious influence of infidel

⁶³ *The Recorder*, October 15, 1857, quoting *The Christian Observer*.

⁶⁴ *The Recorder*, October 15, 1857, quoting *The Christian Observer*.

⁶⁵ *The Recorder*, June 8, 1844, quoting *The Anti-Slavery Standard*.

lectures under false colors." The plans of the Abolitionists to "sever the Union" in 1857 did not mature.⁶⁶

The Abolitionists, who appealed to a "higher law" than the Constitution, remained in a Union whose Constitution recognized slavery but they increased the agitation of the slavery question as the election of 1860 approached. The South recognized its minority position and, after Lincoln's "House Divided" speech, considered that his election to the presidency would be a menace to Southern civilization. Consequently the victory of the Republican party and the election of Lincoln in 1860 left Southerners no alternative but to "stand on their reserved rights." North Carolina Baptists believed in the "right" of secession. They maintained that the compact forming a Federal Union "recognized" the right of "peaceful" withdrawal if the compact were "violated" or if the Union "infringed" upon the rights of a state. They also noted that "some" states were "so vigilant" as to enter the compact with the "explicit understanding" that they reserved the right to withdraw.⁶⁷

After the secession of the states of the Lower South and the organization of the Confederate States of America in February, 1861, the Southern Baptists declared that the Southern states had, in "vindication of their sacred rights and honor, in self-defense, and for the protection of all which is dear to man," "asserted the right of seceding from a Union so degenerated from that established by the Constitution," and had "framed themselves a government based upon the principles of the original compact—adopting a character" which secured to each state its "sovereign rights and privileges." The Baptists declared that it was the aim of the Southern Confederacy to "cultivate relations of amity and good will" with the "late confederates" and the "world." Southern Baptists called attention to the fact that "thrice" the Southern Confederacy sent "special commissioners" to Washington with "overtures for peace, and for a fair, amicable adjustment of all difficulties," but the "Government at Washington" had "insultingly repelled" the "reasonable proposals,"

⁶⁶ Professor Edward Channing says ". . . But the convention was never held, because the sudden and terrific pecuniary pressure of the panic that struck the country [in 1857] made it impossible for any large number of persons to leave their business or to spend what little available money they had in railroad fares and lodging expenses." *History of The United States*, VI, 185.

⁶⁷ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 24.

and had insisted upon forcing the "seceded States back into an unnatural Union," or "subjecting them and holding them as conquered provinces." Southern Baptists said they had hoped "that at least the churches of the North" would "interpose and protest" against "invoking of civil war" and "deluging the country in fratricidal blood," but that the "churches and pastors" of the North were "clamoring for sanguinary hostilities."⁶⁸

Before North Carolina seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, J. D. Hufham, editor of the *Recorder*, declared that the "Administration at Washington, after holding out promises of peace as long as it suited their purposes, suddenly announced to the government of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery their intention to provision Fort Sumter thereby precipitating the seceded States into the horrors of war." And, "Not satisfied" with that, the President had issued a proclamation calling for "seventy-five thousand troops" to aid him in his "unconstitutional and unholy purpose of subduing the Gulf States," and had "even sent a requisition to North Carolina and the other border States for their respective quotas."⁶⁹

North Carolina Baptists were more reluctant to sever the bonds of the Union than were the Baptists of the Lower South. There was considerable opposition to secession among Baptists of the western part of the state. Reverend S. P. Smith, who for several years was agent of the Western Baptist Convention, was elected in 1861 to the North Carolina State Convention in opposition to secession.⁷⁰

Hufham declared that the state of North Carolina presented a "strange contrast" to what it had been before the call for troops. North Carolina's "attachment" to the Union before the call was "very strong." The state had "sympathized only to a limited extent" with the Gulf states in their secession and, "even after the bombardment of Fort Sumter," there were "some" who "still hoped" for a reconstruction of the government. The call for troops from North Carolina, however, destroyed the "last hope" North Carolina held for "reviving the Union"; and the "sons" of North Carolina, who had been "divided in sentiment"

⁶⁸ *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), pp. 62-64.

⁶⁹ "The State of the Country," *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.

⁷⁰ James H. Foote, *The Methodist Armor Reviewed. The Rise And Progress Of The Baptists, And Outlines Of History Of The Brier Creek Association*, p. 209.

regarding the expediency of secession, stood together irrespective of "party names and party ties" as a "noble brotherhood ready to die in defense of Southern institutions and liberties." Governor J. W. Ellis had "indignantly refused" to comply with the demand for troops and had issued a proclamation for an extra session of the legislature and "every where" the people of North Carolina sustained the governor in his course.⁷¹

There is evidence, however, of Union sentiment among individuals and in certain localities throughout the entire state, but it was strongest in western North Carolina. There were some who refused to fight with the Confederacy and others who deserted the Confederacy. The Chowan Association, located in the extreme eastern part of the state, passed resolutions refusing to hold fellowship with members who sought "protection from the enemy" or deserted the Confederacy.⁷² Despite the work of the secessionists and the fact that North Carolina as a state ultimately joined the Confederacy, there were some Baptists within the state who remained loyal to the Union.

North Carolina Baptists generally believed that the South had a "right" to demand "to be let alone" in the establishment of a separate and independent government. The Chowan Association, which met May 14-18, 1861, passed a resolution saying that they looked forward with pleasure to the early formal connection of North Carolina with her "sisters" of the Confederate States.⁷³

A convention of the people of North Carolina, held May 20, 1861, unanimously adopted an ordinance of secession from the Union⁷⁴ and on May 23 passed an ordinance ratifying the constitution of the Confederate States.⁷⁵ Richard Wooten, a Baptist minister,⁷⁶ was a representative from Columbus County to the secession convention.⁷⁷

The Southern Baptists passed resolutions in 1861 declaring that the South had been "foremost in advocating and cementing" a Federal union of states and that "impartial history" could not

⁷¹ "North Carolina in the Crisis," *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.

⁷² *Minutes Chowan Association* (1863), pp. 3, 8.

⁷³ *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17.

⁷⁴ *Journal of The Convention Of The People Of North Carolina, Held On The 20th Day Of May, A. D., 1861*, pp. 13-16. (Hereinafter cited as *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861*.)

⁷⁵ *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861*, p. 31.

⁷⁶ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1860), p. 40.

⁷⁷ *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861*, p. 4.

“charge upon the South” the “dissolution of the Union.”⁷⁸ North Carolina Baptists expressed their deprecation of the “necessity of a separation” from the North. “Notwithstanding” the “geographical position” of the South and the “genesis” of the South’s “peculiar institutions” which “divorced” the South “socially, religiously, and politically” from the North, the Baptists said they “saw many mutual advantages to be derived from a union” of all the states.⁷⁹

To Southern Baptists secession did not mean civil war; rather, it was the exercise of a right which had been reserved when the states entered the compact forming a Federal Union. In the state convention and associations, North Carolina Baptists emphatically declared that they did not want war. They “washed their hands” of any blame for civil war because, said they, it was “forced” upon the South by the North.⁸⁰ North Carolina Baptists placed the burden of responsibility for civil war upon the North on the grounds that the North had trampled “under their wicked feet the written constitution” which they had been “toiling to undermine” for “twenty years.” The Baptists said that it was the “avowed determination” of the North to subject the South to its control even to the entire destruction of the South’s citizens and their property. In 1861 North Carolina Baptists declared that the United States government, in carrying out its purpose, had “imprisoned and murdered” many citizens, had “stolen” property, “pillaged” homes, and “burnt” houses.⁸¹ And in 1863 the *Recorder* said, “Mercy folds her wings and sighs farewell, wherever Butler has control.”⁸²

According to the Baptists, the pinch of sacrifice during the years of the war was “intensified” by the conduct and outrages perpetrated by the Union soldiers. Events of the war “only

⁷⁸ *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.

⁷⁹ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 24.

⁸⁰ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *Minutes Of The Catawba River Baptist Association. Held with the Church at North Catawba, Burke Co., N. C., October 11-14, 1861*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Catawba Association*); *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), p. 15; *Minutes Of The Twenty-Seventh Anniversary Of The Green River Baptist Association, Held With The Mt. Lebanon Church, Rutherford County, N. C., September 29 to October 1st, 1865*, p. 10 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Green River Association*); John R. Logan, *Sketches, Historical And Biographical Of The Broad River And King's Mountain Baptist Association, From 1800 to 1882*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861) (hereinafter cited as *History Broad River and King's Mountain Associations*); *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.

⁸¹ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), pp. 14, 15.

⁸² *The Recorder*, January 12, 1863.

confirmed" the conviction of the Baptists that their "part" in the war was "necessary" and "strengthened" their opposition to a reunion with the United States.⁸³

North Carolina Baptists believed in the "justice" of the cause for which the South was fighting and endorsed the "course adopted and pursued" by the "authorities" of the Confederacy.⁸⁴ The Baptists set apart special days for "fasting and prayer" and special hours for prayer for the Confederate soldier, the Confederate government, and a "speedy and honorable peace."⁸⁵ The Baptists of North Carolina contributed \$74,610.62 for army colportage from April, 1862, to April, 1865.⁸⁶

North Carolina Baptists, slaveholder and non-slaveholder alike, fought side by side with other Southerners in "defense" of their "institutions," their "homes," their "firesides," their "religion," their "liberties,"—those things, said they, which "men hold dear."⁸⁷ They recognized the odds against the South but believed, despite those odds, that victory would be theirs.⁸⁸ The *Recorder* described their attitude as follows:

But . . . , we entertain no fears as to the result [of war]. The conflict may be long and bloody; many evils and much suffering may be inflicted; commerce may be crippled, and many brave men may lie down in death on the battle field, but victory and peace will at last be ours. Men, conscious of right and fighting for their liberties, their honor, their homes and all that they hold dear, can not be subdued.⁸⁹

⁸³ *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), p. 14; *Minutes Of The Third Annual Session, Of The United Baptists Association, Held With King's Creek Church, Caldwell County, N. C., October 15-17 1862*, p. 11 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes United Association*); *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1863), p. 54.

⁸⁴ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), pp. 14, 15; John R. Logan, *History Broad River and King's Mountain Association*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861); *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 62.

⁸⁵ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; (1863), p. 15; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 16; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1861), p. 5; (1862), p. 15; (1863), p. 15; *Minutes Green River Association* (1865), p. 10; John R. Logan, *History Broad River and King's Mountain Associations*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861); *Minutes Raleigh Association* (1864), p. 7; *Minutes Of The Twenty-third Annual Session Of The Three Fork Baptist Association, Held With The Church at Ebenezer, Watauga County, North Carolina, September 4th and 5th Days, 1863*, p. 2; *Minutes United Association* (1862), p. 11; *Minutes Of The Sixty-Ninth Anniversary Session Of The Yadkin Baptist Association, Held With The Yadkinville Church, Yadkin County, N. C., October 4 to 7, 1861*, p. 16; *Minutes Yadkin Association* (1862), p. 4; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 62.

⁸⁶ Livingston Johnson, *History of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, p. 74.
⁸⁷ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 24; (1863), p. 14; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *The Recorder*, May 1, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.

⁸⁸ *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 14; (1863), pp. 14, 15; (1864), p. 14.

⁸⁹ *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.

MOBILIZATION OF NEGRO LABOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, 1861-1865

By TINSLEY LEE SPRAGGINS

The population assets of a warring nation consist of all able-bodied men who make up the fighting force. The women, children, physically handicapped, and inmates of prisons form an auxiliary force and become civilian war workers.

During the Civil War the Negroes, slave and free, were considered a part of the auxiliary force and they were of tremendous strength. The total slave population of the United States in 1860 was 3,950,511, all in the fifteen Southern states; the total of the free Negroes was 488,283, of which 251,000 was in the South and 237,283 was in the North. This was a total population reservoir of 4,438,794 Negroes. Of the two sections, the South had the largest Negro auxiliary force, 4,201,511; the North, only 237,283. Translated into percentages of the total white population, 8,039,000 in the South and 18,966,038 in the North, the Negroes equaled more than fifty per cent of the white population reservoir in the South but less than two per cent in the North.

Until the Civil War the national government had made no provision for using the Negroes in its regular army;¹ neither did the Southern states make any provision for using them when they seceded. This placed the 4,438,581 Negroes between the rivals, the Confederate states and the national government. It goes without saying that, in order to increase their military strength, the seceding states needed to make use of their Negro population as non-combat workers. Not only would the Negroes be useful to the South as laborers, but, due to their thorough knowledge of the topography of their section of the country, they would be of great value to the Northern troops in the

¹ Enlistment in the regular army of the United States was limited to white men up to July 17, 1862. On this date Congress authorized the President to receive into the "military or naval service" persons of African descent. *United States Statutes at Large*, XII, 599. (Hereafter cited as *U. S. Statutes*.) In reference to this act, Dr. Fred A. Shannon says, ". . . A beginning had been made . . . and from that time on the War Department made ample use of Negroes in the army." "The Federal Government and the Negro Soldier, 1861-1865," *Journal of Negro History*, XI (1926), 574.

capacity of spies, guides, and laborers. These unclaimed children of bondage could easily be changed to civilian workers, and, if necessary, to soldiers, by the Confederacy or the Union.

The Confederate states were quick to utilize Negro manpower as civilian war workers. As the war became critical and a conflict ensued between the Confederate Congress and the state governments over the impressment of slaves, laws were passed forcing slaveholders to send their slaves to aid the government. Also, legislation was passed drafting free Negroes to do necessary small military service. Even convicts in penitentiaries were called upon to work.

The Negroes were not only forced to do the necessary labor for the Confederacy, but, through the levying of a poll tax, they were also required to help pay the expenses of the war. The Negroes found out very early that the Union offered them more than the Confederacy, and therefore it is not surprising that they began to leave for the Union camps. When this drain of manpower assumed considerable numbers, pandemonium entered the Confederate states. The Southern legislators resorted to prohibitive laws to stay the migration. But the Negroes would not stop migrating.

Through desertion, the Union government became the recipient of a large majority of potential workers. Not having any legislation authorizing the use of this auxiliary force, the handling of the problem was left to departmental commanders. Major General B. F. Butler was the first to recognize the value of this influx as civilian laborers. Congressional legislation was enacted allowing the Union officers to keep them, offering freedom to those under their control, freedom to those in rebellious territory, and freedom to the entire Negro slave population. Once within the lines of the Federal government, Negro workers were found to be a potential labor reserve. The President, the Secretary of War, and the Quartermaster General expressed their opinion as to the value of using the Negroes as laborers. In addition, Congress appointed a commission to investigate the problem. Thus, under the battle-cry of FREEDOM and LIBERTY, the Negro manpower was changed from slave labor to free labor by the Union government, and the Union's assets were strengthened by this conversion.

Since the labor policy of the Federal government toward Negroes was initiated by the Commander of the Department of Virginia, that Department has been selected for this study, the purpose of which is to show: (1) the area of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, (2) the work that the Negroes did for the Confederacy, (3) the factors which assisted the slaves in escaping from their masters, (4) the numerical strength of those Negroes entering the Department, 1861-1865, and (5) the potential value of these Negroes to the Union as laborers.

The most spectacular hostilities of the Civil War were in the eastern theater, between the Potomac and James rivers and between the Blue Ridge Mountains and Chesapeake Bay. Within this region, from start to finish, each belligerent concentrated its richest resources and strongest armies under its ablest generals. Washington, located on the Potomac River and between two slave states, was in constant danger of being captured by the Confederates. Therefore the city was never allowed to be "uncovered" by troops. The capital of the Confederate states, Richmond, was on the James River, approximately 110 miles from Washington. The Union, taking the offensive, made it necessary for the Confederates to defend their capital, as the objective of the Union was to capture Richmond. During the entire struggle, several military departments were created to defend this area.

The Department of Northeast Virginia was created on May 27, 1861. It consisted of that part of Virginia east of the Allegheny Mountains and north of the James River, except Fortress Monroe and an area sixty miles around it. On August 17, 1861, this department was merged with the Department of the Potomac. The latter included Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, the Valley of Virginia, and a portion of Virginia that lies east of the Allegheny Mountains and north of the James River, except Fortress Monroe and the surrounding sixty miles.² The Department of the Potomac lasted until June 27, 1865; the Department of the Rappahannock was established within the Department on April 4, 1862, however, and lasted to June 26, 1862. Also, some of the territory was merged into the Department of Virginia.

² Adjutant General's office, *General Order No. 15* (1861).

In addition to the Department of the Potomac, including the area between Washington and Richmond, the Federal government created the Department of Virginia on May 22, 1861, but on July 15, 1863, changed it to the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.³ Originally the area included Fortress Monroe and a radius of sixty miles around the Fortress, but the territory in North Carolina falling within this radius was transferred to the Department of North Carolina on January 7, 1862. After June 1, 1862, the area was extended to include the counties south of the Rappahannock River and east of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac and the Petersburg and Weldon railroads. Another extension was made the next year when North Carolina was added and the Department was renamed that of Virginia and North Carolina. Later the counties of Accomac, Northampton, and St. Mary's, Maryland, were merged into the Department.

The purpose of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina was not only to assist in defending the area between the James and the Potomac, but also to make effective the blockade of the coast of Virginia and North Carolina. Accomplishment of the latter purpose meant the closing of all inland water passages which flowed into Chesapeake Bay and Pamlico, Albemarle, and Currituck sounds.⁴ This was very important to the Union, because it would shut off a channel through which many supplies could be carried to the Confederate forces inland. By amphibious warfare, the blockade was made operative after the capture of Hatteras Inlet on August 29, 1861. This was a mortal blow to the Confederacy because the South was dependent upon external trade for its economic existence.

³ Raphael P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1815-1880*, p. 101. (Hereafter cited as Thian, *Notes*.)

⁴ The estuaries of Chesapeake Bay and the sounds and the distance they extend inland are:

CHESAPEAKE BAY		Distance (in miles)
River		
James		340
York		35
Rappahannock		185
Potomac		287
PAMLICO SOUND		
Neuse		260
Pamlico-Tar		220
ALBEMARLE SOUND		
Roanoke		380
Chowan		75

The Department of Virginia and North Carolina was organized with six commanding officers,⁵ all of whom were major generals. By 1864 the Department was divided into four districts for the efficient administration of Negro affairs. The Department headquarters was located at Fortress Monroe until April, 1865, when Richmond was captured by the Union government. Fortress Monroe was the greatest fortress in the United States in the 'sixties. Colonel Cannon, who was stationed at the Fortress during the war, said it was the key to the Southern coast.⁶ The districts and the territory embracing them were as follows: District I, all territory within the Federal lines north of the James River; District II, all territory under Federal control south of the James River; District III, all territory held by the Union in North Carolina; District IV, St. Mary's, Maryland, and Northampton and Accomac, on the eastern shore of Virginia. (See map.)

Thus it happened that the establishment of the military departments and the blockade cut off the Confederacy from much of the badly needed manufactures which she usually purchased from the North and from Europe. Since manufactures, including manpower, is an essential factor to a belligerent, it became necessary that an inventory be taken of the resources available and that these resources be channeled uninterruptedly for war use. To accomplish this, labor must be shifted into war production jobs. Under such conditions, requirements for workers are great. The army gets priority on all physically fit men of fighting age. Also, the army drains heavily upon private and public works in counties, cities, and towns. These gaps in industry and public works are filled from the supplementary forces.

Virginia, in taking stock of her resources in 1861, concluded that she had to increase her production of foodstuffs, manufac-

⁵ The commanding officers were:

Major General B. F. Butler (May 22, 1861-August 17, 1861)

Major General John E. Wool (August 17, 1861-June 2, 1862)

Major General John C. Dix (June 2, 1862-July 18, 1863)

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Major General John G. Foster (July 18, 1863-November 11, 1863)

Major General B. F. Butler (November 11, 1863-August 27, 1864)

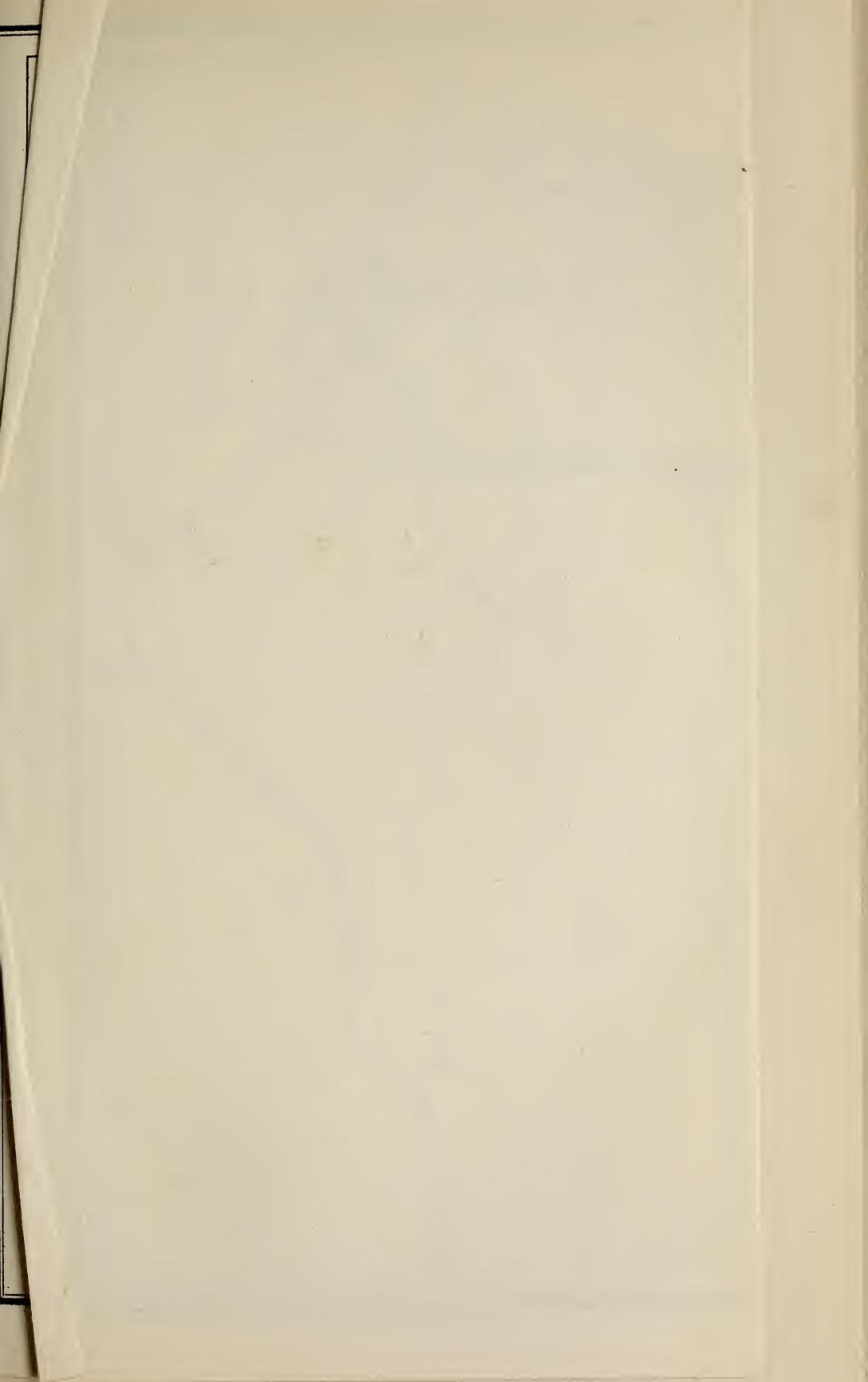
Major General Edward O. C. Ord (August 27, 1864-December 24, 1864)

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Compiled by the National Archives from the *Departmental Returns of Virginia and North Carolina*. Compare Thian, *Notes*, pp. 101-103.

⁶ Fortress Monroe was the largest fortress in the United States and Col. LeGrand B. Cannon said, "It was the key to the Southern Coast." LeGrand B. Cannon, *Personal Reminiscences of the Rebellion, 1861-1866*, p. 45.



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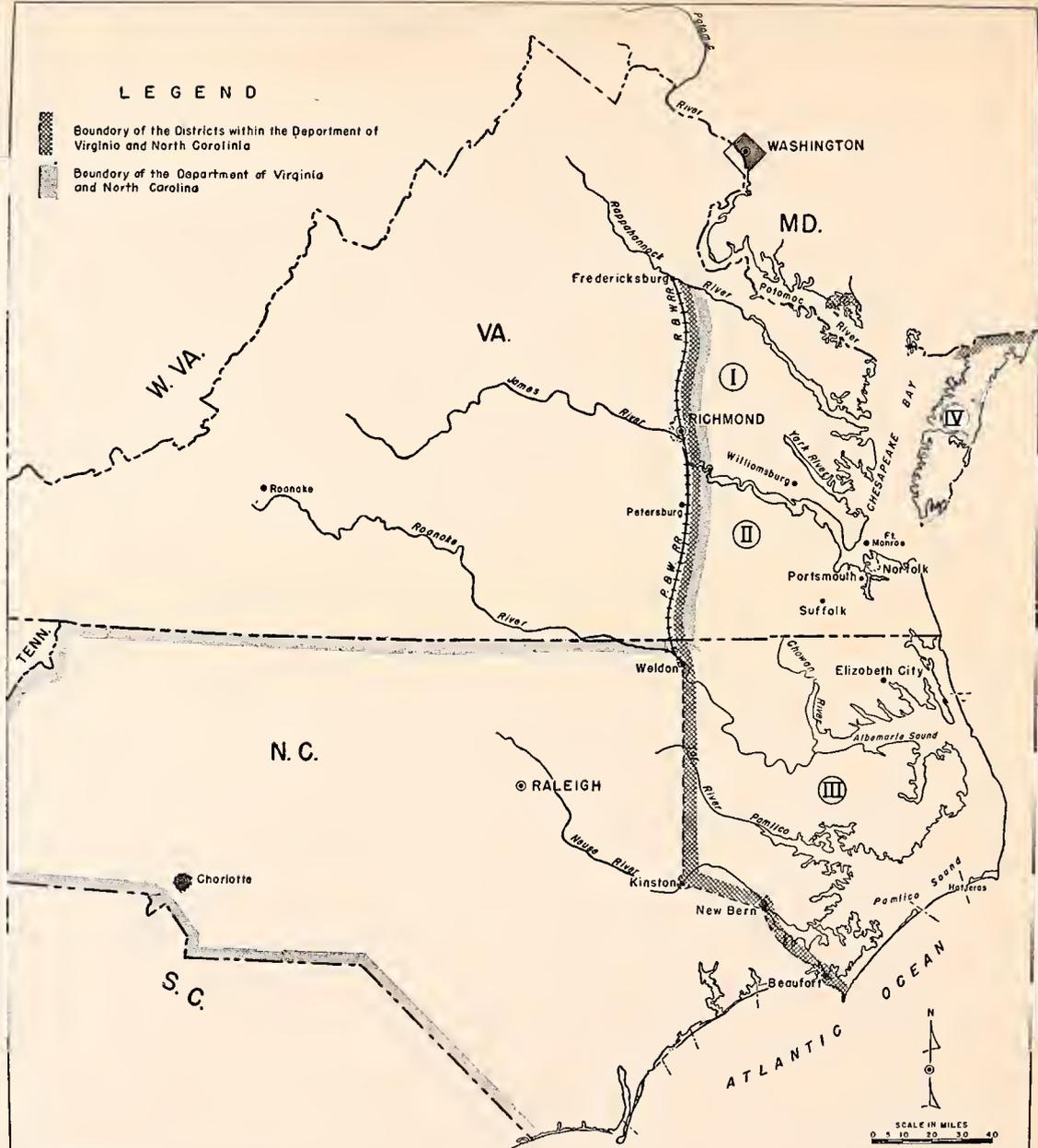
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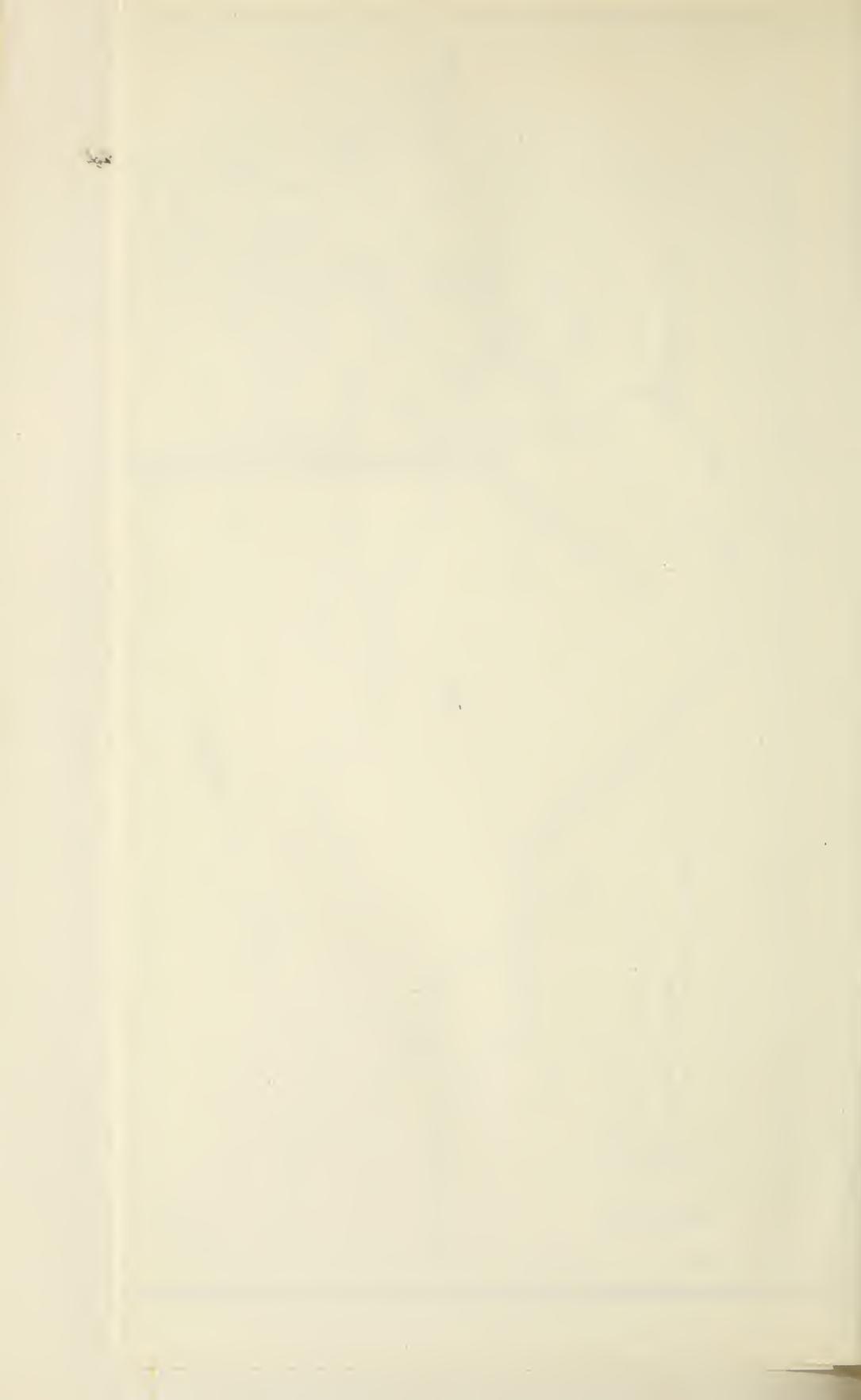
LEGEND



Boundary of the Districts within the Department of Virginia and North Carolina

Boundary of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina





tured salt, and saltpetre and the mining of coal, while curtailing the production of unnecessary commodities. In addition to the increase in production and mining, transportation and communication lanes had to be built or improvement had to be made on existing ones. In obtaining the laborers to carry on the necessary work, Virginia mobilized workers from the Negro labor market.

The Negroes had proved their value as a laboring force in Virginia before the conflict of 1861. When the state started on its economic revival in 1830, large numbers of slaves and free Negroes were employed in agricultural, tobacco, manufacturing, and mining industries.⁷ By the help of its Negro labor, Virginia stood first of all the Southern states in the field of tobacco manufacturing.⁸ Therefore, in defense of her citizens and their property, she looked to the Negroes for support, even though no law existed to use them. Her motives for utilizing this source of labor were the scarcity of white men due to enlistment and the fact that Negroes, as a result of their experience, could do certain types of work better than whites.

On the home front the Negroes were engaged in many activities for the Confederates. The war had exhausted the supply of agricultural workers; nevertheless, the civilians and the army had to be fed. A large number of slaves stayed on the plantations and produced food for the civilians and soldiers at the front. The need was so great that various wartime regulations were enacted to keep a supply of slaves in critical agricultural areas. A ceiling was put on the number of slaves the governor of Virginia could impress for public defense of the state at any one time. The ceiling was 10,000 or no more than five per cent of the slave population.⁹ Later Virginia deferred slaves where "impressment would materially affect agricultural production."¹⁰ By joint resolution of the General Assembly in 1864, Virginia asked the Confederate government to refrain, if possible, from drafting slaves from agricultural areas because they were needed for production of food.¹¹

⁷ Luther P. Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860*, chap. II. (Hereafter cited as Jackson, *Free Negro Labor*.)

⁸ Jackson, *Free Negro Labor*, pp. 42-43.

⁹ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1862*, p. 6. (Hereafter cited as *Acts*.)

¹⁰ *Acts*, 1863, p. 42.

¹¹ *Acts*, 1863-1864, p. 85.

The regulations retaining slave labor on the farms had good results. According to Charles Wesley, "There was an abundance [of food] in the country districts."¹² The rural people were not the only ones assisted by these agricultural workers. As a result of slave production, the burden of the Confederate army was lightened, and when the armies marched to battle they did not have to carry their rations with them. They lived upon the produce of the plantation. The people either gave food or sold it to them.

Negroes engaged in the business of selling the Confederates agricultural produce. The father of James T. Ayler, a free Negro in Suffolk, Virginia, gives such an example. In 1861-63 Ayler sold to the Confederates fowls, eggs, bacon, and other commodities they wanted. An investigator for the United States Claims Commission reported, "He [James T. Ayler] might as well have been in the employ of the Commissary Department."¹³

Next to agriculture, the Confederates of Virginia used a fringe of the Negro labor market in the manufacture of salt and saltpetre and also in the mining of coal. These items were very much needed for the preservation of food, the manufacture of munitions, and the iron industry.

When, however, the coast of Virginia was overrun by Union troops, she had to shift from evaporating her salt from sea water to producing it from brine wells in the western part of the state. Benjamin H. Smith, speaking for the salt manufacturers of western Virginia, stated that without slave labor "the manufacturers would go out of business."¹⁴ Slaves were used because their labor was cheap.

The manufacture of saltpetre was of such prime necessity that Virginia gave J. Marshall McCue permission to carry free Negroes out of the state to be "used advantageously"¹⁵ in the making of this article; and the Virginians were willing to give every assistance possible to enterprising and patriotic citizens engaged in the production of this basic commodity for the war.

¹² Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy*, p. 6.

¹³ *Report of the Commissioner of Claims: Digest Upon Disallowed Claims*, Submitted to Congress in their *General Report*, 1879-1880, No. 12, 369. (Hereafter cited as *Disallowed Claims*.)

¹⁴ Benjamin H. Smith to Edwin Bates, Attorney General of the United States, August 20, 1862. Attorney General's office, Letters Received Book, 1833-S-1862. The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁵ *Acts*, 1861-1862, p. 146.

In another instance the state furnished convict labor to the coal operators. The governor was allowed to hire out free Negroes, slaves, and whites (not to exceed 150) in the state penitentiary to owners of coal pits. The money thus earned was to be placed in the public treasury.¹⁶

A block of the Negro labor market was utilized in the transportation and public work industries. Railroads were found for the first time in American history to be extremely useful in transporting troops and munitions of war. Their use was so indispensable to the war effort that the United States Congress gave the President authority to take possession of all railroads in the United States and to force the officers and servants of the companies to hold themselves in readiness for transporting troops and supplies as ordered by the military authorities. In the spring of 1862 Colonel Haupt was appointed Chief of Construction and Transportation in the Department of the Rappahannock. The colonel was authorized to open all military railroads in the Department in the shortest possible time. The order was not carried out by him, however, because the Union could not retain the area. The railroads were just as important to the Confederates as to the Union. Lee wrote the Secretary of War, James A. Seddon, on April 4, 1863, emphasizing their importance:

Our railroads are our principal lines of communication, necessary for the transportation of munitions of war, and to the maintenance of our defensive lines and works; as much so as the lines and works themselves. We cannot retain our position unless the railroads can afford sufficient transportation, . . .¹⁷

In the same letter he made known that he applied for 100 slaves to work on the Virginia Central Railroad. They were also used extensively on other lines. Negroes were behind the lines wielding axes and driving spikes, while the whites were on the front fighting. Besides working on railroads, the slaves were used as laborers in building roads. The surveyor of roads was authorized to call on all persons where repairs or road building was necessary. If the persons called failed to come,

¹⁶ *Acts*, 1863, p. 25.

¹⁷ Robert E. Lee to James A. Seddon, *Official Records of the War of Rebellion of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, XXV, part 2, 703-704. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

they had to send substitutes—whites or Negroes. Failure to do so carried a fine of seventy-five cents a day; in the case of a servant or slave the fine would be paid by the master or overseer.¹⁸

The draft act of March 13, 1863, provided that slaves impressed into service could be detailed for labor in the county or corporation from which they were called. The City of Richmond furnishes an example of the slaves doing work for a local government. In the summer of 1862 there was a great demand for pure, cool water. The city employed three Negroes to dig a well at Main and Eleventh streets. By September the Negroes had completed their labor and the citizens rejoiced and shouted as though Washington had been taken.¹⁹

Besides working for the Confederates in Virginia, the Negroes engaged in business enterprises and depended upon the soldiers for patronage. The Confederates did not have sutlers' wagons following the army as did the Federal army, because they did not have the white men to spare to sell supplies to soldiers. To a large extent they depended upon Negroes to furnish them with small supplies. James C. Muschett of Dumfries, Prince William County, is an example of such a case. Muschett, a free Negro by 1861, was allowed to operate a store at Quantico Mills and he sold liquors, tobacco, groceries, and dry goods, including Confederate uniforms,²⁰ to the soldiers stationed in the vicinity.

¹⁸ *Acts, 1861-1862*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII (1862), 502.

²⁰ The table below, which shows the quantity, items, and value of the items Muschett claimed that the Union forces took from him, gives an idea of the goods he had for sale.

A CONSOLIDATED CLAIM OF JAMES MUSCHETT TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR LOSS OF GOODS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

CLAIMED LOST		
Quantity	Item	Value
995 lbs	Tobacco	860.00
8 tons	Hay	160.00
230 bus	Corn	272.00
9 bbbls	Flour	87.00
2 $\frac{3}{4}$ bbbls	Meal	35.00
.....*	Boots and Shoes	300.00
300 yds	Silk and Worsted	450.00
.....*	Worsted and Cotton	300.00
.....*	Groceries	300.00
.....*	Hats and Ready-made Clothing	200.00
60 bus	Irish Potatoes	60.00
300 lbs	Bacon	45.00
1	Blacksmith Shop	75.00
300 lbs	Coffee	75.00
300 lbs	Pork	45.00
600 bars	Soap	60.00
1	Horse	150.00
.....*	Goods taken by orders of General Hooker	3,000.00
TOTAL		6,474.00

* Quantity not listed.

Disallowed Claims, No. 11878.

The Confederate provost-marshal gave him a permit to go to Fredericksburg to make necessary purchases for his store. He made purchases in other places, too, because in 1864 he bought a boat load of goods from Alexandria, Virginia. It was a question with the Federal authorities whether he was dealing in contraband goods or acting as a spy for the Confederates. However, he was arrested and sentenced to six months in the Old Capital Prison.²¹ In another example, the soldiers in the army of Northern Virginia bought cider, pies, and cakes from Negroes.

Thus the Confederates were able to keep a large portion of Negroes in critical areas where their labor was needed. They shifted workers to necessary war industries. Therefore, they were able to obtain support from the Negro auxiliary force on the home front.

The Confederate armies in the theatre of operations likewise tapped the Negro reservoir. The work done by the Negroes in the combat zone was the most potent force in demonstrating their strength to the Union commanders. From the beginning of the war and for the duration, Negroes did fatigue duty for the Confederate armies. Several methods were used to recruit these noncombatant warriors. They were voluntary lending of slaves to do military service; Confederate hiring of slaves; impressment of Negroes, free and slave, by the governor through the local courts; and impressment by military officers in the field.

Before the battle of Bull Run everyone's spirits were high. All classes of citizens were willing to put all of their resources at the disposal of the government to defeat the Union. At this pitch of enthusiasm the slaveholders were called upon to lend their slaves to work in and around camps. The masters willingly responded and furnished the slaves with rations. In June, 1861, the slaveowners of York, Warrick, and Elizabeth City counties were asked to send one-half their slaves, with rations, to work on entrenchments in Yorktown for three days.²² The masters were not inclined to lend their slaves to the government when it became apparent that war would last longer than the antici-

²¹ *Disallowed Claims*, No. 11878.

²² *Harper's Weekly*, June 15, 1861.

pated ninety days. Nor was this the only reason for their reluctance; many slaves who were working for the army flowed in rivulets into the Union camp, and some were called away from the farms when they were needed for agricultural purposes. Regardless of this handicap of mobilizing necessary manpower, the Confederates had to have laborers to protect the entrances to Richmond. Since the slaveowners were dubious about lending their slaves, the government explored the possibility of hiring slaves from their owners. The Confederate States authorized military commanders to hire needed Negro laborers throughout the war and compensation was paid by the Confederate government. This method met a fate similar to that of the lending system. It did not supply enough workers. An advertisement in the Richmond newspapers in the winter of 1862 illustrates the operation of this plan. The Quartermaster General of the Peninsula publicly announced the hiring of Negro laborers, mechanics, and teamsters to work in the Peninsular area. The workers were assured of comfortable quarters, free medical attendance, and the usual allowance of clothing.²³ The pay was:

Laborers (if hired by the month and not less than six months)	\$ 15.00
Laborers (if hired by the year)	100.00
Teamsters and mechanics—by the month	20.00

Furthermore, the masters were assured by the advertisement that the government would be responsible for the value of all slaves who had been captured by the enemy, had escaped to them, or had been killed in action. When this clause was brought to the attention of the Quartermaster General of the Confederate States, the Quartermaster of the Peninsula was directed to withdraw it, because the Quartermaster General of the Confederate States advised him, "No law exists authorizing you to bind the government to these terms."²⁴ The retraction of this guarantee to the masters did not help the officers to obtain the much-needed laborers. Only eighty-eight were hired as a result of the advertisement, but if the masters had been given some protection for their property many more laborers could have

²³ *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 458.

²⁴ B. Bloomfield to Major General J. B. Magruder, June 30, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 458.

been obtained. Relief was sought by passing legislation mobilizing free Negroes.

Whereas at the beginning of the war the slaves were being used as war workers on the home front and the white men were fighting, the free Negroes held a singular position. As early as April 16, 1861, C. M. Hubbard of James City County brought this fact to the attention of the governor of Virginia. The governor was told of the importance of calling all able-bodied free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty into military service to build entrenchments and forts in the Tidewater section.²⁵

Provision was made in February, 1862, for tapping the free Negro reservoir. The local courts were to register all free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty in their jurisdiction. The registration list was to be sent to the Adjutant General, and whenever a commanding officer of any post or department wanted laborers to erect batteries and entrenchments, or to perform other military services, he would send a requisition to the local courts. A board of three justices was to select the workers from the registration list. The sheriff was responsible for notifying the free Negroes of their call and if he failed to perform this duty he was subject to a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars. The laborers were not required to serve longer than 180 days without their consent. Furthermore, those drafted into the public service as laborers were entitled to such compensation, rations, quarters, and medical attendance as any other laborers of similar character. Their pay, rations, and allowances were borne by the Confederate states, unless the services rendered were exclusively for the state of Virginia. Also, provision was made for those who wanted to volunteer, and they were called before those who were drafted.²⁶

Table I is an example of a requisition from J. F. Gilmer, Colonel of Engineers and Chief of Bureau, requesting 1,029 free Negroes from twenty-four counties in Virginia.

²⁵ Hubbard to Governor Letcher, April 26, 1861, *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 47.
²⁶ *Acts, 1861-1862*, pp. 61-3.

TABLE I
 REQUISITION FOR FREE NEGRO LABOR IN VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES AND
 CORPORATIONS, March 19, 1863 ²⁷

County and Corporation	Number
Bath	9
Brunswick	58
Charles City*	100
Charlotte	23
Chesterfield	59
Dinwiddie	54
Essex*	50
Fluvanna	31
Goochland	62
Greenville	12
Hanover*	10
Henrico*	25
King and Queen*	40
King William*	20
Louisa	22
Madison	7
Nelson	9
New Kent*	20
Nottaway	13
Petersburg City*	100
Powhatan*	63
Prince Edward	52
Prince George*	50
Southampton*	142
Total	1,029

*Within the Department of Virginia.

The above procedures of securing Negro manpower for the Confederacy were supplemented by impressment of Negroes where the exigencies of war demanded their labor by the military officers. Later the governor, along with the military personnel, did the impressing.

A few days after McClellan landed at Fortress Monroe to prepare his Peninsular campaign, Colonel Magruder, Confederate commander, sent Lieutenant Colonel Ball to Richmond to obtain 1,000 Negroes and bring them to Lee's farm. These were needed

²⁷ *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 683.

to erect fortifications in the rear of his army in order to save it in the case of its being overpowered by superior numbers.²⁸ In another instance the Secretary of War authorized the impressment of 2,000 slaves for employment with the army at Wilmington, North Carolina, because Confederate forces were unable to obtain them by contract. The slaves were needed immediately.²⁹ This way of obtaining slave labor soon became very unpopular with the citizens in Virginia, especially those in the agricultural districts and those who lived near the Federal lines. Therefore, another method was used with the intent to please both the slaveowners and the army.

On October 3, 1862, the Virginia legislature passed an act providing for the public defense of the state. The act required that a census be taken of all the slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Upon requisition from the President of the Confederate States, the governor of Virginia would impress slaves to work on fortifications and to do other labor necessary for the defense of the state. The number that could be impressed should not exceed 10,000 or more than five per cent of the slave population from any county, city, or town. The sheriff received the slaves from the masters and delivered them to the agent of the Confederacy. The workers were not allowed to remain in the employment of the government longer than sixty days, or ninety days if the local authorities refused to furnish their slaves. The act further provided that \$16 per month be paid to the master for the slave, plus a soldier's ration, medicine, and medical attendance for the slave. All expenses were to be borne by the Confederate States government. If the master furnished the slave's subsistence, however, he would be given sixty cents per day. In addition, the masters were paid by the Confederate States for the loss of slaves as a result of their going into the Federal camp, being killed by the "public enemy," or being injured from undue negligence on the part of the Confederacy.³⁰

Table II illustrates the practical working of the act of October 3, 1862. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, sent Governor Letcher a requisition for 2,832 slaves to

²⁸ Magruder to Lee, April 8, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. 1, II, pt. 3, 430.

²⁹ *Official Records*, ser. 1, XLII, 1139.

³⁰ *Acts*, 1862, pp. 6-8.

be taken from twenty-nine counties to work upon the fortifications and perform any other labor necessary for the defense of the state. Allowances were made for those counties that had lost slaves as a result of their escaping to the Union camps.

TABLE II
REQUISITION FOR SLAVE LABOR IN VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES,
March 11, 1863³¹
(The number requisitioned is supposed to be 5% of the slave population)

County	Number
Albemarle	164
Amherst	54
Appomattox	35
Augusta	49
Bedford	233
Botetourt	41
Brunswick	222
Buckingham	141
Campbell	231
Charlotte	103
Cumberland	20
Fluvanna	63
Franklin	28
Greene	31
Halifax	242
Henry	57
Louisa	130*
Lunenburg	90
Mecklenburg	89
Montgomery	30
Nelson	126
Orange	50*
Patrick	24
Pittsylvania	307
Prince Edward	51
Pulaski	33
Roanoke	48
Rockbridge	64
Rockingham	75*
Total	2,832

*The calls on Louisa, Orange, and Rockingham counties were reduced from 199, 156, and 119, respectively, because of known losses from inroads of the Federal armies.

³¹ *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 684.

The dual system of impressment, by military officers and by governors, complicated the matter of obtaining laborers. In some cases military commanders attempted to impress slaves when they had received all available ones for public defense. Governor Letcher refused Major General Samuel Jones's request to impress slaves to work at Saltville for this reason. Then too, many of the slaves who were legally called were stampeding into the Union lines whenever they found an opportunity. The slaveowners became displeased with both systems because these meant a heavy drain on their invested capital. Therefore the first law which was enacted by the state to impress slaves was repealed within less than six months after its enactment. The intent was to please the owners and to get more laborers.

The new law increased the maximum pay to the master to \$20 per month. Those owners sending thirty to forty slaves to the induction station were to provide an overseer to guard their property. Also, the exemptions were widened to include agricultural counties that would be affected by drafting slaves, counties near the enemy lines, owners who could prove to the courts that they had lost one-third of their slaves through escape to the enemy, and soldiers in the army having only one slave each. This exemption also applied to every widow having a son in the army or whose husband had died in service. Further, the Confederate States was held responsible for the safe return of the slaves; if they were lost by death in service, were incapacitated by injury or disease, or escaped to the enemy, the government had to make "full compensation to the owners."³² By accepting these agreements, the age limit was extended to fifty-five, an increase of ten years above that fixed in the act of 1862. An owner who refused to send his slaves was subject to a maximum fine of \$10 for each day the slave was withheld. Failure of the sheriff to deliver the drafted slaves carried a fine of from \$50 to \$200.³³ This act did not remedy the situation; Lee's surrender at Appomattox was the only thing that stopped the dissension over impressment by the state and Confederate States governments. Regardless of the strife between these governments over mobilizing Negroes, the Negroes,

³² *Acts, 1863, p. 42.*

³³ *Acts, 1863, p. 46.*

as has been shown, did work for them and their labor was valuable to the Confederacy. They threw up earth works, dug ditches, built fortifications, did picket duty, and performed many other services for the Confederacy on the fighting front. The Quartermaster General of the United States, M. C. Meigs, said of the Confederate Negro worker that "the labor of the colored man supports the rebel soldier and enables him to leave his plantation to meet our armies. . . ." ³⁴

In addition to the fact that the Negro furnished his labor to the government, he was required to pay a poll tax along with the whites in order to support the government. All free Negro men above twenty-one years of age were taxed sixty cents on February 3, 1863, and two months later they had to pay \$1.40 more. A tax of ninety cents was levied on all slaves above twelve years of age. ³⁵

Another force which caused the collapse of the mobilization system was the Negroes themselves. In most cases they did what they could to keep from going into the combat area because of the dangers of warfare and because the treatment they received from the military personnel was none too pleasant. Furthermore, the Negro was not willing to aid in perpetuating his own enslavement and that of his race. Whenever the slaves found an opportunity to escape into the Federal camps they did so, bringing with them their labor to be used by that government in winning the war. The success of the war meant emancipation for them and their brethren who were left in slavery.

The slaves had a right to believe that the Federal camps were a place of refuge because they were well informed of the trend of the events through the propaganda mills of the abolitionists, the house servants, who listened to their master's guests discuss public issues, and the intellectual free Negroes. All of these forces riveted in the minds of the slaves the idea that once within the Federal lines they would be protected from bondage. William A. Johnson, a contraband at Fredericksburg, Virginia, told the Federal authorities, "the Negroes at Richmond and throughout the South have long forseen the present state of

³⁴ *Annual Report of M. C. Meigs to the Secretary of War, 1862, Executive Document, 37th Congress, 3d Session, IV, No. 1, 81.*

³⁵ *Acts (passed at adjourned session, 1863, also at an extra session, 1862-63), pp. 4, 52.*

things and look anxiously for the coming of the Union Army." ³⁶ Another contemporary Negro, Lunsford Lane, tells how he learned of political problems by serving such outstanding leaders as Calhoun and Preston of South Carolina and Judge Gaston and other leaders at political gatherings and barbecues.³⁷ The information picked up at these meetings was relayed to other Negroes. Therefore, the Negroes, taking advantage of the information furnished them, began to flow into the Union lines.

The Negroes began moving into the Federal lines as soon as the Union had possession of any portion of Confederate territory. A few days after Virginia held her popular election on secession, Negroes came into Fortress Monroe, the only place in southeastern Virginia in possession of the Union. It was on Thursday night, May 23, 1861, that the first three Negroes entered the Fortress asking for protection. The next morning the guards brought them before Major General B. F. Butler, commander of the Department of Virginia, for a decision as to what to do with them. Before giving judgment, Butler questioned the Negroes about the activities of the colored people and the Confederates in the vicinity.

From the investigation Butler found out the following facts: the Negroes were field hands employed by Colonel Charles Mallory at Sewell Point to build batteries; the colonel was preparing to send a number of them South to do fortification work for the Confederacy; two of the Negroes had wives in Hampton and they had several children in the neighborhood. With these facts, Butler concluded that the South was utilizing the Negro auxiliary force to defeat the Union and that this aid was very valuable to the Confederates. Therefore, he decided to give the Negroes protection for their labor. They were set to work assisting the masons in building a bakehouse.

The next afternoon Butler had a conference with Major M. B. Carey, agent for Colonel Mallory, at Mills Creek Bridge about the Negroes who came into the Fortress. The major wanted to know what Butler was going to do with the escaped slaves. The agent was informed that they would be retained by the Union government as contrabands of war, since they

³⁶ *Harper's Weekly*, June 7, 1862.

³⁷ William G. Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane; or Another Helper from North Carolina*, pp. 288-289. (Hereafter cited as *Hawkins, Lunsford Lane*.)

were employed in the defense of the Confederacy and were claimed by the Confederates to be their property. Butler, as a major general of the United States Army and commander of the Department of Virginia, made capital of the Southern ideology by claiming the slaves as property of the United States. Thereafter, all Negroes who came into the Federal lines were jocularly called contrabands. Technically, they remained the property of the Federal government until July 17, 1862.

The Negroes ignored the technical point and continued to take refuge in the Military District of Fortress Monroe. Each day after the coming of the pioneer Negroes one could see others approaching the Fortress. A private, stationed at the Fortress up to mid-July, 1861, stated that on Sunday eight Negroes came; on Monday, forty-seven came; and others followed in groups of twenties, thirties, and forties.³⁸ It was reported that by June 6, 2,000 Negroes were there. Also, when the Union had to evacuate Hampton in July, 1861, orders were given to the Negroes to leave the village and go to Fortress Monroe so that they would be safe from the Confederates. They were permitted to carry their prize possessions with them. All during that night Negro men, women, and children thronged the roads; some left in boats on their way to the haven of comfort and safety. This migration swelled the Negro labor reservoir at the Fortress to 900. They were classified as follows:

Age Group	Number
MEN	
Able-bodied	300
Past hard labor	30
WOMEN	175
CHILDREN	
Under 10	225
10-20	170
Total	900

Of the 900, seventy-two per cent were employable; the children under ten years of age are excluded in determining this percentage. Thus, sixty-seven days after the first three Negroes

³⁸ Edward L. Pierce, "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," *Atlantic Monthly*, VIII (1861), 628.

entered the Fortress, the Union government had a sizable labor supply. The inland waterways, flowing into the Chesapeake Bay where the Fortress is located, were used by the Negroes to enter the Union lines. For example, a group of Negroes in the neighborhood of Back River left their homes in June, 1861, in a rowboat with a quantity of furniture, bedding, and a dressed hog, came down the Chesapeake Bay, and landed in safety at Old Point Comfort. They marched into the Fortress. One is said to have remarked on entering the Fort, "De Lord is in it. I knowed he'd do it."³⁹ In another instance, five Negroes came down the Nansemond River, November 11, 1861, in a small boat, bringing with them information about the Confederates' batteries on the river and the location of the Confederate forces in the area.⁴⁰ Thus it happened that the migratory laborers brought not only personal equipment to Fortress Monroe but also valuable knowledge of the Confederate activities.

On March 13, 1862, Virginia attempted to cut off this channel of escape by passing "An Act to prevent the escape of slaves in the Tidewater counties."⁴¹ The act provided that upon application of any three freeholders, the county courts should have power to adopt such necessary measures as in their opinion might be indispensable to prevent the escape of slaves in boats to the public enemy. Further, the courts might direct all boats to be removed from the water and destroyed, if necessary, to prevent the escape of the slaves. In such an event the owner would be compensated by a county levy. This regulation may have checked the Negroes from using the rivers as a lane of escape from their masters, but it did not stop them from coming into the Military District of Fortress Monroe.

³⁹ *New York Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1861.

⁴⁰ The following letter to the Commanding General of the Department of Virginia is significant:

November 11, 1861

"General: I learned the following from colored, who, with five others, all colored, came from Nansemond River last night in a small boat: He says that there are two batteries on the Nansemond River, about one-half mile apart—the first about four miles from the mouth—both on the left bank. Each mounts four guns, about 24-pounders. The first is shaped thus: v v v v. The first is garrisoned by forty men of the Isle of Wight regiment, the second by eight. One gun in each fort will traverse; the chasses of the others are immovable. Both open in the rear; very flimsy and trifling affairs. River about three miles wide opposite the batteries. Can land midway between them. The Isle of Wight regiment is at Smithfield. The Petersburg Cavalry Company is at Chuckatuck. There are thirteen regiments of South Carolina troops at the old brick church near Smithfield, commanded by Colonel Pender. At Suffolk there are 10,000 Georgia troops. They have been coming in for the past three weeks in small detachments. This man says that the farmers are starving their Negroes to feed the soldiers." *Official Records*, ser. 1, IV, pp. 630-31.

⁴¹ *Acts*, 1862, p. 104.

Nine days after the enactment of the above law, the commission appointed by Major General Wool to study "the number [and] age . . ." of the Africans in the Military District of Fortress Monroe⁴² reported that 1,508 Negroes were in the district. From Table III one may note the places studied and the age group, sex, and number within each locality. The largest of them was at camps Hamilton and Butler, 49.3 per cent; Fortress Monroe was second with 45.8 per cent; and Newport News, third with 4.9 per cent. Further, it can be seen that there were more men at Fortress Monroe than women and children. The latter were located at Camp Hamilton.

TABLE III

POPULATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF FORTRESS MONROE, BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, March 22, 1862.⁴³

Place	Adult		Children		Total		Total Both Sexes
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Fort Monroe	387	117	93	94	480	211	691
Camp Hamilton and Camp Butler	191	224	161	167	352	391	743
Newport News	74	74	74
Total	652	341	254	261	906	602	1,508

In December of the same year C. B. Wilder, Superintendent of Negroes for the Department, reported to the Orthodox Friends Society that 6,054 Negroes were in the District.⁴⁴ The places and numbers are given below:

PLACE	NUMBER
Ft. Monroe	1,000
Hampton and Camp Hamilton	2,500
Ft. Norfolk	632
Norfolk	794
Craney Island	1,128
Total	6,054

⁴² The Commissioners appointed by Major General J. E. Wool consisted of Colonel T. J. Cram, Inspector-General; Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon, Aide-de-Camp; and Major William P. Jones, Aide-de-Camp, *House Executive Document*, 37th Congress, 2d Session, VII, No. 85.

⁴³ *Report of the Africans in Fortress Monroe Military District*, by Major General John E. Wool, Commanding General of the Department of Virginia, *House Executive Documents*, 37th Congress, 2d Session, No. 85, p. 10. (Hereafter cited as *Report of Africans*.)

⁴⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.

Thus by December the labor supply had increased to four times that of the preceding March. This army of laborers arrived at the military district of Fortress Monroe expecting the Federal government to use them as an auxiliary force to aid the army. They could do fatigue duty or assist in any other capacity for the prosecution of the war. They were not "ninety-day wonders" and did not wish as early a discharge from the camp as did the whites, who had volunteered. The Negroes who entered the Union territory during the first days of the conflict did so without any legal authority from the politicians in Washington. It was the politicians' intention to keep the Negroes out of the camps, but Butler had a chance to see at first hand how valuable the Negroes were to the Confederates in Virginia, not only on the home front, but also in the camps and other defensive works. Therefore Butler, without legal sanction, began to draw workers from this migratory group.

It was Butler's need of laborers that caused him to set a precedent. To him it was not an exchange of freedom for work, but he gave protection for work. When he arrived at the headquarters of the Department of Virginia in May, 1861, barracks had to be built, the grounds had to be cleared, wells had to be dug, railroad tracks had to be laid from the wharves to the Fortress, a distance of a quarter of a mile, and the moat surrounding the Fortress had to be cleared of oyster shells. Besides these needs, Butler was ordered to stop the Confederates from erecting batteries near the Fortress, to capture enemies' batteries in or about Craney Island, and to capture batteries within a half day's march of the Fortress. To meet these needs, the Negroes assisted in constructing buildings, in improving the grounds, in erecting batteries, in serving the officers, and in storing provisions landed from vessels; thus they relieved many whites of fatigue duty. They worked willingly and proved to be very useful to General Butler.

On May 24, 1861, Butler communicated with General Winfield Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, relative to the former's action taken in regard to the slaves entering Fortress Monroe. In the communication he told of the work the Negroes were doing for the rebels in the neighborhood, and he also stated that it would have been nearly or quite impossible for

them to erect any batteries without Negroes' labor.⁴⁵ The Chief of Staff approved the action taken by Butler and forwarded the letter to the Secretary of War, who agreed with General Scott. Three days later, and on several other occasions, Butler had to obtain further approval and advice on the contraband problem because of the constant increase of the population. In a letter of May 30, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron advised Butler not to return any slaves to their owners. He was to employ in the service those needed, keeping an account of the labor they did, its value, and the expenses of their maintenance. Meantime, the question of their final disposition was left for future action of the government.⁴⁶

In addition to the approval of the War Department, public opinion, as expressed in newspapers, endorsed Butler's position on the contraband question. *Harper's Weekly* stated that the government must obviously act upon the principles of Butler's letter. Another example is that of the New York *Daily Tribune*, which stated that the new doctrine might be exceedingly popular with the Negroes, but that their leaving the Confederacy might pinch the master seriously before the end of the War.⁴⁷ From Brooklyn, New York, a writer took a religious point of view:

Thou shalt not deliver, unto his master, the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shall not oppress him.⁴⁸

The writer was of the opinion that this was reason enough to endorse Butler's policy. Consequently, by the approval of the War Department and the public endorsement, the commander was free to receive all Negroes who came into his lines and to employ those he needed. In due time more Negroes came into the District than could be employed. This excess labor supply forced another problem on the government and the commanders. There was no authority from Washington for the commanders

⁴⁵ Butler to Scott, May 24, 1861. MS. in the National Archives. All further letters cited may be found in the National Archives, unless otherwise stated. The National Archives has, among other valuable documents, indexes to letters received and sent by the Secretary of War, departmental commanders, and other army personnel. For material available, consult the *Guide to the Material in the National Archives* (Washington, 1940), and the supplements to the *Guide*, which are published quarterly.

⁴⁶ Cameron to Butler, May 30, 1861.

⁴⁷ August 24, 1861.

⁴⁸ New York *Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1861.

to care for the Negroes who were not employed by the government. When the Negroes entered the camps they came in rags—some naked and with their flesh torn, and some without shoes. Men, women, and children came, some in every stage of disease. Therefore, the basic needs of these pioneers were food, shelter, clothes, and medical attention. The care of the unemployed Negroes was a perplexing problem to Major General Wool. In writing to the Secretary of War, Wool asked for some positive instruction as to what to do with the women and children who were not working. "Humanity," said Wool, "requires that they should be taken care of."⁴⁹

The problem was becoming so onerous that the commanders appointed superintendents of Negro affairs to give relief to the Negroes and to rehabilitate them. They were provided with shelter, but some of the barracks, old tents, and huts were uninhabitable. In Norfolk they were quartered in a pest house, the name being derived from its former use. Further, those not employed by the government and those who had no means of subsistence were provided with rations; children under fourteen years of age were issued half rations. The number of daily rations given to all the Negroes in comparison with those employed in the Military District of Fortress Monroe between the months of November, 1861, and February, 1862, is shown in the following table.⁵⁰

MONTH	RATIONS GIVEN	EMPLOYED
November	858	453
December	821	451
January	478	392
February	506	383

The data from the table show that during the period an average of 665.8 rations was given and an average of 419.8 persons was employed. Thus it may be said that for every person employed, nearly two persons received rations. Besides these allowances of food, additional provisions in bread were given the Negroes. The number given during the four months was 772.

The Negroes who worked helped to clothe those who were unemployed. The government withheld part of the wages of

⁴⁹ John E. Wool to Cameron, September 18, 1861.

⁵⁰ *Report of Africans*, pp. 4-5.

the workers and turned it over to the Quartermaster Department to purchase clothes and shoes for all the Negroes. From November, 1861, to February 28, 1862, the Quartermaster Department purchased and issued clothing to the Negroes valued at \$5,526.92 and shoes to the amount of \$834.80.⁵¹ The clothes purchased for the Negroes were of fair quality, and in most cases the Federal government did not have enough for the contrabands. William Cramwell and Benjamin Tatham, comprising a committee appointed by the Orthodox Friends Society to study the condition and wants of the colored refugees in the Military District of Fortress Monroe and other camps in Washington and Virginia, reported that the Negroes on Craney Island had a quantity of second-hand clothes and forty or fifty pairs of shoes. Those at Fort Norfolk did not have sufficient clothing.⁵²

On August 24, 1863, the report of Olando Brown, Superintendent of Negroes, gave some idea on the number of Negroes who received government assistance wholly or partially. (The report covered the Negroes in the Union lines in the counties of Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne.)

NEGROES HELPED BY THE GOVERNMENT	
In Whole	2,681
In Part	340
Total	3,021 ⁵³

The commanders of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina encouraged the Negroes not employed by the government to work for themselves so that they might learn the value of working as free men for wages. Furthermore, they could exhibit to the Southern men their ability to take care of themselves. These Negroes found employment in fishing, oystering, huckstering, the mechanical arts, and farming. The necessity of providing shelter for the contrabands caused a large number to be used in the building trades. L. C. Lockwood, a missionary to the freedmen at Fortress Monroe, spoke of the capabilities of the Negroes as free workers, saying, "In all they do, from the

⁵¹ *Report of Africans*, p. 4.

⁵² *New York Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.

⁵³ MS. taken from the *Census of the Colored Persons Within the Union Lines in the Counties of Norfolk, Nansemond and Princess Anne*, July 1 and August 20, 1863, Olando Brown to Col. Hoffman, August 24, 1863.

eloquence of the exhorters to the skill and industry of the artisan and the farmer, they excite surprise and admiration." ⁵⁴ One will agree with Lockwood's statement and add that the commanders were doing all they could to give relief and to rehabilitate the Negroes into a new life, but in some cases their kind efforts were handicapped by subordinates who took advantage of the Negroes by withholding their supplies and money.

Other than the commanders giving assistance to the Negroes, the humanitarians of the North organized freedom "aid" and "relief" societies to provide for the welfare of the Negroes. The people who composed these societies came from all walks of life. The societies had speakers, whites and Negroes, to present the case of the contrabands to the people in the North; those interested gave money. Sewing circles, churches, business houses, and uplift societies made contributions.

Further, the relief and aid societies sent workers into the camps to labor among the Negroes. Some of the best trained whites, as well as Negroes, came as teachers. On September 17, 1861, the American Missionary Association organized a day and evening school at Hampton for the contrabands. This laid the foundation for Hampton Institute. Olando Brown, in his report cited above, stated that 1,323 were able to read in August, 1863.

Besides establishing schools for the Negroes, the societies gave other direct assistance to them such as agricultural implements and seed to operate farms, tools that were indispensable in the building trades, clothing, and medical supplies. They operated stores and sold goods to the contrabands at cost. This was done in competition with the ones operated by sutlers, who were charging excessive prices for their commodities.

The anxiety of the humanitarian groups to do something for the Negroes brought many societies into the field. This caused much duplication and waste, but under such a vast program of social welfare this could be expected. But the societies, along with the commanders, did improve the condition of the Negroes during the latter's transition from slave laborers to free laborers.

⁵⁴ Quoted in S. P. Remond, *The Negroes and Anglo-Africans*, pp. 9-10.

The Negro auxiliary force, being assured of protection and assistance from the Union commanders and the humanitarian societies, had greater incentive to put its labor at the disposal of the Federal government. There were factors operating, however, that made their escape to the Union camps easier, such as the extension of the area under Union control, the efforts of some Union officers, and the attitude of some slaveholders.

The Union lines were extended into the interior of Virginia and North Carolina in 1862 and 1863, as a result of the campaigns of Generals McClellan, Burnside, and Foster. The Federal government was in control of the Peninsular area almost up to the city of Richmond, and the city of Fredericksburg. In North Carolina the line was as far west as Kinston and as far south as Beaufort. This brought the lines closer to the Negroes. Consequently, the Negro reservoir began to increase, especially of those below and above fighting age. This may be seen by referring again to Olando Brown's report of August 24, 1863. He gives the census of Negro population in the Union lines in Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne counties as 18,983: male, 8,558;⁵⁵ female, 10,425. This represents an increase of 1,259 per cent over the figure for the Military District of Fortress Monroe the first three months of 1862 (1,508) and a 314 per cent increase over that for the same district in December, 1862 (6,054). Brown further classifies the Negroes by age groups:

AGE GROUP	NUMBER
Under 10	5,369
10-20	4,126
20-45	1,338
45-over	3,158

Another result of the extension of the Union lines was that a large number of free Negroes came into the District of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. From Table IV one may see the number of free Negroes in the Department on February 1, 1864.

⁵⁵ The smaller number of men than women may be due to the men enlisting in the army. For the month of June, 1863, there were 932 men serving in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. Extract from *Department Returns of Colored Troops* for the month of June, 1863. Cited in Elson A. Woodward (editor), "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States."

TABLE IV

STATUS* OF THE NEGROES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND
NORTH CAROLINA, BY DISTRICT, February 1, 1864⁵⁶

District	Slaves	Free Negroes
Number 1	8,780	1,669
Number 2	13,947	7,258
Number 3	14,645	2,774
Number 4	11,504	2,959
Total	48,876	14,660

*Status as of April, 1861.

After the President's proclamation of 1862, the Union officers and soldiers would inform the slaves on plantations which they captured that they were free. The men would be permitted to join the army, and the women and children would be sent to Norfolk and would be provided for from the government farms. The fact that 7,289 transients were in the Norfolk District seven months after the proclamation was issued proves that the slaves took advantage of the offer of the military personnel to leave their masters.

Not only was the foregoing true, but as the army advanced into Confederate territory, the masters with their families would run away from their slaves and join the Confederates in the interior of the states, leaving their slaves behind to serve the Union government. There was one such case when General Burnside captured New Bern. Nearby on a deserted plantation he found some slaves who had been left behind by their fleeing masters. Among them was an excellent cook, "Aunt Charlotte," who had been born in Charleston, South Carolina, but came to New Bern as a slave to one of the wealthiest families in the area. When the plantation was taken, the master's home was turned over to the Sanitary Commission for a hospital. "Aunt Charlotte" was employed by the inspector to cook for the sick soldiers at six dollars per month. A staff correspondent of

⁵⁶ *Annual Report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society*, February 1, 1864, which was submitted by Lt. Col. J. B. Kinsman, General Superintendent of Negro Affairs for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

Harper's Weekly had the following to say of "Aunt Charlotte:"

The sick and wounded soldiers had reasons to bless the culinary accomplishments of this venerable contraband cook, and to praise the alacrity with which, in times of their greatest need, she exerted her skill to save them from suffering.⁵⁷

Also, "Aunt Charlotte" was reported to have had a great deal of character, to be always reliable, and to possess no mean administrative abilities. She managed the other Negroes on the plantation as if her mistress had been there.

In another instance a correspondent in western Virginia, passing through Cannelton, reported that he saw very few inhabitants in the town except some Negroes. He inquired among them concerning the whereabouts of the whites, and if they had run away from their masters. A Negro woman replied: "Golly no—Massa run away from me."⁵⁸ Hence, by the masters eluding the Union forces, they can be held responsible for many of their Negro workers going over to the Union government.

TABLE V
POPULATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND
NORTH CAROLINA, BY SEX, February 1, 1864⁵⁹

District	Total		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Number 1	10,449	5,024	5,425
Number 2	21,205	10,932	10,273
Number 3	17,419	8,522	8,897
Number 4	14,463	7,007	7,456
Total	63,536	31,485	32,051

Table V illustrates the results of the factors discussed above. The total population of Negroes in the districts of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina on February 1, 1864, was 63,536 for both sexes. This number was 335 per cent of that for the District of Norfolk in August, 1863 (18,983). Also, in comparing the aggregate total of 13,013 officers and men present and absent in the Department of Virginia, North Carolina, *et cetera* for December, 1861, under the command of Major Gen-

⁵⁷ August 16, 1862.

⁵⁸ New York *Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1861.

⁵⁹ New York *Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1861.

eral John E. Wool,⁶⁰ with the Negroes in the Department in February, 1864, Wool's military strength was 79.5 per cent less than that of the Negro population. By June 1, 1862, Wool had under his command 14,007 troops;⁶¹ this figure was 77.8 per cent less than the total Negro population referred to above. Thus by 1864 the Negroes entering the Department of Virginia and North Carolina exceeded the number of troops the Union had in the department in December, 1861, and in June, 1862.

Some of the Negroes who came into the Union lines were very intelligent; others brought useful military information concerning the Confederates; some were skilled in trades. William A. Jackson, an ex-coachman of Jefferson Davis, furnishes an example of an intelligent contraband. Jackson could read and write and converse in a manner which showed that he had been used to good society.⁶² Further proof of the contrabands' intelligence was shown soon after the capture of the forts around Hatteras Inlet. It was reported that intelligent contrabands began to arrive in the Union lines, often bringing news of important military activities in several directions.⁶³ A contraband from North Carolina at Fort Norfolk said that he was a cabinet maker and turner by trade. He also claimed that during a period of twenty years he had paid his master \$6,000 for his freedom, but that the master refused to release him; so he escaped.⁶⁴ If one should accept the contraband's statement to be true, then he had been fairly successful in his trade, and he could be very helpful to the Union government in its construction program.

The Negro auxiliary force in other military departments began to enter the lines of the Union when they learned of the kindness the Negroes received upon entering the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. They could be counted by the thousands in departments of the South, Potomac, Gulf, and Cumberland by the winter of 1862. The problem was thus

⁶⁰ Abstract from *Returns of the Department of Virginia, North Carolina, etc., for December, 1861. Official Records, ser. 1, IV, 632.*

⁶¹ Statement of troops in Department of Virginia, June 1, 1862, *Official Records, ser. 1, XI, pt. 3, 204.*

⁶² *Harper's Weekly*, June 7, 1862.

⁶³ Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (editors), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I, 685.

⁶⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.

forced upon the politicians in Washington, and it became national.

In the early days of the war the politicians debated the wisdom of using the Negroes, but nothing was done. The question was left to the departmental commanders and they solved it as they saw best. Therefore many complications ensued. All did not follow Major General Butler's policy. In General Dix's offer, which was made to the counties of Accomac and Northampton, an example is furnished in which a commanding officer deviated from that policy. In November, 1861, when Dix wanted to open a line of supply to Baltimore via the Eastern Shore of Virginia, he sent the people of the above-named counties notice that if they would come into the Union without resistance, he would not allow his regimental or corps commanders to accept any slaves within their lines. Dix was taking advantage of the favorable proportion of the Negro population to that of the white. It was as follows:

WHITE	13,659
NEGRO	
Slaves	5,469
Free	7,290
	<hr/>
Total	26,418 ⁶⁵

The total number of Negroes, slave and free, was 12,759, approximately a ratio of one Negro to every white. Further, if the whites approved of his proposition, he could count on a loyal force of 20,949 (whites and free Negroes) or 74 per cent of the people in the counties, leaving the masters with the other 26 per cent. The people accepted the protection of General Dix and he was able to get three-fourths of them and his supply line to Baltimore.

Other instances where generals differed from Butler were in the cases of John C. Fremont, commanding the Western Department, and David Hunter, commanding the Department of the South. Fremont, an ardent abolitionist, declared all the slaves in Missouri free. Hunter did the same thing in his department; he also armed the slaves. These methods of handling the Negroes coming into the Union lines were applauded by the

⁶⁵ *Official Records*, ser. 1, V, 430.

abolitionists; the border states became uneasy, and Congress became excited. Finally the President had to step in and declare both acts null and void. In some other cases commanders allowed masters to enter their camps and take their escaped slaves.⁶⁶ It so happened that under such a system many complex problems arose. Therefore the politicians had to abstain from debating the Negro problem and to take some direct action on it, because it was apparent that the Negroes, if left alone, would be a source of strength to the Confederates.

The special session of Congress that Lincoln called to meet on July 4, 1861, proceeded to lay the foundation of recognizing the importance of the Negroes as an auxiliary force for the suppression of the "rebellion." In this session of Congress, the border states' men were in control and were led by John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. The men in Congress who wanted complete abolition of slavery had to compromise with the border states' men, because the latter were unwilling to jeopardize the chances of having the border states joining the Confederacy. Nevertheless, something had to be done about the Negroes who had entered the camps up to this time. On August 6, 1861, Congress passed an Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes. The act provided that the owner would lose his right of ownership if his slave claimed to have been employed on military or naval fortifications against the United States, or if he had taken up arms against the United States in the service of the Confederacy. The virtue of this law consisted in the fact that Congress was willing to acknowledge formally the usefulness of Negro manpower to the war. It also legalized the contraband policy of B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe. In other respects, the law had many points of doubt and ambiguity. "These may have been due," said Edwin Bates, Attorney General, "to the careless haste in which Congress drafted the bill."⁶⁷

The antislavery group objected to the above act because they wanted the government to do more than recognize the slaves

⁶⁶ On March 13, 1862, Congress enacted a law to prohibit such practices. The personnel of the armed forces was not to allow anyone to enter Federal territory to take away escaped slaves. Anyone found guilty of violating this act would be dismissed from the service. *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 354.

⁶⁷ Howard K. Beale (editor), "The Diary of Edwin Bates," *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, IV (1930), 210.

as being useful to the Union. To them slavery, along with the "rebellion," should perish and the Negroes should be accepted as free workers.

It was in the second session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress that a marked change took place over the Negro question. It was due to the rising influence of the radical Republicans. Congress had hardly convened when the change became apparent. Lyman Trumbull, Senator from Illinois, introduced a bill for the confiscation of Confederate property and for giving freedom to all slaves. The bill was thoroughly debated with almost all the members taking part in the discussion. After eight months of arguing the bill, it became a law on July 17, 1862.

The significance of the law was that it changed slave labor into free labor. This was the first time in the history of the United States that Congress had passed such legislation for the Negroes. The slaves—men, women, and children—were given their freedom if their master had committed treason, if he were found guilty of being disloyal to the government, if he had borne arms against the United States, or if he had given aid or comfort to the enemy. Besides converting slave labor into free labor in these ways, it was provided that those slaves would be forever free who had escaped and taken refuge in the lines of the army, had been captured by the army, had been deserted by their masters, or had been found within any place captured by the forces of the United States. The act also fixed a minimum wage for the Negro government workers.⁶⁸

Virginia, in retaliation, enacted a counter-law protecting her citizens and labor system from the "iniquitous legislation of the United States."⁶⁹ It stated that any public official who emancipated any slaves according to the provisions of the Federal act would be liable for twice the value of the slaves. No doubt this stringent measure of Virginia may have been successful in influencing the United States' officials in the state of Virginia not to enforce that part of the act relating to the master's disloyalty; but, on the other hand, it did not render impassable the lane of freedom for the slaves to become workers.

The lane of freedom was widened after January 1, 1863, by

⁶⁸ *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.

⁶⁹ *Acts*, 1862, pp. 12-13.

the Emancipation Proclamation, which liberated all slaves in "rebellious" territory. Since the counties of Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, were under Federal control, they were exempted from the provisions of this proclamation.

The war had got well on its way before the Union learned that it had ignored a mighty force. This Negro force, upon its own initiative, began to penetrate the Union lines. The Negroes were received by the commanders because they were the ones to see that the power of the "rebel" rested upon their "peculiar system" of labor. As military strategists, it was their duty to disdain no legitimate aid that would save the lives of their gallant soldiers, diminish their labor, provide for their wants, and lessen the burden of their people. Therefore, they decided to attack the enemy in the most accessible quarters by retaining his Negro reservoir as the slaves came under their control. The retention of the Negroes caused many leaders to discuss their value as a potential weapon to smite the Confederacy on every hand, to attack his armies and strongholds, to occupy his posts, and to clear the great rivers for the Union government.

President Lincoln, for political reasons, at first accepted the border states' attitude that the purpose of the war was to defend and preserve the Union. This war aim excluded the Negroes. Lincoln maintained this aim until he issued his Emancipation Proclamation. Up to the time of the proclamation, the President could see no positive good in the arguments of the slaveholders and yet he was unwilling to endorse a program of unconditional emancipation so that the slaves could take an active part in the war. He was willing to drain this source of labor away from the United States to such far countries as Haiti or Liberia. The kind masters who would liberate their slaves would be compensated by the national government "for the inconveniences produced by such change of system."⁷⁰ The freed slaves and the free Negroes who wanted to go would have their passage paid by the government. The sum was not to exceed \$100 for each emigrant.⁷¹ If this magnanimous offer

⁷⁰ *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.

⁷¹ *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.

had been accepted, it would have been one of the greatest wastes of manpower ever conceived by any government. Fortunately the border states refused to accept Lincoln's emancipation, compensation, and colonization plan, because they doubted the government's ability to pay for them. The free Negroes also declined the proposal. The following statement of a Southern Negro, Lunsford Lane, who went North to live as a freeman, is significant in expressing the idea of the Negroes. Lane stated:

We have no desire to leave the United States for residence in Liberia or the West Indies. The South is our home; and we feel that there we can be happy, and contribute by our industry to the prosperity of our race, and leave the generation that succeeds us wiser and better.⁷²

Frederick Douglass, another Negro leader, said of the colonization plan that "for a nation to drive away its laboring class was 'political suicide.'" ⁷³ These reverses caused Lincoln to change his mind and consider the Negroes a source of labor worthy of use in all branches of industry, and, in certain cases, in the army.

Lincoln, in his proclamation of 1863, advised the Negroes to work for reasonable wages and also informed those Negroes who were physically fit that they might enlist in the armed services of the United States. In addition, he forced those persons taking the oath of allegiance to abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the war with reference to slaves, so long as they were in force.

The two Secretaries of War under Lincoln were not as slow as he was in estimating the worth of the Negro laborers. Simon Cameron, a successful businessman and Secretary of War from March 4, 1861, to January 11, 1862, realized that the slaves constituted a military resource. "Their labor," said Cameron, "may be useful to us; and if withheld from the enemy would lessen his military strength. Further, why deprive the South of supplies by blockade and leave them men to produce them." ⁷⁴ Thus he was in favor of employing the Negroes to work for the government on deserted farms to save the crops that were left

⁷² Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane*, p. 205.

⁷³ Frederic M. Holland, *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator*, (*American Reformer*, series 1,) p. 286.

⁷⁴ *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., II, pt. 2, p. 14.

by the slaveholders, and if the produce could not be directly used by them it could be sold in the North.

Cameron's successor, Edwin Stanton, a corporation lawyer and antislavery Democrat, thought as Cameron did concerning the Negroes. This laboring population could be used to revive trade in cotton, rice, and sugar, and these products could be exchanged for necessary war materials in the North, thus re-establishing free trade between the North and the South and in the course of time reviving trade over the entire country.⁷⁵

Stanton further commented by saying that with the Negroes' assistance in the armies, the latter would be able to operate effectively in Confederate territory because the Negroes could cultivate the corn and forage to feed the animals, thus saving the government a portion of the burden of getting this feed from the North. In addition, it would be a great aid and economy for the government to raise these foodstuffs in the field of operation and to utilize the cheap Negro labor. Besides, the Negro population, loyal to the Union, would be of great assistance in holding the conquered territory and cutting off the "rebels'" resources. Therefore Stanton saw in the Negroes a potential laboring force to revive sectional trade relations, to produce food for the animals, and to do garrison duty.

Other reasons why the Negro manpower should be employed in the war were expressed by the Quartermaster General, M. C. Meigs. The opinion given by him was most democratic. He insisted that all loyal citizens, black and white, be used to put down the "rebellion"; however, the Negroes were animated by a double motive, namely, political and personal liberties. This West Point graduate and engineer went on to say that it was impossible to cast aside the millions of Negroes who offered themselves for work. Their services would be most valuable to the government because they were accustomed to the climate, inured to labor, and acquainted with the country.⁷⁶

In 1863 Congress appointed a Freedmen Inquiry Commission⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 3d Sess., IV, 17-19.

⁷⁶ *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 3d Sess., IV, No. 1, p. 81.

⁷⁷ The Commission consisted of Robert Dale Owen, James McKaye, and Samuel G. Howe. Robert Dale Owen was the son of Robert Owen, the Scottish philanthropist. He spent most of his time in the United States and was a leading advocate of emancipation. His letters and pamphlets on Negroes had a great influence on the political leaders in Washington in using the Negroes in winning the war. Compare *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 118-120.

to investigate how the colored people could be usefully employed by the government. The commission made two reports, one in June, 1863, and the other in May, 1864, on the condition of Negroes in Washington, D. C., eastern Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida. After an exhaustive study, the commission advised Congress that the United States should obtain the cooperation of the Negroes as soldiers and military laborers for the "speedy suppression of the rebellion and restoration of permanent peace."⁷⁸ The need was apparent in the places visited by the commission. They found that the demand for Negro laborers always exceeded the supply. An example to illustrate this point was given in the case of Major General Burnside, who had a standing requisition for 5,000 colored laborers, and at no time was Colyer, Superintendent of the Poor and Negroes, able to furnish as many as 2,000. Major General Dix was also unable to fill the requisitions coming from Washington to Fortress Monroe.

The committee further advised Congress to employ 100,000 Negroes to work on entrenchments, on garrison duty, in the ambulance corps, in hospitals, and as guides and spies. By doing this, the strength of the army would be increased by one-eighth.⁷⁹ That is, supposing that the estimated strength of the army would be 800,000, by employing the Negroes the number would be 900,000. Thus these 100,000 recruits would relieve the whites of fatigue duty.

An analysis of the attitudes of the above leaders reveals the thought that by Negro labor Confederate military resources could be weakened, foodstuffs could be produced for the army in the theatre of operations, trade relations could be revived between the sections, the Negroes would be working for their personal freedom, and the duration of the war could be reduced. Congress, sensitive to public opinion, began during the war to prepare for the restoration of permanent peace by empowering the President to fill the manpower needs from the Negro reserve. The President therefore ordered the commanders of the de-

⁷⁸ "Final Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission," May 15, 1864, *Senate Documents*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 53, pp. 108-109.

⁷⁹ *Preliminary Report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission*, June 30, 1863, p. 15.

partments to employ as many Negroes as could be advantageously used for military and naval purposes at reasonable wages. Now that the politicians at Washington had solved the problem of integrating the Negroes into the army as laborers, the commanders of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina were free to employ them in any capacity in which their experience and training could be serviceable in the war effort.

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 6, 1946

INTRODUCTION

By MRS. ERNEST A. BRANCH

The forty-sixth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Friday, December 6, 1946. Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc.

At the morning session of the Association, President Robert B. House of Chapel Hill presided and Dr. Nannie May Tilley of Duke University read a paper entitled "Agitation against the American Tobacco Company in North Carolina, 1890-1911." Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, a novelist, gave a talk on "A Layman's View of the Book Business," and Mr. LeGette Blythe, editorial writer of *The Charlotte Observer*, presented a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year. Following these papers a business meeting was held, at which the report of the secretary-treasurer was presented and accepted and resolutions were passed expressing regret at the loss of members who had died during the year; expressing appreciation for the generous hospitality of the Raleigh Woman's Club in graciously tendering to the Literary and Historical Association and its sister societies a tea on the afternoon of Thursday, December 5; and thanking the officers and committees for a successful meeting of the Association.

At this meeting a motion was made, seconded, and carried which invited the North Carolina Society of County Historians to meet with the State Literary and Historical Association and allied societies at the 1947 annual sessions.

The State Literary and Historical Association is pleased that the allied societies continue to meet with it, and it feels that the contacts with the members of these societies are mutually beneficial. Since 1914, and perhaps earlier, the Folk-Lore Society has met annually with the State Literary and Historical

Association. The program of 1926 included the meetings of the North Carolina State Art Society. In 1939 the Archaeological Society and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities also joined the group, while in 1945 the North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc., met with the Association. It is felt that a gathering of the members of the several societies and associations of the state is inspirational and educational, and stimulates the cultural advancement of North Carolina.

Officers for the year 1946-47 were elected as follows: president, Dr. Carlyle Campbell, Raleigh; vice presidents, Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green, Raleigh, Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt, Wilmington, and Mr. Carl Sandburg, Flat Rock; acting secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, Raleigh.

At the Association's evening session, Mr. Ralph B. Coit of Greensboro, governor of the Mayflower Society of North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Society award to Miss Josephina Niggli of Chapel Hill for her book *Mexican Village*, which was judged the best book published during the year by a resident of North Carolina. Instead of presenting a replica of the Mayflower Society Cup as has been customary, a certificate of award and a check for \$50.00 were presented to Miss Niggli in lieu thereof. Dr. Robert B. House, Chapel Hill, president of the Association, delivered his address entitled "On Autobiography" and Dr. Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, delivered the principal address entitled "Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina Intellectual Progress."

It is believed that the papers printed below will be of interest to the readers of the *Review*. All of them relate generally to North Carolina except the address of president, but it is nevertheless worth preserving as the president's address presented at the annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association.

ON AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By ROBERT BURTON HOUSE

My theme is autobiography, which is the frank, healthy use of the personal pronoun, "I," in writing, as contrasted with the impersonal style. It may be a work in which the writer's subject is entirely himself, or it may be a work of larger scope, but, if it is, the writer leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that what is set down is limited by the personal point of view of the writer. Autobiography may be presented in many forms,—a letter, a diary, a journal, a poem, an essay, a volume. The autobiography of the subject, whenever it can be found, always forms the kernel of a biography, and disguised autobiography has always been a major element in literature. But always, and increasingly with the nineteenth century, frank, undisguised autobiography has been a prevalent literary and historical form. The reason is not far to seek: it is hard to write of complicated modern times in the style of the *Iliad* or of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Accordingly we find modern writers, no matter how much they attempt imaginative literature and so-called definitive history, obeying an urge to go back over their lives and set down a confession, the sum and substance of which is, "At least this is the way it seemed to me." Moreover, there is a deep psychological and spiritual reason for this contemplation of personal experience: the individual seems, even to himself, to be lost in the mass unless he objectifies on paper at least the main features of his own personal life. Autobiography thus becomes a stimulus and a guide to more robust personal living.

Walt Whitman has expressed briefly the autobiographical urge:

One's-self I sing, a simple, separate person,
Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse.

Of physiology from top to toe I sing,
Not physiognomy alone nor brain alone is
worthy for the muse, I say the Form
complete is worthier far
The Female equally with the Male I sing.

*This article appeared in *Popular Government*, Vol. X, No. 10 (December, 1946.)

Of Life immense in passion, pulse, and power,
Cheerful, for freest action form'd under
the laws divine,
The Modern Man I sing.

We need to have the modern man sing himself in order to arrive at that irreducible up-thrust of individual reality which is essential to the larger joining of person to person, without which our dreams of local, social, national, and international democracy remain ineffective because they have no human content. History, Carlyle tells us, is the essence of innumerable biographies. And Carlyle relied always on autobiography as far as he could get it, for his biography. He always went to the man himself for a letter, a diary, a sketch, to determine and to interpret that man's mainsprings of love, thought, and action—in himself, in society, and under God.

My thesis, therefore, is that we need to read, write, and speak more autobiography. It is a literary and historical purpose I have in mind, and a practical aim also. The greatest good is a good life, and honest autobiography is an inspiration and a guide to a good life. We need to assert the significance of individual worth, and to study the process of individual worth in order that we may live better in an age obsessed with collectivism.

A man's own autobiography resources and confirms his memory, which certainly gets sketchy and tenuous if he is not diligent and honest in setting down notes as he goes along. A memory thus resourced by reading and reading these notes stiffens and confirms a man's personality and disciplines it. It gives a man a line on his strength and on his weakness. We ought to preserve and systematize these notes, and publish them if we can, because no man knows the value they may possess for another. Autobiography is not only the most personal of literary arts, it is the most neighborly of literary acts in swapping experience and know-how in the art of living.

"All men of whatsoever quality they be," writes the Renaissance artist Benvenuto Cellini, "who have done anything of excellence, or which may properly resemble excellence, ought, if they are persons of truth and honesty, to describe their life with their own hand."

"Dear Son:" writes Benjamin Franklin,—“Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity,—the conducting means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.”

Wordsworth tells us that to every form of being there is assigned an active principle, that it determines the course of each being's life, and that it is the highest form of creative adventure in particular for each man to find his active principle and to live by it. Cellini and Franklin are famous examples of men who contemplated with joy and gratitude to God the unfolding of this divine urging in themselves. They wrote because they wanted to communicate their joy and wisdom to others. It is true that they wrote classics of autobiography because they lived classics in life. But it is also true, and the exact point I am stressing, that their lives were better because they examined them and ordered them according to their active principles. Socrates, himself a great autobiographer, tells us that a life not thus examined is not worth living. This joy in one's-self, this urge to examine, record, and communicate, this gratitude to God for wisdom and happiness runs all through the Bible; it crowns Greek literature in the life and death of Socrates; it makes Latin life more intimate to us in Caesar, Horace, Cicero, and Pliny; it continues in the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine. It is an abundant and master portion of all literature, and, I think reaches its flower in Wordsworth's *Prelude*, one of the greatest autobiographies, and one of the greatest poems. We neglect such resources at our peril.

“It is this life of the individual, as it may be lived in a given nation,” says George Santayana, another great autobiographer, “that determines the whole value of that nation. But for the excellence of the typical single life, no nation deserves to be remembered more than the sands of the sea; and America will not be a success if every American fails.”

I do not think that every American is at all likely to fail, but I do think that every American would profit by paying more at-

tention to a better way of life and to autobiography as an aid. Carlyle in his great essay on biography lays down a principle that applies also to autobiography: "to have an open, loving heart and an eye to discern wisdom. This it is that opens the whole mind, quickens every faculty to do its fit work, that of knowing—and of vividly uttering forth." "The stupidest of you has a certain faculty, were it but of articulate speech and of physically discerning what lies under your nose.—You do not use your faculty; your heart is shut up; full of greediness, malice, discontent; so your intellectual sense cannot be open."

The positive of this principle has been recently illustrated in the volumes of Mr. Josephus Daniels and *The Memories of an Old Time Tar Heel* by Doctor Kemp Plummer Battle. These are two North Carolinians in the great autobiographical tradition. They embrace life with loving hearts and eyes capable of discerning wisdom. And they achieve remarkable perspective, the fruit of which is humour. Every event, says Benedetto Croce, makes two appearances in history, first as tragedy, second as comedy.

"Right here," says Doctor Battle, "let me give a short psychological lecture. The narration of piquant anecdotes is good medicine for depressed spirits. It diverts action from the nerve cells where melancholia is poisoning happiness to those which bring merriment. I have found by experience that the practice brings relief to the mind and health to the body. Let no one sneer at jocularities in its place. Inopportunities used it is a nuisance. Why was it given to us if we are to hide it in the recesses of the brain?" Mr. Daniels is a man of fierce loyalties, but time has toned down the heat and bother of things. He says that he is planning to write *A Shirt-sleeves Diplomat* and *Life Begins at Seventy*. In addition to the best kind of literature and history, Doctor Battle and Mr. Daniels present good psychology, philosophy, and practical religion. We need to do more reading, writing, and talking along the lines they lay down.

It is a great loss to North Carolina literature and history that such men as Collier Cobb, Francis D. Winston, M. C. S. Noble, and Walter Murphy never got around to writing their autobiographies. But it is not a total loss because they each one had the power to etch their sayings on the memories of their hearers. I hear them quoted almost every day, and it is possible that

some modern Boswell may yet bring them before us in their manner as they were. They certainly talked of life, immense in its passion, pulse, and power, embracing it with deep affection; discerning it with wisdom and wit; and increasing the stature of themselves and their listeners by their joy in themselves and their fellow men. They were worthy approaches to that transcendently great talk which survives immortally in Plato's *Dialogues*, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and Goethe's *Conversations with Eckermann*. We all have the same subject matter, but we need to lift our conversational sights and extend the range.

As to writing letters, diaries, journals, and the larger summing up, I think most of us quail at the task. The helpful rule here is to write only what can be seen in perspective, and one thing at a time. A good autobiography should have a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The beginning is unfailingly the master portion of an autobiography, because our sources of strength and joy lie in our memories of childhood and home. It is said that precious memories may remain of even a bad home if the heart knows how to find what is precious, and that anybody approaching middle age can write well of his own childhood. Wordsworth says that this is so because the soul discerns there her own native vigor. But, says Ernest Dimnet in *My Old World*, this past lies dormant and needs awakening by the effort of appropriate reading and writing:

"But how can I forget the long slow years in which my soul ripened in peace in its closed garden? Probably each one of us has his own world, that is to say, the time when he was less conscious of reacting upon his surroundings than of being nurtured by them. The recollection of that time is our individual poetry. When we speak of those far away days we are seldom inclined to be boastful; what we try to convey is the impression which remote objects, elusive sensations, evocative sayings, or, as we say, characters-out-of-a-book have left upon us. We allude to them in a different mood from that in which we record what we have done, or imagine we have done."

Anyone who tries sincerely to recapture these memories of childhood will find that he can do so, and that the effort unlocks his best creative resources.

As to the middle period, the things we have done or imagine we have done, we need to concentrate on our letters, diaries, and notes, as tentative efforts toward perspective and summing up. These are the modern man's confessional. The essays of Montaigne and of Lamb, the *Journal* of Emerson are models of such informal writing. I also like this extract from *Autobiography With Letters* by William Lyon Phelps:

I have always been eaten up with ambition, I have had the longings described by Faust as he sat at his desk in the moonlight, and I worry about innumerable little things. I have never had a placid temperament. I have had two prolonged attacks of nervous prostration, one at the age of twenty-six and one at the age of fifty-nine, and my religious faith remains in possession of the field only after prolonged civil war with my naturally sceptical mind. Yet I have certainly lived a happy life.—Perhaps the chief source of my happiness lies in my gift of appreciation. I must have been born with it. When I was a child everything unusual excited me; now that I am old everything usual has about the same effect. Happiness is more dependent on the mental attitude than on external resources. This would be an absurdly obvious platitude, were it not for the fact that ninety-nine out of a hundred persons do not believe it.

I like this because it is an expression of happiness in the modern world exactly in line with the tone of autobiography through all the centuries.

The end of an autobiography as a conclusive summing up is seldom written because the writer still feels that he is in the middle period. Such a conclusion is intimated in the beginning, and it is tested out in the middle period. It is sometimes expressed as in the chapter entitled "Emeritus" in Bliss Perry's *And Gladly Teach*, one of the urbane, Christian voices of America.

More and more I have turned to books for reinforcement of my youthful faith in progress. The most durable foundations for hope for a better future for humanity seem to me to be found in history, literature and religion. I should of course add 'Science' if I thought I had a really scientific mind.—I have said almost nothing about that transcendent relationship which we call religion, for I think religion is something to be lived and not to be talked about, except by the very few who are capable of making real the things which are invisible.

From the self, through society, to God seems to me to be the master witness of autobiography to the master movement of the soul. I conclude with John Wesley, one of the few who could make visible the things which are invisible:

Today I entered on my eighty-second year, and found myself just as strong to labour, and as fit for any exercise of body or mind as I was forty years ago. I do not impute this to second causes, but to the Sovereign Lord of all. It is He who bids the sun of life stand still so long as it pleases Him—We can only say, 'The Lord reigneth!' While we live, let us live to Him.

AGITATION AGAINST THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1890-1911¹

By NANNIE MAY TILLEY

The first American Tobacco Company had its roots in the development of Bright or Flue-Cured Tobacco and in the growing popularity of the cigarette fad. More or less accidentally and by force of circumstance the cultivation of tobacco was started on the sandy piedmont soils of North Carolina and Virginia, and by the mid-1850's it was coming to be known that on such soils tobacco leaf grew with a brighter color and with a lower nicotine content than when produced on soils naturally more fertile. Then came the general use of the flue and the thermometer, and by the late 1870's farmers had virtually mastered the techniques of producing yellow leaf, or Bright Tobacco, or, according to technical terminology, Flue-Cured Tobacco.

In two other important respects this new type of leaf differed from its parent stock, the dark, heavy tobacco of the tidewater area. It was divided into many grades rather than the three grades of short leaf, long leaf, and lugs which sufficed for classifying the old dark type of tobacco. The best leaves, known as wrappers, were in great demand for the outer coverings of chewing tobacco, but when tightly packed into hogsheads they were no longer suitable for such use by manufacturers of chewing tobacco during the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's. Nor could a tobacco grower often fill a hogshead with leaf of one grade. As a result of this changed situation farmers ceased prizing or packing their leaf into hogsheads and began to sell it loose on the auction sales floor. The old Richmond hogshead market languished, and such places as Danville, Durham, Winston-Salem, Reidsville, and ultimately Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Greenville became great markets. The new method of selling was thus based on changed demands of manufacturers and on the greater number of leaf grades, the latter a very complex question which was not soon mastered by the growers. In fact, tobacco leaf is graded by two rules, one from the point of view of the farmer according to position on the stalk, and the other from the point of view of the manufacturer according to its use in the processing of

¹ This paper is a summary of a portion of a study entitled "The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929," now in publication by the University of North Carolina Press.

chewing tobacco, smoking tobacco, or cigarettes. Along with these changes went an accelerated rate of selling. As may readily be seen, the combination immediately offered opportunities *par excellence* for speculation between the farmer and manufacturer. Furthermore, many manufacturers scattered over the nation desired wrappers, and a little speculator on the Durham market, for instance, might easily take part in maneuverings which would cheat the distant manufacturer as well as the farmer. Then, too, a little group of speculators, leaf dealers, order buyers, agents, or howsoever termed might combine their wits and their holdings of leaf to the disadvantage of the home manufacturer as he sought to obtain certain grades of leaf on the local auction floor. When their operating capital was large, such speculators were known as leaf dealers, or, in later years, as tobacco merchants, but when they had access to paltry funds only and resold their purchases on the auction floor, they were pinhookers. The leaf dealers, however, usually added to the value of the leaf by redrying it, although fundamentally their general tactics were similar to those of the pinhooker. Quite often all classes of speculators were subsidized by warehouse owners who shared in the profits.

The advance of the cigarette to popularity represents a shift in social behavior which perhaps cannot be explained. Smoking of no kind—not even a pipe—came into general popularity before the Civil War. It may well be that smoking received impetus from the invention and development of the friction match which rendered the matter of securing a light vastly more convenient. Or perhaps Americans began smoking cigarettes in emulation of European royalty, or people of fame and fashion. It has also been suggested that the cigarette offered a quicker method for securing comfort from tobacco and was therefore particularly pleasing to the energetic Americans. Furthermore, since the new fad was far cheaper than cigars, some have felt that the panic of 1873 and its dreary aftermath sent many to the use of cigarettes. Be that as it may, cigarettes did become popular during the 1880's and their manufacture required a grade of leaf known as cutters. This grade, which was cut into long shreds, was not quite so difficult to produce as wrappers, but at the same time it required more attention from the grower than the grade known as smokers.

From the Civil War until approximately 1885 the career of the speculator depended on wrappers and to some extent on smokers. After 1885, however, he also found wonderful opportunities in cutters—opportunities which were materially lessened by the formation of the American Tobacco Company. In order to follow the speculator's career with wrappers, smokers, and cutters, it will be necessary to observe his tactics, his growth in numbers, his connection with the warehouseman, his tight little organizations, his place in politics, and his generally soft and easy existence.

Danville, Virginia, might be called the place of origin of the loose-leaf auction style of marketing tobacco.² There the speculators learned valuable lessons in obtaining quick profits from the auction sale of leaf tobacco. In the words of a Danville booster who wrote of conditions prior to 1885: "fluctuations in prices afford a rich field for dealers and speculators . . . , and a good deal of the crop finds its way to their establishments."³ So lucrative was the business that 52 leaf dealers flourished on the Danville market in 1873, 96 in 1878, and 142 in 1885. Nor did these numbers include the pinhookers who, at that time, were not licensed. To illustrate the extent of obtaining profits from dealing in leaf tobacco, the career of Peter W. Ferrell (1832-1914) is of interest. Ferrell, who as early as 1869 conducted a "snug little business by buying and selling Tobo.," soon became one of the most prosperous dealers in Danville with an established clientele not only in the United States but also in Canada, Australia, and Europe. He also served as president of the Danville Tobacco Association throughout the greater part of the 1870's.⁴ Later, in a sketch of Ferrell's career which appeared in a volume prepared by a staff of writers, it was stated that he had waxed prosperous until cut off by the American Tobacco Company. Then there was Matthew P. Jordan (1850-1903) who, leaving Person County in 1871, served as a clerk in a Danville mercantile house for a few months

² A special edition of the *Danville Daily Post*, December 25, 1879, contains perhaps the best single account of the loose-leaf auction method of selling tobacco as it developed in Danville during early post-bellum years.

³ Edward Pollock, *Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia; Its Manufactures and Commerce* ([Danville], 1885), p. 127.

⁴ B. L. Ferrell, writing to his son, P. W. Ferrell, on February 23, 1869, referred to the latter's "snug little business"—Sutherland MSS (Duke University Library). For other facts relative to P. W. Ferrell's career see *Danville Daily Post*, December 25, 1879; Pollock, *Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia; Its Manufactures and Commerce*, pp. 158-159.

before venturing on the sales floor as a pinhooker. So fruitful were his speculations that soon, by virtue of greater capital and an enlarged field of action, he elevated himself to the rank of leaf dealer. By 1895 he was closely connected with the P. Lorillard Company of New York, evidently serving as their agent. Jordan's initial years as a despised pinhooker had apparently been forgotten in 1893 when he became president of the Danville Tobacco Association.⁵ Even more spectacular was the career of John Blackwell Cobb (1857-1923), a native of Caswell County, who, at the age of nineteen borrowed \$500 and began a prosperous career in the tobacco business.⁶ These illustrations might be multiplied at considerable length. Continued re-sales on the auction floor by speculators caused one reliable witness to declare in 1876 that volume of sales and average prices as officially given for the Danville market should be reduced by twenty per cent in order to reveal the true situation.⁷ Duval Porter has given the following graphic account of the speculating fraternity as it had developed in Danville by 1890:

[When the Civil War] was over a marvelous change came over Danville. The war-prices paid for tobacco soon drew to it a crowd of tobacco speculators from both Virginia and North Carolina. There was a rush and a roar on all sides. . . . Fortunes were made in a single year. Men, who came there on foot a few years before, rode back to see their poor relations in phaetons. Wood choppers and haulers turned pin-hookers, and in a few years built palaces. . . . Most of them had spent their lives from boyhood to manhood in the tobacco fields in Virginia and North Carolina, and were the best judges of tobacco under the sun. . . . They soon banded together and became an army of pinhookers and tobacco sharps, veritable hawks, who pounced down upon the farmers as they landed in the warehouses, and would often pluck fifty dollars out of him before he could say 'Jack Robinson,' by buying his tobacco and selling it right before him. They brought the warehouses to terms, and soon constituted a large percentage of the Tobacco Association. . . . The whole town seemed to catch the infection, and nothing more toothsome in the way of information could be imparted by the average Danvillian ten years ago (1881) than to point out some palatial residence and say, "Five years ago the owner of that house came here as poor as a church

⁵ *Southern Tobacco Journal*, October 14, 1893; *Tobacco*, November 22, 1895, p. 8.

⁶ *Who Was Who in America*, I, 234.

⁷ *United States Tobacco Journal*, October 10, 1876.

mouse, and now he is worth every cent of one hundred thousand dollars.”⁸

As auction sales markets were established in North Carolina, the same situation developed there. Exclusive of pinhookers the number of leaf dealers in North Carolina jumped from 123 in 1875 to 327 in 1885. In 1873, when S. M. Hobson and Hamilton Scales (1821-1890) established the Planter's Warehouse in Winston, they advertised in the local paper that the forthcoming railroad would afford “facilities for transportation which will enable speculators to compete with [the] Danville market in the matter of freights.”⁹

In Durham the dramatic situation involving warehousemen as leaf dealers during the 1880's should serve to show that speculation in leaf tobacco was rampant before 1890. In 1869 John S. Lockhart (1841-1897) began the manufacture of smoking tobacco in Durham, but, being unable to compete against Bull Durham, he began buying leaf tobacco for speculation. Though remarkably successful, he soon established an auction sales warehouse in order to widen his opportunities for speculating.¹⁰ In the same town E. J. Parrish (1846-1920), a warehouseman on a far larger scale than Lockhart, also purchased large quantities of leaf tobacco for resale. Both were closely allied with W. T. Blackwell (1839-1903), who in 1882 had sold his interest in the Bull Durham manufacturing plant and established the Bank of Durham. Moreover, in 1884 the front portion of Parrish's three-story prize house, where he packed and stored his leaf purchases, served also as the banking and reception rooms for the Bank of Durham. When Blackwell's bank failed in 1888, so did Lockhart and Parrish.¹¹ Records of the Bank of Durham support the following analysis of the failure which appeared in a New York trade journal:

⁸ *Men, Places and Things as Noted by Benjamin Simpson* (Danville, 1891), pp. 206-207.

⁹ *Western Sentinel* in *Tobacco*, March 12, 1942, p. 4.

¹⁰ W. K. Boyd, *The Story of Durham: City of the New South* (Durham, 1927), p. 79; *Durham Tobacco Plant*, May 22, 1876; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, May 11, 1897; H. V. Paul, *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.* (Raleigh, 1884), pp. 96, 155-156; *Historical and Descriptive Review of the State of North Carolina* (2 vols., Charleston, 1885), I, 142.

¹¹ *Tobacco*, November 16, 1888, p. 5, November 23, 1888, p. 1; Paul, *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.*, pp. 96-98, 144-148; John D. Cameron, *A Sketch of the Tobacco Interests in North Carolina* (Oxford, N. C., 1881), p. 110; Andrew Morrison, *The City on the James: Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond, 1893), p. 122; Records of the Bank of Durham, especially bills of exchange, 1883-1888, and account book, 1883-1887 (in Duke University Library). Parrish and Lockhart were brothers-in-law.—*Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, May 11, 1897.

Mr. Blackwell had considerable money on hand at the time [when he sold his manufacturing interests], and, whether it was among his prospective plans or not, he soon after started the Bank of Durham, which soon became known among the tobacco people of North Carolina, Virginia, and as far north as New York, for the large part it played in the movements of North Carolina leaf tobacco. It was the depository of many of the leading tobacco merchants and growers of Durham and vicinity, and discounted the paper of the warehousemen, and helped to carry many of them over several tight money markets during the few years of its existence. In fact, in more ways than one it was a most potent factor in Durham's tobacco market, and none of the competing bank officials ever sought to make themselves as influential in this line of trade or take the risks that Mr. Blackwell's and the Bank of Durham did. While many of these facts were known to those familiar with the special features of the Durham tobacco business, yet the news of the failure of the bank was a startling surprise. . . .

The cause of the failure is doubtless due to the efforts of Blackwell and others to bull the leaf tobacco market, and we look for more freedom and less monopoly in this line of trade in Durham hereafter.¹²

It will be recalled that the widespread use of wrappers and the small quantity produced opened the way for speculation in leaf tobacco in post-bellum years—a speculation which also came to include smokers. With the rise of cigarettes, a new grade, especially adapted to their manufacture—the cutter—offered even nicer opportunities for speculators who early saw the changed trend. On January 1, 1889, some months before the formation of the American Tobacco Company, strange news came from the second-hand speculator market at Richmond:

Cutters have had a high day all the year [1888] and the accumulations of the early purchases have paid handsome profits lately, with a further bright future for all of this class in new or old stock. This has been a very profitable crop to planters and dealers this year, *but unfortunately the profits were necessarily limited to a comparatively few early buyers. To the booming cigarette is due this prosperity.*¹³

Speculation in cutters began its "high day" in 1886 as price fluctuation for that grade became sharp. Three years before the formation of the American Tobacco Company speculators in leaf tobacco complained bitterly of the "schemes and plans used

¹² *Tobacco*, November 16, 1888, p. 5.

¹³ *Richmond Dispatch*, January 1, 1889. (The italics are mine.)

by large manufacturers to monopolize the trade.”¹⁴ Now these “schemes and plans” involved nothing more than the purchase and storage of cutters by the various large manufacturers of cigarettes. The first move in this direction had come as early as 1877 when the F. S. Kinney Tobacco Company, nationally known manufacturers of cigarettes, owned a large rehandling and storage plant in Danville where their purchases of cutters were redried, stemmed, and prized for shipment to their factories in New York and Baltimore. The Kinney firm also maintained buyers on several markets in North Carolina. Allen and Ginter of Richmond, perhaps then the leading manufacturers of cigarettes in the world, in 1887 established stemmeries and redrying and storage houses at Henderson, North Carolina, for convenience in obtaining cutters. Scarcely a year later, another cigarette firm, the Kimball Tobacco Company of Rochester, New York, erected for the same purpose a large stemmery and storage house at Oxford. Meanwhile, W. Duke, Sons and Company bought and stored cutters at Durham. These various firms with Goodwin and Company of New York were shortly to be merged into the American Tobacco Company. Despite these precautions, W. Duke, Sons and Company were forced early in September, 1887, [more than two full years before the chartering of the American Tobacco Company] to purchase 275 hogsheads of cutters from Richmond dealers.¹⁵ Very likely some of these selfsame cutters had been produced within a stone’s throw of Duke’s factory. Moreover, such lots of cutters had furnished a toll for the warehouseman, a second toll for the small leaf dealer who first purchased them, a third toll to the railroad which hauled them to Richmond, a fourth toll to the big-time leaf dealer of Richmond who sold them to W. Duke, Sons and Company, and a fifth toll to the railroad which hauled them back to Durham. Quite often some of these cutters had been resold on the auction floor, thus adding two other tolls. The farmer knew he stood at the bottom, and manufacturers knew they were being squeezed. Then by virtue of the cigarette machine the American Tobacco Company was formed in December, 1889.

¹⁴ *Tobacco*, December 31, 1886, p. 7, January 14, 1887, p. 8.

¹⁵ *New York Journal of Commerce*, September 6, 1887.

But earlier the farmers had tried to correct the situation principally by attacking the auction sales system which was the real core of the speculator's activities. The first attack came through the Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, in the early 1870's, but, since the auction markets of North Carolina were not well established at that time, the chief attack centered at Danville, where warehouse interests were well organized.¹⁶ Grange members appeared unanimous in their decision to force a reduction in warehouse selling charges. One Danville warehouseman, William P. Graves (1820-1892), sympathetic with the farmers, dissolved his firm and entered the business anew without a partner but with the following advertisement, first published on April 16, 1873: "I do not buy tobacco myself, nor am I interested with any one who does."¹⁷ For this unorthodox behavior he was soon eliminated from business by having his house removed from the sales schedule of the Danville Tobacco Association. Two other sales houses of Danville advertised briefly that they had caused a reduction in selling charges. Slight pressure from the Danville Tobacco Association, however, soon sent these two houses back into the fold. Members of the Grange then established their own sales house,¹⁸ which failed because of ridicule from the tobacco trade and omission from the sales schedule.

With the rise of the Farmers' Alliance movement in 1887 the farmers began another attempt to force lower selling charges. This time they went further than to establish their own sales houses; they also planned to enter the manufacturing business. In 1888, more than one full year before the incorporation of the American Tobacco Company, the movement was in full swing, with several evidences of success, chiefly in North Carolina. The Farmers' Alliance included many of the leading growers of the area, and newspaper comment was vigorous. It is not necessary to dwell on the enthusiasm of that movement. The participants were determined to destroy monopolies. In fact the

¹⁶ *Confidential Circular No. 6* (Issued by the Executive Committee of the State Grange of Virginia, Richmond, January 13, 1875), p. 15; "An Old Circular" reprinted in *Progressive Farmer*, January 12, 1892.

¹⁷ *Greensboro Patriot*, January 22, April 16, 1873, December 9, 1874. See also advertisements of Star and Pace's warehouses of Danville in *Greensboro Patriot*, March 18, September 16, December 9, 1874.

¹⁸ *Greensboro Patriot*, April 26, 1876.

entire Farmers' Alliance movement was committed to war on monopoly, and antitrust sentiment filled the air of North Carolina well before the formation of the American Tobacco Company. In 1888, when noting the growth and power of the movement in North Carolina, one well qualified observer, who was also a leaf dealer, declared that the Alliancemen "are moving against several trusts."¹⁹ An occasional newspaper of the state appeared frightened at the movement and now and then turned a cold shoulder on the organization. Then in December, 1889, came news of the formation of a trust right in the tobacco belt—the American Tobacco Company. Furthermore the program of the American Tobacco Company included war against speculators in leaf tobacco, which was also the foremost tenet of the Farmers' Alliance.

What were the farmers to do—fight the new monopoly, or join the trust in its fight against speculation in leaf tobacco? The question was embarrassing and confusing.

Early in December, 1889, the American Tobacco Company presumably informed local tobacco boards of trade that no cutters would in the future be purchased save on the auction floor directly from the grower.²⁰

In the final analysis the American Tobacco Company now controlled the market for cutters. The roar from the leaf dealers was loud and angry. Local newspapers on various markets arose to their aid with angry fulminations. Typical statements came from Thad R. Manning, editor of the *Henderson Gold Leaf*, who declared on December 5, 1889, that the law, the Farmers' Alliance, or some power should defeat the scheme of the American Tobacco Company to control cutters. One week later he stated that the warehousemen and leaf dealers did not "propose to be downed by the cigarette trust." Then the warehousemen, leaf dealers, and tobacco boards of trade began whispering to the farmer of the evils of a trust. Their suggestions were varied, specious, amazing, and voluminous. Furthermore, they stressed the very heart of Alliance principles.

¹⁹ William E. Dibrell in *New York Journal of Commerce*, October 2, 1888. For a general account of the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina see John D. Hicks, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (April, 1925), pp. 162-187.

²⁰ See, for example, *Henderson Gold Leaf*, December 5, 1889; *New York Journal of Commerce*, December 3, 10, 1889; *Tobacco*, December 27, 1889, p. 5.

The farmer stood in indecision while the din and clamor increased in tempo if not in reason. Bankers and other business men of the small market towns joined the tobacco boards from fear that collapse of the latter would also bring their business foundations to collapse. But the farmer hesitated. On January 11, 1890, in response to overtures from local editors speaking for the organized tobacco trade, Alliancemen of twenty-five counties of North Carolina and Virginia sent delegates to a meeting at Oxford to organize for fighting the American Tobacco Company. They passed resolutions to cooperate and to hurl all traitors from high seats in the government; and they then resolved themselves into a secret committee to hear a representative of the American Tobacco Company. The representative stated that the aim of his company was to get rid of the middleman on the warehouse floor.²¹ Again, on April 28, 1891, delegates from twenty-nine North Carolina and Virginia counties gathered at Henderson, North Carolina, where the local tobacco board of trade tendered them a banquet serving ice cream, sherbet, and cake as well as the sympathy of the tobacco trade. Again the farmers could bring themselves to do no more than offer vague resolutions condemning the tobacco trust and all trusts.²² They were told that their markets would cease to exist if they failed to support warehousemen and leaf dealers. Though considerably shaken in their views, the Alliancemen refused to commit themselves to any definite scheme. And so the farmer stood, not quite able to do anything specific but vociferously angry with the American Tobacco Company as a trust.

Meanwhile the leaf dealers sought foreign markets, became buyers for the American Tobacco Company, or unloaded their holdings on that company often through their friendship with its buyers who felt a sympathy for the distress of their former colleagues. Many, too, did not survive the panic of 1893, and some few joined forces to form strong firms for exporting leaf tobacco. All in all, their ranks were not too seriously depleted.

The first clash between leaf speculators and the American Tobacco Company left the farmer puzzled but still hating trusts.

²¹ *Progressive Farmer*, November 19, 1889, January 21, February 18, 1890, April 20, 1897; *New York Journal of Commerce*, January 14, 1890; *Oxford Day* in *Gold Leaf*, January 16, 1890.

²² *Gold Leaf*, April 23, 1891; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record* in *Gold Leaf*, May 14, 1891. Note also *Oxford Public Ledger*, February 5, 1892.

Yet some newspapers, as the *Burlington News* and the *Asheville Citizen*, held that the American Tobacco Company was to be dreaded less than speculators.²³ Many editors, however, frankly supported the speculators and condemned the American Tobacco Company on every imaginable pretext. Some who attacked the tobacco trust were undoubtedly actuated by honest convictions against monopolies. In fact, rising opposition to trusts of all kinds prevailed throughout the entire country; it was popular and no doubt wise to berate them. The tobacco farmer was dragged along somewhat against his better judgment until the furor against the trust convinced him that perhaps the American Tobacco Company was his real enemy. To an observer with far more evidence and removed from the struggle by half a century the decision is equally as difficult to make. With its advantageous position the American Tobacco Company could undoubtedly regulate prices of cutters to its own advantage. But the earlier career of the speculator contained nothing to indicate any concern for those in other branches of the industry.

So matters stood in the mid-1890's before the real struggle began. According to the somewhat dubious claims of its officials the American Tobacco Company, in part because of the national campaign waged against cigarettes, went into other phases of manufacturing leaf tobacco. Small manufacturers of chewing and smoking tobacco, who rightly feared for their businesses, joined in the clamor of the leaf dealers. In the press campaign waged against the American Tobacco Company one influential editor in the City of Raleigh and another in Reidsville "had the backing of R. J. Reynolds,"²⁴ a substantial manufacturer who feared that his business would be engulfed by the American Tobacco Company. In later years the influential Raleigh editor claimed to have been actuated only by concern for the farmers who received such low prices following the organization of the American Tobacco Company. But his most vigorous fight against the company came after he received "the backing of R. J. Reynolds," whatever that phrase—one of the editor's own coinage—may mean. Leaf dealers redoubled their attacks and virulent criticisms were poured forth on the American Tobacco

²³ See, for example, *Burlington News*, May 1, 1890.

²⁴ Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill, 1939), p. 473. See also pp. 343, 474-479.

Company. Many weekly and daily papers joined in the fray, and tobacco trade journals waxed more violent than any. Constantly farmers were told that the American Tobacco Company was stealing their crops. Yet in the same decade and despite the tobacco trust the farmers of the eastern Carolinas in amazing numbers shifted from the cultivation of cotton, which did not pay a living income, to tobacco, and the weekly papers of that area carried enthusiastic stories of the greater profits to be derived from its culture.²⁵ Nevertheless the fight continued with great stir. Far more vigorously waged in North Carolina than in Virginia, the struggle ramified from its economic setting into the religious, political, social, and educational life of the area.

Obviously there were other causes for this struggle than angry leaf dealers, frightened manufacturers, honest antitrust convictions, or the low prices received for the unusually heavy crop of tobacco in 1899. Several other factors appear to have entered into the struggle. In the first place, political conditions in Virginia and North Carolina were unsettled from activities of the Farmers' Alliance and the recurrence of the white supremacy issue. The fight of the *News and Observer* (Raleigh) against the American Tobacco Company probably reached its most venomous point during the campaign and subsequent administration (1897-1901) of Governor Daniel L. Russell (1845-1908), a Republican elected by fusion with the Populist party. Negroes again held public office in the state, and people feared conditions similar to those of Reconstruction years. It was a period marked by violent political campaigns, activities of the famous Red Shirt organization, adoption of the "grandfather clause" to prevent Negroes from voting, and withal a period of violence and uneasiness, with the re-establishment of white supremacy as the dominant concern.²⁶ The editor of the *News*

²⁵ Typical of the attitude toward the shift from cotton to tobacco in the coastal plain was the following comment made by a farmer in 1898: "Go in the old cotton counties of Edgecombe, Greene, Pitt and a number of others, and you will find the old gin houses gone down and tobacco barns erected in every direction; the farmers paying off their old cotton mortgages and moving forward with new life and vigor!"—*Progressive Farmer*, February 8, 1898. See *Wilson Times* in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, January 4, 1904, for a similar statement. In 1901, those who had shifted to tobacco in the vicinity of Darlington, South Carolina, regarded the newly adopted crop as a "mortgage lifter."—*Southern Planter*, August 1901, p. 476. Note also an enthusiastic account by Josephus Daniels of the successful adoption of tobacco culture by cotton farmers in Wilson County, North Carolina, in *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 151-153. Daniels declared that the first sale of leaf tobacco in Wilson in 1890 amounted to only 50,000 pounds but shortly before 1939 the annual sales had reached 85,884,666 pounds.

²⁶ R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (4 vols., Chicago and New York, 1928-1929), II, 443-481.

and *Observer*, an active leader in the white supremacy campaign, was thus forced to attack the American Tobacco Company with more vigor. From the point of view of the politician, reason demanded such a move. James B. Duke (1856-1925), the organizer of the American Tobacco Company, and his family were Republicans,²⁷ a party associated in the minds of North Carolinians with the interests of big business and monopoly. The Republican party in North Carolina relied strongly on the Negro vote. The Duke family therefore represented an indirect threat to white supremacy. Had the tobacco farmers decided to join Duke against the speculating leaf dealers and frightened tobacco manufacturers, the state might easily have been lost from the ranks of the Democratic party. Leaf dealers who generally stood with those fighting for white supremacy thus found themselves well supported by unexpected friends.

It is indeed doubtful that the struggles of the leaf dealers would have received any marked notice after their first outcry in the early 1890's had it not been for the political situation. Certainly the leading state daily would not have publicized the questionable schemes of James F. Jordan (1859-1919), an embittered leaf dealer of Greensboro, who from late in 1899 until the following year sought to corner all the leaf tobacco of North Carolina in order to gain the upper hand over the American Tobacco Company. Other political leaders in the state also encouraged the Jordan plan which, had it been successful, would have placed the farmers at the mercy of Jordan and his associates.²⁸ One of Jordan's long harangues appeared in the *News and Observer* on December 31, 1899, under the unique headline: "Ruin of the Tobacco Grower—How the Middle Man Was Knocked Out." Certainly the two suggestions were incompatible.

In most instances, whether significant or not, agitations against the American Tobacco Company diminished considerably after the white supremacy issue of the late 1890's had been

²⁷ Unsigned, "Benjamin Newton Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 99 (hereinafter cited as Ashe's *Biographical History*); W. W. Fuller, "James Buchanan Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History*, III, 110-111; John Spencer Bassett, "Washington Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History*, III, 88.

²⁸ Jordan's scheme may be followed in detail in *Raleigh News and Observer*, December 7, 13, 24, 31, 1899, January 19, 1900; *Greensboro Patriot*, January 3, 1900; *Progressive Farmer*, February 20, 27, March 13, 20, May 29, July 24, October 16, 30, 1900; *Gold Leaf*, January 25, March 29, 1900; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, April 17, August 7, 1900.

more or less settled. During the period of settlement the administration of Governor Russell ended and the Democratic party again held undisputed sway. Moreover, the American Tobacco Company obtained a controlling interest in the Reynolds firm on April 4, 1899,²⁹ after which time it was no longer necessary for Reynolds to back opposition to the company. But the tobacco farmer, whose indecision had been so clear in 1890, had been largely convinced in the ensuing decade of agitation that his misfortunes came directly from the machinations of the American Tobacco Company. He was beginning to feel sorry for himself instead of angry as he had once felt toward monopolies.

Directly after the Russell administration came another blow at the leaf dealer—a blow also delivered by the same agency. On September 27, 1902, after a bitter struggle between the American Tobacco Company and the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain, the two firms signed an agreement on certain concerted lines of action³⁰ which virtually eliminated English manufacturers as customers for leaf dealers in North Carolina and Virginia. The roar from the speculators was naturally loud and bitter, although the aid from important newspapers was negligible in comparison with that received during the most heated period of the white supremacy struggle. Furthermore, the editor of the *News and Observer*, though clinging to his former policy of blaming all low prices on the American Tobacco Company, more than once in 1903 advised farmers to choose their soils carefully and produce leaf of good quality for which there was a demand. This time the leaf dealer was crafty indeed. His chief method of attack, in line with that advocated by agricultural journals for many years, lay in advocating smaller plantings of tobacco. The reasoning of the leaf dealer in advocating crop reduction was perhaps most clearly put by a “conservative independent” dealer in Wilson, North Carolina, in October, 1903:

. . . if the farmer would leave off tobacco for another year it would force the trust to pay higher prices for the tobacco and enable the independent buyer, who is now loaded up to the neck, to get rid of

²⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Tobacco Industry* (3 vols., Washington, 1909-1915), I, 274.

³⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Tobacco Industry*, I, 169-176, 303-308.

his stock, which they will not be able to do if the farmers continue to make large crops. If the independent buyer continues to be loaded up, as he is at present, he will not only be unable to buy any more tobacco, but having all of his money tied up in tobacco, which he has bought at a higher price than now prevailing, he will be compelled to sell out at a loss, which will seriously embarrass him financially and drive him from the market.³¹

There are numerous records of different ways in which leaf dealers hoped to escape loss from this second blow. They placed some faith in the excellence of the stocks which they held; they hoped for adverse weather conditions which would cut the farmers' yield; and they sometimes hoped that agricultural labor might become even more scarce. Many also hoped to sell their redrying plants to the Imperial Tobacco Company. During this period so much stored leaf was destroyed by fire, accidentally or otherwise, that insurance companies cancelled risks on much of the leaf so stored.³² For the speculator it was indeed a sad period, but a period during which tobacco trade journals and local newspapers in various market towns criticized the American Tobacco Company from every conceivable angle. The farmer was repeatedly told of the evils of the tobacco trust, but the lot of the leaf dealer in general failed to improve. His sad plight received a judicious analysis from the president of the Danville Tobacco Association in 1908 in terms recalling better days:

. . . the buyers, while wiser men now than they once were, are sadder men, and particularly the leaf dealers, many of whom have dropped from the ranks altogether. The Leaf Dealers' lot has not been a happy one the last few years, although he has scoured the earth finding and making markets for our products. Considering the capital and energy invested, perhaps he has been the poorest paid of all connected with the business, and between the upper and nether mill-stones he has received little or no consideration.³³

The reactions of the farmers during this sad period for the speculators are exceedingly interesting. In North Carolina it can be said that their leadership was poor, being centered in individuals desirous of political advancement and in disgruntled

³¹ *Wilson Times* in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, October 5, 1903.

³² *Charlotte Observer* in *Progressive Farmer*, February 23, 1904; *Southern Tobacco Journal*, January 11, August 8, 1904.

³³ Minutes of the Danville Tobacco Association, III, 9. (Property of Danville Tobacco Association, Danville, Virginia). See also *Danville Register*, October 11, 1908.

leaf dealers and small manufacturers. Many politicians sought the farmers' vote by championing their cause against the American Tobacco Company. J. Bryan Grimes (1868-1923) and John S. Cunningham (1861-1922) undoubtedly used the organization known generally as the Tobacco Growers' Protective Association to further their own political ambitions.³⁴ When small manufacturers with outmoded plants sought to persuade the growers' organization to purchase such factories and enter the business of manufacturing tobacco with the former owners as manager, Cunningham aided and abetted the move rather than stand with the Virginia planters, who desired to follow the more sensible plan of redrying and storing their leaf for sale to the American Tobacco Company or to any organization willing to pay a fair price. On this issue the organization was split, and it was not until about 1908 that many North Carolina planters began to see the greater wisdom in redrying and storing their leaf. Meanwhile from 1902 until about 1910 one of the most active leaders among the North Carolina farmers was J. O. W. Graveley (1862-1932), a leaf dealer of Rocky Mount, who somehow wormed his way into the farmers' organization as an official lecturer and constantly urged growers to enter the manufacturing branch of the tobacco industry.³⁵ Under the leadership of these men North Carolina tobacco growers rode many miles, attended countless meetings, and passed innumerable resolutions condemning the trust and planning vaguely to do great things.

The Virginia growers followed the wise leadership of Samuel C. Adams (1853-1926) of Charlotte County. Adams organized the Virginia tobacco-growing counties and some of the bordering counties in North Carolina and secured the adoption of a definite program for storage and redrying.³⁶ With the establishment of several cooperative plants by 1907, many North Carolina farmers joined the Virginia group in the sale of stored leaf to

³⁴ Grimes, formerly in sympathy with the Jordan plan, soon became secretary of state of North Carolina. Of the many indications of Cunningham's interest in politics perhaps the most direct are to be found in *Tobacco Leaf* as reprinted in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, August 8, 1904.

³⁵ *Southern Tobacconist and Modern Farmer*, May 1907; *Southern Tobacco Journal*, November 7, 1904, April 17, May 9, 16, July 17, 1905, March 19, 1906. See also Samuel C. Adams in *Progressive Farmer*, August 30, 1906.

³⁶ See especially *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, August 16, 1904. For the venomous opposition of the organized tobacco trade see *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 16, 1904; *News Leader*, August 17, 1904. Adams's reply to these attacks appeared in *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, August 30, 1904.

the American Tobacco Company. So many farmers entered the Virginia organization under Adams' leadership that in 1909 it was renamed The Mutual Protective Association of the Bright Tobacco Growers of Virginia and North Carolina. In the same year the association's membership approved "a policy of friendship and good faith with the American Tobacco Company." A reporter for the *News and Observer* marveled in editorial fashion: "Perhaps for the first time since the tobacco trust was organized a 'band' of tobacco growers have [*sic*] endorsed the American Tobacco Company." But the editor of the *Henderson Gold Leaf*, in a town more or less dependent on trade in leaf tobacco, cautioned the farmers not to run after false gods but to remember supply and demand, the true arbiters of trade.³⁷

As the plan began showing marked signs of success, it was natural to expect criticism from the few leaf dealers remaining. When the criticism came in September, 1909, it was indeed acrimonious, patronizing, and unreasonable. Delivered by R. Louis Dibrell (1855-1920) of Dibrell Brothers in Danville, a strong firm of leaf dealers which had survived by absorbing smaller firms, the attack was aimed at Adams personally. Dibrell charged Adams with having changed his opinion in regard to the tobacco trust and with profiting personally in the sale of the farmers' leaf to the American Tobacco Company. No part of Dibrell's attack was more revealing than this sentence: "I contend that the only way to secure to the farmers the benefit of all available competition is by auction sale in loose condition."³⁸ It should be noted that Dibrell sold leaf to the American Tobacco Company whenever the opportunity arose. Perhaps he cannot be blamed for wanting a toll from the farmers' tobacco, but neither can the farmer be blamed for seeking to save that toll for himself.

In conclusion it need only be stated that the farmers' organization failed by virtue of the assault on Adams' personal honesty, the dissolution of the first American Tobacco Company in 1911, and rising prices prior to and during the First World War.

³⁷ *News and Observer*, August 24, 1909; *Gold Leaf*, September 2, 1909.

³⁸ *Danville Register*, September 5, 1909 (reprinted also in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, September 13, 1909). Adams replied in the *Yanceyville (N. C.) Sentinel* (reprinted in the *Southern Tobacco Journal*, September 13, 1909.)

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS AND AUTHORS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW

By LEGETTE BLYTHE

Several years ago I was one of the speakers at the annual meeting of this association, and this second invitation to be on the program pleased me very much. I gave but fleeting attention to the fact that the person who arranged that program is *not* the one who arranged this one.

Some years ago also I served as one of the judges in the Mayflower cup contest and I am happy that this year I repeated in batting a thousand in the selection of the winner. I only hope that my enthusiasm for this book won't betray the name of the winner before his name—her name—the winner's name—is announced tonight with the official presentation of the Mayflower cup.

In fact, I am enthusiastic about several of the books in this year's contest. In the usual words of the judge who presents the medal to the winner of the high school oratorical contest, the members of the committee, I'm sure, regret that we cannot give the cup to each of the contestants. There were a number of well written and significant books in the 1946 contest.

There has been considerable discussion, as a matter of fact, of the advisability of changing the basis of award of the cup. Some persons feel that the contest covers too divergent territory and that it is difficult to choose as winner a book in one field—fiction, for instance—when there is perhaps equally as good a book in another field. This year, as an example, there were several very fine novels published by North Carolinians, and at the same time there were excellent books in other fields—essays, biographical works, poetry, and even volumes so closely akin to technical works that it was debatable whether or not they were actually eligible. In other years there have been works in the field of the drama, notably Paul Green's exceptionally fine symphonic drama, "The Lost Colony." I am not suggesting that the basis of the award be changed; I am merely pointing out a fact that for several years has been noticed and discussed. It is a subject that sponsors of the award might well consider.

My function on this program, however, was to discuss the books in this year's contest. I shall mention three or four others that have been published since the contest closed and though published in 1946 will be among the significant volumes in next year's Mayflower contest. But I shall be brief, since I well realize the limits of both newspaper space and audience patience—even an audience as polite, and as inured to punishment, as this one.

And, incidentally, if you think that I'll be saving the 1946 Mayflower winner to the last—well, you may be fooled, and again, you may not be.

Quite a number of years ago in Baltimore a clever gentleman well along toward being the nation's most pronounced smart aleck did the South what I have long considered was one of its finest favors when he termed it "the Sahara of the Bozart." Perhaps his smart crack at the South's literary aridity had nothing to do with the renaissance that followed. Perhaps it was just a coincidence that it followed. That point long will be debated. But it followed. And how it followed! Well you know it. And it is still on the move. Hardly a train or a plane or a panting automobile comes South but what it bears some old or young, lean or protuberant, wise or only self-esteeming publisher's editor of literary agent bent upon discovering another *Look Homeward, Angel* or *Gone with the Wind*, or smelling out another *God's Little Acre* or *Tobacco Road*.

Recently I had as guest a personal friend who is editor of one of New York's greatest publishing houses. He was on a literary treasure hunt south. "Listen," he said to me, "Southern authors are the rage. Every publisher is trying to line up a stable of southern writers." You notice the term he used, which is also what literary agents call their meal tickets. "Yes," he went on, "if you are a southern writer you have a better chance, everything else being equal, of selling your book. Southern writers right now, as they have been for some years, are quite the stuff." And then he added, in this highbrow, literary manner of speaking that big editors customarily employ, "Say, you fellows down here in North Carolina aren't doing so bad. In fact, you won't find any finer writers' colonies in the South than those over at Chapel Hill and Southern Pines. And you are doing O. K.

around Charlotte." I insert the gentleman's remarks to show you first-hand that the literary gentlemen speak understandably, and that they recognize the South—and North Carolina—as a veritable writing oasis. Mr. Mencken's barren ground has bloomed.

In asking us to be judges of the Mayflower contest this year, the secretary of the association suggested that if we considered *no* book in the group written by a North Carolinian during the last year as worthy of the award, we should withhold presentation of the cup this year.

I have discussed the books with only one other judge—and with him in only a superficial way. So I do not know what the others think. But in my opinion several of this year's books—although the list is small—are better than several winners in past years. Several contestants this year have won the cup, and their books this year perhaps are enqually as good as those that won. *Janey Jeems*, by Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, for instance, is probably equally as fine a novel as her winning *Purslane* of several years ago, perhaps better. Like *Purslane*, it is a story of the little people of eastern North Carolina, the people that the world so quickly and glibly and perhaps unjustly and improperly term the little people, for her people are those who in countless communities built and preserved the nation.

I would like to emphasize my admiration of this book. It is the story of Janey and her man Jeems and their struggle to build a home and rear a respectable, God-fearing family. It is a realistic novel, sometimes stark, always simple, earthy. Mrs. Harris has pictured these people photographically as well as artistically. Her camera in a delightful way gets the mannerisms and colloquialisms of their section to give her story authenticity. But though it is a realistic novel and though Mrs. Harris has used her camera freely, *Janey Jeems* is realism that isn't raw. The book is earthy but in no sense compounded of dirt. She hasn't limited her picture-taking to shots of the privy out back.

Again, although *Janey Jeems* is a novel of the South, there isn't a magnolia blossom or a hoop-skirt or a white-goateed colonel or a julep in it, nor a pillared mansion, nor a lynching, nor a white planter-Negro tenant romance, nor a snuff-dipping pellagraed, Mother Hubbarded old hag gnawing on cawnbread and fat back, and sopping 'lasses. (Would that we could get some of that wonderful food nowadays!)

And lastly, it is a story, cleverly revealed in the last pages, of a Negro family in the South, written by a southern author who knows Negroes and has for them a sympathy and understanding neither approached nor understood by the professional race-relations expert. The reader feels that it could just as easily have been a story of white people. Thus Mrs. Harris has demonstrated the fact that to write an authentic and highly readable and sympathetic story of Negroes in the South it is not necessary to follow the usual—and usually inaccurate—pattern.

But I have given perhaps too much attention to this novel in the space and time I have for covering the 1946 books in North Carolina.

Another former Mayflower winner, Josephus Daniels, repeats an able performance in his newest volume of his autobiographical series. *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After*, a comprehensive volume devoted to the period of Mr. Daniels' most distinguished public service, is a valuable document. As one reviewer has suggested, it can never be ignored by future historians, because it develops material never before recorded, it offers portraits of Woodrow Wilson and many other great figures of his time from angles slightly different from those already presented, and all this it colors and flavors with the Daniels personality.

Mr. Daniels in this long volume writes of men and events of the First World War days and the period that followed with a zest and a liveliness that gives them the freshness of contemporaneousness. He demonstrated the trained newspaperman's ability to scent out news and to appraise the significance of his discoveries. His was an inside view, a ringside seat. He was down in the engine room of the ship of state in those days. He lets us see how the machinery was oiled, how the gears meshed, the wheels went round. And although Mr. Daniels has lived long and for decades has been in the forefront of those theaters where great events were developing, either to cover them or participate in them, or both—he writes with the freshness and lightness—and may I even say with the jauntiness—of youth.

Several others whose books are in this year's contest are among North Carolina's best known authors.

Katharine Newlin Burt, for instance. Mrs. Burt, wife of Struthers Burt, another of the state's most eminent authors, has long been known for her excellence of craftsmanship. She has contributed frequently to the leading magazines. Her 1946 novel, *Lady in the Tower*, is a story of romance in a terrifying towered house high on the Hudson. It is done in her usual manner of skilled craftsmanship.

A group of well known Chapel Hill authors are in the contest, another is a former member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina who recently resigned from the University of Iowa faculty to devote his time to writing. Several others of the university faculty have written books whose appeal will be limited but whose values are pronounced and whose excellence in their respective fields has been pointed out in reviews commending them highly.

The student of languages and the ordinary layman who during the last several years *have* been watching with misgivings and even alarm the tendency of certain alleged educational leaders in America—and especially in North Carolina—to eliminate as fast and as completely as possible all studies that tend toward the cultural as opposed to what they call the vocational (In my mind it is difficult to set one group over as opposed to the other) will be interested in H. R. Huse's comprehensive discussion of the study of foreign languages. The book, *Reading and Speaking Foreign Languages*, emphasizes the value of having an understanding of foreign languages, discusses needed reforms in teaching languages, as related particularly to the "stepped up" methods used by the armed services during World War II, and suggests ways of teaching language courses in a more efficient and entertaining manner than teachers heretofore generally have employed.

The two other books that might well be grouped with the Huse study are Rupert Vance's tremendous volume, *All These People*, and Ervin Hexner's *International Cartels*.

These three books, of course, will not find their way into the best seller lists. They are limited in interests, particularly the Hexner discussion of cartels. But they are important, and the fact that they were published, along with numerous other books of value and significance but of limited reader interest, demonstrates the value of such institutions as the university presses.

The Vance study, a volume of more than 500 large pages, with index and numerous maps, charts, tables, and graphs, is a careful analysis of the nation's resources in the South. The *New Republic* called it "the best available handbook on the American population." J. F. Frederick, writing in *Book Week*, declared it "remarkable for its candor, for its objective and impartial treatment, for its consistency of tone." "Comment and interpretation are infrequent," he added, and "cautiously, obviously well considered. Vance seems to me to achieve the true scientific purpose of presenting the whole picture, all the pertinent facts."

No ordinary newspaperman, I'm confident you will agree, could be expected, if he had the time and space, which he never has, to launch into an extensive discussion of any study of international cartels. One would be hard put to find a more involved subject, and certainly one less understood. Yet cartels are tremendously important, and interest in this subject is growing as the layman begins to learn something about it.

This book will help him. Dr. Hexner has done a tremendous amount of work in preparing it. "The book presents a clear-cut description of the cartel concept, the structure and policies of international cartels as well as their political repercussions," one reviewer points out. "It should provide interesting reading to the executive and technical personnel of our chemical and related industries. It gives data on methods, chemicals, miscellaneous raw materials and manufactured goods and is recommended to both the layman and the student of chemical economics." Another reviewer declares that "Hexner has performed an important service by demanding that views as to cartels be based, not on slogans and prejudices, but on solid factual foundations."

Two small volumes—small in size but in my opinion large in content—are Paul Green's essay, *Forever Growing*, and Norman Foerster's *The Humanities and the Common Man*. Both concern teaching. Mr. Green calls his essay "Some Notes on a Credo for Teachers." The books are very much alike in spirit. Mr. Green protests against this business of teaching through labeling and identifying, and stresses the importance of teach-

ing the subject itself rather than what some person has said about the subject. Man cannot rely too much upon science as the chart and milepost of life; man must realize and act upon the knowledge that life, abundant life, is a thing rather of the spirit.

"When we forget our tokens and labels and signs and hierarchy of pigeonholing and think of the works, the stories and plays and poems, themselves, we find that they are part of the creative process of life and men in life, and as such we can enjoy them, be enriched and refreshed through them. Our learned findings of influences and kinds and types only get in the way and are a hindrance. They get between the appreciator and object of his appreciation. . . ."

Why not, says Mr. Green, as he notices his daughter doing a paper on "Coleridge as a Romanticist," let her simply do a paper on Coleridge? "What of Coleridge as just—poet?," he asks. "Or what of Coleridge's poetry—just that—with all its magic and exquisite imagination and delicacy of tone and touch and thought?" Why not, says he, teach the product rather than the label on the can? Why not taste and enjoy the contents rather than memorize the label on the outside? Yet so much of our modern education is a matter of learning labels, filing away second-hand, synthetic, and sterile stuff. I remember that when this little book came out I gave it an enthusiastic review that ended with a sincere if theatrical "Amen, Brother Green!" I still say, "Amen."

Dr. Foerster's book, a thin volume of sixty pages given to a general discussion of higher education, argues for the humanistic as opposed to the naturalistic program. So many present-day universities, Dr. Foerster points out, are naturalistic. "Today," says he, more than a century after the famous Emerson address before the Phi Beta Kappa society, "the humanistic view of life and of education has been almost completely displaced, for the first time in the history of the Occident, by a naturalistic view of life and of education. In theory, our break with the past is all but complete. In saying this, he goes on, "I do not forget that in the realm of values we are, in practice, still living on our inherited capital, having acquired no other. We are daily assuming, for example, freedom of will, moral responsibility, human dignity, perhaps even ideal causes or ends more important to

us than life itself. We are doing this unconsciously; we are continuing humanistic assumptions and practices because we are human. But they are in the background. In the foreground, in deliberate thought and speech, in the books, the articles, the classroom lectures, in our official philosophy that we seek to promote and put to use, our conceptions are overwhelmingly naturalistic."

So much of present teaching, says Dr. Foerster, holds "that man is simply an animal, though not a simple animal. Man's place in nature has been found, and he has no other place. . . . He is an organism in an environment, a bundle of drives seeking expression. . . . In the understanding of human nature we may safely ignore the pre-scientific 'wisdom of the ages'—the humanistic wisdom of Plato and Aristotle and Confucius, the religious wisdom of Buddha and Jesus."

Dr. Foerster's essay is an argument against this view, an appeal for the inauguration of a humanistic approach to higher education with all men—the common man as well as the privileged and sophisticated—sharing in the richness of this life, and a discussion of how it may be attained.

A delightful little book of an entirely different type is the lone entry in the field of poetry, Professor Harold Grier McCurdy's *A Straw Flute*. I am no critic of poetry. Collections of words, neatly lined out upon the page, that have neither rhyme nor reason to me are not poetry. And to the long-haired gentlemen and the closely cropped-headed women in the severely masculine suits, Professor McCurdy's little book may not be poetry. For it makes sense, it is filled with the commonplace, and horror of horrors, it rhymes! So, I might add, do Keats and Wordsworth. But perhaps they, like Professor McCurdy, were a couple of rhyming old-fogies.

Give me just an instant to read his "Biographical:"

In Salisbury I was born;
The old elm-town is set
In an island of wheat and corn.
I should not want to forget
Either the streets I walked,
The houses, the stores, the people,
Nor yet the impersonal maple

(To which, perhaps, I talked)
 And the fields I wandered over:
 Which, summertime or winter,
 Make in my heart a center
 As sweet as a handful of clover.

I come now to four other books that are somewhat related in content. Bill Sharpe is North Carolina's press agent. He has traveled into every cove and cranny in the mountains and sailed into all the sounds and around all the islands down on the coast. All the while he has been taking pictures and notes and getting impressions and remembering good stories. Many of these he recalls entertainingly in his book, *Tar on My Heels*.

C. H. Hamlin in his *Ninety Bits of North Carolina Biography* gives thumbnail sketches of North Carolinians who have pioneered in many fields. The sketches were prepared primarily for children of the junior high school age, but they will entertain and inform their elders as well.

So will George F. Ivey's memoirs which he calls *Humor and Humanity*. Comparable to the *My Memoirs* of his brother, J. B. Ivey of Charlotte, published several years ago, this volume by the Hickory furniture manufacturer contains information of interest and value.

The fourth is the delightful volume of reminiscences of one of North Carolina's greatest men of the last generation. It is Dr. Kemp Plummer Battle's *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel*. The book, edited by his son, William James Battle, provides the reader in this harried day a look into another and perhaps more gracious era, certainly an era peopled by gracious and courteous and kindly, if determined and vigorous and challenging, ladies and gentlemen. Particularly pleasing will this small volume be to former students of the University of North Carolina who were at Chapel Hill in the days when the late Dr. Battle was still a beloved figure on that campus.

Two other books in the Mayflower contest remain for a brief discussion. They are Josephina Niggli's *Mexican Village* and Noel Houston's *The Great Promise*. In looking over the *Herald Tribune* book review yesterday I noticed that Oliver LaFarge listed *Mexican Village* as one of his recent favorites. I believe that would be the feeling of almost anyone who might read it. Miss Niggli and Mr. Houston, along with Paul Green and James

Street and others of writing reputation, are making Chapel Hill one of the nation's greenest writing oases, as Mr. Mencken now doubtless would agree.

Mexican Village is a collection of ten short stories having their setting in this small village tucked away in a valley in Mexico. They are rather long short stories averaging about forty-five pages. But this book escapes being merely a collection of short stories, because of the fact that Miss Niggli uses the same characters—a number of them, and there are more than eighty altogether—in each of the stories. The locale, too, is the same, or substantially the same, and when the reader has finished he has the feeling that he has almost read a novel in which the lives of these interesting people have been happily explored.

The writing is superb in *Mexican Village*. The characters emerge into life and liveliness, the village, its streets and places, its fountain, its Church of the Miraculous Tear, the River Road and the cliffs along the river, quickly become places that you can see and touch and tread upon.

Miss Niggli goes in for no purple writing, no high soaring. She stays right there in her village and she keeps her typewriter, or her pen or pencil (I don't know how she writes: I merely know that she does!) firmly upon the work bench before her. She does a job of craftsmanship. But it is more than that. Her book is a creative effort of great artistic value. She does superbly the many little clever things that reveal the artist. Deft touches make tremendous differences. They bring, sharp and clean, pictures, smells, tastes. Perhaps if one word could describe *Mexican Village*, it would be the word flavor.

I liked it immensely.

The Noel Houston novel, a story of the period of the McKinley administration done with skill and telling a lively story of a group of the liveliest characters you'll see in many a book, was likewise one of my favorites in this year's group.

The historical novelist does a great amount of work that is neither appreciated nor known by the average reader. He may work for weeks or months to find out certain information he needs and after he has found it, he may use only a paragraph or a sentence or a word. The person who has done any writing in the field of historical fiction will readily understand that, and

give allowance for it. Mr. Houston did a tremendous job of research in building this long historical novel. That he did it, and did it well and in workmanlike manner, is revealed everywhere in the story. These small touches, to my mind, make the difference between a fair job and a very good job. What sort of dessert, for instance, would Sawyer Bolton have eaten at dinner in one of Washington's fashionable homes? What sort of evening wrap would she have worn? How would she have dressed—the details, remember—in one of the new boom towns of the west?

Noel Houston's book is a fascinating study of the period, and aside from the authentic manner in which it has been developed it is a thoroughly readable story.

These are the 1946 Mayflower contestants.

And now, just a mention of new books by three of the state's most prominent authors: Paul Green's *Salvation on a String*, a collection of short stories laid in the section of North Carolina he knows well and about which he usually writes, the same area explored by Mrs. Harris; Jonathan Daniels' personally conducted tour through the labyrinthine stone corridors of Washington's offices and the also wandering but softer minds of Washington's officialdom, *Frontier on the Potomac*; and Marian Sims' new novel, *Storm before Daybreak*, which entertainingly and in her usually clever manner reveals the complexities that arise when a soldier returning from the Pacific finds himself in love with the wife of his worthless runaway brother. These three books will be in next year's contest, along with many other excellent ones, I am confident.

I am happy to have participated in this program and in the awarding of the cup this year to a most excellent book in a list of many excellent ones—and I trust that my too-long discussion has not revealed to you the name of the winner. I wish in closing to express my faith in North Carolina writers and my pride in what they have done and will continue to do.

A SEMI-CENTENNIAL SURVEY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS

By EDWIN MIMS

It seemed to the makers of this year's program that it might be well to have one who lived and taught in North Carolina eighteen years and who has lived in another state thirty-four years, all the while revisiting the state nearly every year and profoundly interested in all that has happened here since 1912, give some impression of the intellectual progress in North Carolina over a period of fifty years. I eagerly accepted, perhaps somewhat rashly, the opportunity to make such a review. I am playing the role of the inside and the outside spectator of this progress, duly conscious of the danger of any generalizations that have to do with so complex a fact as the life and thought of an old commonwealth.

It is natural for one who has passed the three score years and ten of his life to indulge in reminiscences. I am painfully aware this evening of the old familiar faces that I saw when as a young man I taught at Trinity College and at the University of North Carolina and moved here and there throughout the state. I feel their presence tonight: Kilgo, Bassett, and Few; Alderman, Venable, Edward Graham, and Alphonso Smith; W. L. Poteat and Benjamin Sledd; McIver, Aycock, Walter Page, Dred Peacock, Robert W. Winston, Joseph P. Caldwell, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, and Margaret Busbee Shipp; and many others whom we have heard on similar occasions. Only a few of that far away day remain, and they help me to visualize our former comrades: Josephus Daniels, Clarence Poe, E. C. Brooks, R. D. W. Connor, L. R. Wilson, Archibald Henderson, Howard Rondthaler. I am conscious too of those who died young—inheritors of unfulfilled renown, such as Erwin Avery, John Charles McNeill, W. K. Boyd, and many others who deserve a place among the builders of this state.

But I must not let the temptation to dwell upon such personalities interfere with my consideration of the more general theme. Necessarily I am not concerned with the progress in other lines, such as agriculture, industry, good roads, the development of a great public school system for both races, nor with the remark-

able growth in the buildings, equipment, and endowments of the higher institutions of learning. These are known to all men and have contributed to the wonderful development of this commonwealth during the past half century. I am emphasizing only the ideas to which these things may have led, the philosophy underlying these movements. We have, for instance, the tradition of the orator and his power with the masses; I shall speak only of those who preserved their ideas in some form of writing that appeals to the popular mind and imagination. I shall use literature in a rather broad sense as including scholarship, criticism, and social interpretation. No one would claim, I believe, that North Carolina has produced its quota of men who have been able to write adequately, felicitously, and finally of all the cultural elements that we identify with an enlarging civilization. It is all the more important that we should emphasize those who have had power with the written word, and especially those who attracted attention beyond the state's bounds.

As a point of departure let me cite some passages from writers themselves in order that we may have some basis for a contrast with contemporary conditions. I hope we in the South have learned to take advantage of wholesome and constructive criticism, and are not disposed to consider as "traitors" those who have been honest enough to write of our limitations and deficiencies. We naturally think first of Walter Hines Page, who in 1886 wrote his now celebrated letters for the *State Chronicle*, generally entitled "The Mummy Letters." While they had been often referred to, they were not reprinted until Burton J. Hendrick in the fourth volume of his *Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page*, entitled "The Training of an American," reproduced them. He had passed over the early period of Page's life in the first volumes because there was so much public interest in his correspondence as ambassador to England during the First World War. I doubt if 100 copies of the volume were sold in North Carolina, and perhaps even a smaller number of his so-called novel or fictionalized autobiography entitled *The Southerner*. Some of the ideas sound like ancient history now, but, especially in the light of his later writings and constructive efforts, they may be more dispassionately considered by a later

generation. Among other things Page said in these letters :

There is not a man whose residence is in the state who is recognized by the world as an authority on anything. Since time began, no man or no woman who lived there has even written a book that has taken a place in the permanent literature of the country. Not a man has ever lived and worked there who fills twenty-five pages in any history of the United States. Not a scientific discovery has been made and worked out and has ever become famous.

There is no appreciation of scholarship, no chance for intellectual growth. . . . When every intellectual aspiration is discouraged, when all the avenues that lead to independent thought and to mental growth are closed, there is absolutely no chance for ambitious men of ability, proportionate to their ability.

That was the reason, he contended, why so many men left the state and became leaders in other states, and why even the tide of population was away from North Carolina. He compared the state unfavorably even with Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia, and yet it was his belief that the people of North Carolina were "as good folks as the sun shines on," and that they needed only intelligent and brave leadership to make it count among the states of the republic. "I think the time has come for getting at the truth, for independent action, for a declaration of independence from the tyranny of binding traditions." And again: "We are going ahead in business, but in the intolerance of the people, in the intellectual force and in cultivation we are doing nothing." We were doing nothing in getting more liberal ideas. "The presumptuous powers of ignorance, heredity, decayed respectability and stagnation that control public action and public expression are absolutely leading us backward intellectually." You will recall that he referred to three ghosts that were frightening the public—religious orthodoxy, the Confederacy, and the Negro.

One of the men who read these letters was Charles B. Aycock, then an unknown lawyer in Goldsboro, who wrote Page, February 26, 1886, expressing his "heartly approbation of your recent letters to the *Chronicle*:"

I have read with great pleasure what you have had to say and I feel it is the duty in view of the abuse heaped upon you by the various editors of the state to say, what I know to be the truth, that fully three-fourths of the people are with you and wish you godspeed

in your efforts to arouse better work, greater thought and activity, and finer opinions in the state. I am glad to see the statement that you intend to live in North Carolina. Come back; but don't come until you have made enough money to live and fight for at least a half dozen years. I wish heartily that you and Joe Daniels had a round half million and were running a daily in Raleigh; it would be worth more to North Carolina than all the living and dead Mummies have been in a quarter of a century.

Page wrote much to the same effect in his so-called novel and in the *Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths* (1903), although by that time he had become vitally connected with some of the great efforts made in behalf of public education and was recognized throughout the state as one of the best friends the colleges and universities had. He never lost an opportunity to use his magazine, the *World's Work*, to forward these agencies that took part in the genuine reconstruction of the South. But he never ceased to criticize. As late as 1911 he wrote me the following letter relating to some articles that I had written at his solicitation for the *World's Work*, articles that afterwards were the foundation of my book on *The Advancing South*:

It is unfortunate, but it is true, that an infinitesimal part of the population of our southern states, for the last hundred years at least, has had any intellectual curiosity. . . . I don't know whether this is a psychological result of the dogmatism that followed the slavery controversy or whether it is the result of rural life and isolation—or more likely it is the result of physical causes such as hookworm and malaria. But whatever it is the result of, the one thing that differentiates the mass of southern men from the mass of Massachusetts men, say, is this lack of intellectual curiosity.

Therefore the southern people don't buy magazines or books. . . . We published a book on cotton, which is far and away the best book published on the subject. We have tried many plans, and with great persistence to sell it down south; but the men who grow cotton know more about cotton than the man who wrote the book! In other words, they have no intellectual curiosity. . . . Much of my life has been given to work that I meant to help the old land and the people thereof, and the rest of it shall be given in the same way. But as for any visible, concrete appreciation or reward—Lord, no, no—no!. . . . You don't have to pay for a magazine to talk about an article; you have read a piece about it in the paper. Why read any more then? Reading comes hard to many men that you know; don't you know it does.

Does that sound unnecessarily harsh? If you have followed the writings of Dr. L. R. Wilson, for many years librarian at the University and later dean of the School of Library Science of the University of Chicago, you have seen many articles and reports which confirmed Page's diagnosis. For many years he made a careful study of the reading habits of southern people, especially of North Carolina, of their private and public school and college libraries, their bookstores, publishing houses, and publications. With pitiless accuracy of research he established such facts as the following as of 1924: that only thirty-five of the sixty-two towns in the state possessed public libraries; that these libraries contained a total of 213,000 volumes (or one book to every twelve men, women, and children); that one-half of the common schools of the state had no libraries at all; that the grand total of all the college libraries, the state library, and the library of the Supreme Court was 444,000 volumes. The showing with regard to the subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals was no better. An examination of the bookstores and newsstands confirmed the statement that publishers took no note of North Carolina as a book market.

The good thing about Wilson is that he was not content to state these and other less flattering facts, but he used every means at his command to change this state of affairs. There is no better evidence of the intellectual progress of the state than what has happened since these statistics were first given. Wilson proved himself to be one of the half dozen men who had most to do with the growth of the University. It may be said that he created a new sense of what it meant to be a professional librarian, not only in North Carolina but throughout the whole country. We like to think of him as having returned to Chapel Hill to see some of the results of his long and patient labors.

Another critic of conditions in North Carolina is Howard W. Odum, who besides being professor of sociology at the University has been until recently the director of the Institute for Research of Social Science. He has not hesitated to criticize severely his own people. In 1924, speaking at Emory University, his alma mater, he laid down these fundamental theses which he illustrated with apt instances very near at hand:

We do not know enough.
 We do not think enough or well enough.
 We do not read enough or well enough.
 We do not write enough or well enough.
 We do not DO enough or well enough.
 We do not work together well enough, and
 We talk too much;

and he asked pertinently :

Are we not tired of being ranked last in education, in literacy, in lawlessness, in prison and penal standards, in simplicity and beauty of our homes, of our towns, of our country houses and communities, of our churches and school houses, in our treatment of the underprivileged, whether of individual or race. . . . Why then are we so barren of individual leaders who represent the highest achievement in their fields?

In the face of much criticism, and with the backing of the University administration and the cooperation of men like Rupert B. Vance, he has for twenty years been a great leader and especially has stimulated the writing of reports, articles, and books that have attained nation-wide recognition and admiration. *The Journal of Social Forces* is generally recognized as the best journal of sociology in America, while such books as *Southern Regions*, *Human Geography of the South*, and *Among These People* have become standards for the study of Southern problems.

When due recognition has been made of progress in many lines, there yet remains the fact that North Carolina has been notably lacking in the production of creative literature and the fine arts. May I cite the words of Paul Green, written as a foreword to the third series of *Carolina Folkplays* in 1928 :

From its beginning 300 years ago until the present, North Carolina has made no lasting contribution to the art of the world. No one has set himself aside in high-minded and intelligent devotion to record a single one of these lives, nor to propound in the devious ways of art any of the hopes, struggles, disappointments, and attainments that made up the sum of existence.

This State has never produced a single great work of art. . . . So far as they count we can call the hog till our tongues drop out and there will be no stir in the pastures. . . . Have we had a great painter? A great musician? A great sculptor? A great architect? A great poet? Novelist? Dramatist? Essayist? Biographer?—A

great anything so far as the subject of art is concerned? We have not. We've not had even an adequate one in any of these. Other states have had. True, we have had O. Henry in the short story, and have named cigars, drugstores and hotels after him, but still, if I may say so, he remains for me a man without a vision, not a great writer. . . . He was an ingenious man, but not a great one. . . . One of the first and most apparent helps towards an escape from this artistic lethargy and emptiness is to become acutely conscious that such is our condition.

Green closes with an appeal couched in the language of the Negro spirituals, "Rise and shine:" "Come out of your hiding place. Where shall we find him who shall light up the struggles of our people? Through all these years they have failed to touch the heart of a single North Carolinian. Who has sung of our mountains . . . who tells the romance of the farmer's life among his tobacco, his cotton, and corn? Nobody. And the Negro and his life that was and is to be?"

Green, writing in 1925 in the *Reviewer*, which a Chapel Hill group had taken over from a Richmond group, reviewing the seventeenth volume of the *Library of Southern Literature*, sarcastically referred to the "thousands of pages, selections from some hundreds of authors, sent forth unashamedly to convince the world that we were a wronged people, that our literature would bear comparison with that of any time and any place." He makes the point that all the reputations of southern authors had been made by northern critics, and calls attention to the "loud, ranting note, the usual rhetoric and spectacular hyperbole bestowed upon earth-departing spinsters, shave-tailed poets, nine-day wonders, crossroad philosophers, minute Alfred Tennysons, and nostalgic whimpering Poes." The trouble with southern literature, he contended, is that our emotions have lacked the chastening and subduing of reflective thinking. "We have written and lauded one another, founded magazines to boost ourselves, drawn our boundaries around us and refused the caustic consolation of scholarship and criticism because it did not tickle our naive and foolish vanity." Much more to the same effect is found in the all too brief career of the *Reviewer*.

It is a striking fact that if you examine even this *Library of Southern Literature* you will find that North Carolina writers, even though two of the editors were North Carolinians, have less

space than those of any other southern state. In Stark Young's *Treasury of Southern Literature*, out of 184 selections, only six are by North Carolinians, though the book contains illustrations of every form of writing. In two recent anthologies of southern poems, one of them compiled by Addison Hibbard, then a member of the English department of the University of North Carolina, there is only one North Carolina poet, namely, Olive Tilford Dargan.

With these criticisms in mind we are now prepared to consider how within a period of fifty years efforts have been made to overcome the limitations and deficiencies that have been suggested. Our inquiry may well begin with the election of Edwin A. Alderman to the presidency of the University of North Carolina in 1896. I need not with this audience emphasize the qualities that made him an outstanding figure in this state and indeed throughout the nation, nor suggest the periods of his career that led to such distinction. We have not always had in mind the difficulties which he encountered in his first campaign as an associate of Charles D. McIver. In some passages read from his diary before this Association a year ago, some of his criticisms, sometimes humorous, sometimes pathetic, sometimes tragic, it is quite evident that he had a critical approach to his problems and that he was not always merely the consummate orator that he came to be in his later years. We know now that he would probably have remained at the University of North Carolina if Governor Aycock and Mr. Josephus Daniels had been able to give even a moderate hope that the University might receive as much as \$100,000 a year; it was then receiving only \$25,000. At a later time, fretting under the criticism that came from his later efforts in Louisiana and in the South, he spoke of "the frightful, frantic unreasonable sensitiveness of the South." "There is sadness in it and pathos, a scar left by the isolation of slavery, pride of war, the poverty, the injustice of Reconstruction, its individualism." He cried out at one time that he would like to write a book to be entitled *Up From Slavery* and added, "I want to be free when I die."

It is a far cry from such words as those to the time when he delivered before Congress his address on Woodrow Wilson, which seemed to gather up all the experience of his long labors in

North Carolina, Louisiana, and Virginia in words that no political leader of the South could have uttered. He had become one of the most attractive personalities of his time. John H. Finley, editor of the *New York Times*, referred to him as "democracy's most eloquent voice." "He has often spoken for America in shining and stately sentences that will be permanently preserved in American literature. I have reread beside it the oration of Pericles and there it deserves to be placed. His voice was like a well loved viol, fashioned in mellow shapeliness. . . . It will tell future generations what manner of speech crowned our language in our day." He cites one sentence as typical of Alderman's work of a lifetime: "To live in a liberal and lofty fashion with hearts unspoiled by hate, eyes clear to see the nearness of a new and mighty day in a new and mighty land." Finley's words, spoken to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, served to indicate that Alderman had become a national figure, one whom President Butler could hail as "the most consummate and moving of our country's orators." In such recognition of his services to the South and to the nation many of the limitations through which he passed in his early career may well be forgotten. The long struggle that he had with the forces of ignorance, prejudice, and passion ended in victory, but let it be remembered that his body rests not on North Carolina soil, but at the University of Virginia, to the reconstruction of which he made his greatest contribution.

The year after Alderman's election to the presidency of the University of North Carolina, Walter Hines Page delivered his celebrated address on "The Forgotten Man" at the recently established Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro. It was a frank appeal to accept our own conditions, without illusions, to face our own problems like men, and, when necessary, "with all respect for the past, to lift dead men's hands from our life." Some of his points of view have already been suggested as to what caused the backwardness of the state; what was new was the consciousness that something had happened since 1886 when he had written the "Mummy Letters." As one now reads the entire address—so cordial, so suggestive, so constructive—one wonders at the storm of abuse that broke about his head, because of what he said about the political and ecclesiastical sys-

tems that had neglected the forgotten man and even more the forgotten woman. It is a striking fact that, despite this criticism, he was expressing in his own forceful and attractive way the ideas that were to dominate the leaders of the next twenty years. Many of the sentences and phrases became the slogans of forward-looking men who maintained with him that the greatest undeveloped resource in any state is the untrained masses of the people, that a democratic society must be based upon such strength, and that "a public school system generously supported by public sentiment and generously maintained by both state and local taxation, is the only effective means to develop the forgotten man, and even more surely the only means to develop the forgotten woman."

Three years later Charles B. Aycock was elected governor of North Carolina on a distinct pledge to wage an active and aggressive campaign for the education of all the people. Just as he had been impressed by the early letters of Page to which reference has already been made and had been for a long time an associate of Alderman and McIver in their great educational campaign, so now he turned the whole force of his administration towards the accomplishment of this stubbornly held idea. I should like to remind this audience of some of the golden sentences of his speeches in his campaign for the governorship and on through his administration. One of the differences between him and other public speakers was that he invariably reduced to writing his addresses, which have been preserved in *Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock*, by Connor and Poe.

If you vote for me, I want you to do so with the distinct understanding that I shall devote the first years of my official labors to the upbuilding of the public schools of North Carolina. I shall endeavor for every child in the state to get an education.

If more taxes are required, more taxes must be levied.

One of his first acts was to call together in his office forty representative educational leaders to launch the campaign. They issued a "Declaration against Illiteracy" which he made his own on every stump of the state. Some of us may recall that when a previously appointed committee brought in a report stating that North Carolina had twenty-three per cent of its white citizens in a state of illiteracy and was therefore next to the last in

the list of states, some felt that it would not do to make such a statement, that it would dampen the enthusiasm of people at the very start. The governor, after listening to the discussion, finally said, "Is it true?" and they all admitted that it was. Then, he said, "Put it there, and I will repeat it on every platform from which I speak and thus bring about a state of affairs in which it will not be true."

When some objected to the constitutional amendment that after 1908 all whites who were not able to read and write should be deprived of the right of suffrage, Aycock refused to budge and even threatened to withdraw from the campaign. He won out, and when at the end of his administration an effort was made to give to Negro schools only those funds which their taxes supplied, he made one of the greatest speeches of his life. "While universal suffrage is a failure, universal justice is the decree of Almighty God, and we are entrusted with power not for our own good alone but for the Negro as well. . . . If we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the Negro we shall in the fullness of time lose power ourselves. . . . The Negro's destiny and ours are so interwoven that we cannot lift ourselves up without at the same time lifting him. . . . The amendment that calls for the restriction of funds to Negro taxes is unjust, unwise and unconstitutional. . . . Let us not seek to be the first state in the Union to make the weak more helpless."

He had the satisfaction of knowing that by 1910—a period of ten years—the percentage of whites over ten years of age unable to read and write had declined from nineteen and four-tenths per cent to twelve and three-tenths, and among the Negroes from forty-seven and six-tenths to thirty-one and nine-tenths per cent. He sowed the seeds that have yielded increasing harvests in the progressive administrations of later governors and later superintendents of public instruction and other educational experts.

North Carolina really came into national prominence and into southern leadership with the conferences for education in the South that were held in successive years in Winston-Salem, N. C. (1901), Athens, Ga. (1902), Richmond, Va. (1903), and Nashville, Tenn. (1912). The men about whom we have been speaking found an opportunity to do for other states what they

had done for this state. The addresses made, the reports gathered, the programs worked out in detail, are the best expression of a veritable educational renaissance. The most significant phase of the movement as a whole was that northern men like Robert C. Ogden, Wallace Buttrick, and Albert Shaw cooperated with ideas and financial resources. Full credit should be given to Walter Hines Page for causing northern philanthropists and educational leaders to seek the aid of southern leaders in the solution of problems that had become national in their scope. Out of such conferences came the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board, composed of men of both sections committed to a task of genuine reconstruction.

No account of intellectual progress in North Carolina can leave out of consideration the newspapers of the state. We all know now that Mr. Josephus Daniels, as editor of the *News and Observer*, was the champion and defender of all those forces that we have been considering. The intimate friend of Alderman, McIver, and Aycock, he made his paper the organ of the campaign against illiteracy, and later a defender of the conferences for education in the South when many newspapers were attacking them as an effort to overthrow the traditional views. He has also been a trustee and one of the stoutest champions and defenders of the University of North Carolina at a time when its successive presidents were under attack and when there was grave danger of keeping appropriations down and of surrendering academic freedom.

Naturally conservative in his early life in many of his ideas and inclined to take the partisan view of public questions, he gave Miss Nell Battle Lewis the opportunity to write a column in the *News and Observer*, which has for many years been one of the notable illustrations of liberalism and constructive criticism. Either Miss Lewis or somebody else ought to select and publish the most striking things that have appeared in her column. She is a shining illustration of the truly emancipated woman and of the unfettered mind. She has written with insight and courage about literature, history, education, religion, and even politics. Writing of Page and Bassett under the title of "Tainted Heroes," she praised them for "the spirit of revolt

against old, outworn southern shibboleths," and others like them, whose names are unknown, who lived and died "protesting against the herd in full cry . . . that small band of the deserters, those . . . nameless, savory critics whose perverse opinions have composed that little trickle of salt and vinegar in North Carolina's thick saccharine brew." She even praised Mencken at a time when he was writing of "the Sahara of the Bozart," and she made light of the Mecklenburg Declaration. She criticized Bryan for advocating anti-evolution laws. "If there is a state in this Union that needs debunking as sorely as North Carolina, I don't know it. A really first-class debunker would find enough to do to keep him busy for six lifetimes." She certainly did her share.

And so in a different way has Mr. Jonathan Daniels, who by his books, editorials, and articles has come to be reckoned among the outstanding younger critics and journalists of the nation. One can scarcely imagine one breathing the atmosphere of the *News and Observer* of an earlier period from his childhood days becoming a regular contributor to the *Nation*! His *Tar Heels* is a monumental book.

The *Charlotte Observer*, under the editorship of J. P. Caldwell, became one of the foremost expositors of industrial progress as evidenced in the cotton mills of the Piedmont section. D. A. Tompkins was one of the first Southerners to advocate the necessity of technical schools that would provide trained workers in factories and trained engineers. In July, 1900, Caldwell wrote an editorial which may be considered the strongest utterance of that period on the necessity for political independence. At a time when the Democratic party was committed locally to the securing of white supremacy for all time and every appeal was made for party regularity, he boldly declared against Bryan because he did not believe in free silver. Even those who did not agree with him recognized that he was a man of unquestioned integrity and honor, a high-souled gentleman of the old school. He had made such a good paper that all the people of that section had to take it even though they disregarded his political advice. He gathered about him a group of brilliant writers, notably H. E. C. Bryant, Erwin Avery, and John Charles McNeill. Avery's "Variety of Idle Comment," appearing for

several years, had more of the various aspects of North Carolina life than any other publication that I know. McNeill's poems, while not read outside the state, have touched the heart of the people of this state as has no other volume of poetry.

We should recall the *Greensboro Daily News* as even more independent in its views. The editorials of Earl Godbey and Gerald W. Johnson and the columns of W. T. Bost are outstanding examples of the untrammelled mind. Bost continues his column and maintains his spirit of individualism and freedom.

In the first decade of the century the editors of two weekly papers—the *Biblical Recorder* and the *Progressive Farmer*—rose distinctly above the particular function which their papers were supposed to serve. J. W. Bailey did not confine himself to the religious subjects that would naturally have appealed to the Baptist denomination, but wrote in a brilliant style of all the questions that were then in the public mind. One might not agree with him but he had to be reckoned with. He showed the same distinction of style and independence of mind that characterized his best speeches made in the Senate a few years ago, when he stood forth as an independent thinker within his own party. Bailey might have become one of the great editors of the country.

Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer* for nearly fifty years, has made his paper not only the best farm paper in the South but he is generally recognized as one of the citizens who has had most to do with the furthering of movements in education and in human welfare. He has had an eye for all the best ideas and best achievements of his time. Perhaps the key to his thinking and writing may be summarized in a passage from Sidney Lanier that he printed for many years at the top of the editorial column of his paper: "The great rise of the small farmer in the southern states during the last twenty years become the notable circumstance of the period. One has only to remember that whatever crop we hope to reap in the future—whether it be a crop of poems, or paintings, or symphonies—we have got to bring it out of the ground with palpable plows and with plain farmer's forethought in order to see that a vital revolution in the farming economy of the South is necessarily carrying with it all future southern politics and southern social relations and

southern art, and that such an agricultural change is the one substantial fact upon which any really new south can be predicated."

In accordance with this philosophy Dr. Poe has studied the best that has been done in agriculture in all parts of this country in order to find ways of improving southern agriculture. He travelled in Denmark, England, and Ireland with the same purpose in mind. Out of his wide experience, observation and reading have come his "Ten Commandments of Agriculture," his advocacy of universal education and of special training, his conception of the value of good literature, and his determination to find in wise legislation some of the cures for the evils of a backward section. In an address to the Commercial Congress in Washington he said: "Oh, if our statesmen and public men these last thirty years could only have realized the fundamental truth that the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man. Your untrained, inefficient man is not only a poverty breeder for himself, but the contagion of it curses every man in the community that is guilty of leaving him untrained. . . . We shall handle the land better, now more barbarously handled by us than any other civilized people."

Another instance of what was happening in that first decade of the century was that in January 1902 the first number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* was published at Trinity College under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett. Little did those who took part in its launching realize that so soon there would develop a sensational incident that threatened the very existence of Trinity College. From the beginning Bassett in his editorials had been critical of some tendencies in Southern life and thought. In October, 1903, he published an article on "Stirring up the Fires of Race Antipathy" which had in it the celebrated statement, which was parenthetical, that, except Robert E. Lee, Booker T. Washington was the greatest man produced in the South during the past one hundred years. It is not necessary here to recall the state-wide hysteria and criticism when a North Carolina paper republished the article under flaming headlines. What I wish to call attention to is the significance of the action of the trustees in declining to unseat Bassett. President Kilgo, then in the heyday of his career and not as in later years a "lost

leader," in presenting the case to the called meeting of the board of trustees, said:

I am ready to declare that coercion of opinion in all times has been a miserable failure; that truth and reason and life have never been advanced by force and physical pain. . . . You cannot hurt this institution more fatally, you cannot deal it a severer blow than by en-throning coercion and intolerance. Bury liberty here, and with it the college is buried. . . . It were better that Trinity College should work with ten students than that we should repudiate and violate every principle of the Christian religion, the high virtues of the commonwealth, and the foundation spirit of this nation. . . . Personally I should prefer to see a hurricane sweep from the face of the earth every brick and timber here than to see the college committed to the policies of the Inquisition.

The faculty in its communication to the board expressed the same ideas and quoted the words of Thomas Jefferson which they made their own: "This institution will be based upon the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to counteract it."

The trustees after a long debate voted by a large majority to retain Bassett and issued this declaration, which was printed on the front pages of many American newspapers the next morning:

Any form of coercion of thought and private judgment is contrary to one of the constitutional aims of Trinity College which is "to cherish a sincere spirit of tolerance." We are particularly unwilling to lend ourselves to any tendency to destroy or limit academic liberty. . . . Liberty may sometimes lead to folly; yet it is better that some should be tolerated than that all should think and speak under the deciding influence of repression. A reasonable freedom of opinion is to a college the very breath of life. While it is idle to deny that the free expression of wrong opinions sometimes works harm, this country and our race stand for the views that the evils of intolerance and suppression are infinitely worse than those of folly.

When President Theodore Roosevelt visited Trinity College the following year he made evident what the national reaction was to this heroic declaration and action:

I know of no other college which has so nobly set forth the object of its being, the principles to which every college should be devoted.

You stand for private judgment, for the duty more incumbent upon the schools than upon any man to tell the truth as he sees it, to claim for himself and to give to others the largest liberty in seeking the truth.

This spirit of academic freedom has been characteristic of the University of North Carolina, especially in later years. It was expressed by President Chase in his fight against the anti-evolution law, and it has inspired President Frank Graham in his enlightened views of labor and race problems. Graham did a brave thing when he brought about, in the face of many obstacles and much criticism, the consolidation of the three state institutions. He has done an even braver thing when he has contended in season and out of season for his own rights and those of his faculty to hold views and maintain principles which the average citizen does not share. He is now recognized in all parts of the country as one of our leading liberal leaders. You may not always agree with him, but you have to reckon with him.

Leadership of the same quality was exemplified by W. L. Poteat of Wake Forest College in the resistance to the pressure put upon him by many of the leaders of the Baptist denomination to remain silent or to accept the dominant ideas of his church with regard to science and religion. A well trained scientist, a master of a forceful and even beautiful style, profoundly reverent and devout, he maintained his belief in evolution as a well-established theory. In his *Can A Man Be A Christian Today?*, delivered as a series of lectures at the University of North Carolina, he declared with rare distinction and courage, and with a thorough understanding of the main currents of modern thought, that there was no conflict between science and religion properly understood and interpreted, that the church must get rid of some of its "baggage"—its impedimenta—and face reality, that ecclesiasticism was one thing and the religion of Christ quite a different thing. His book belongs on the same shelf as John Fiske's *Destiny of Man* and *Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin*.

The spirit of academic freedom as illustrated in all these incidents is not the only test of a college or university. One of the remarkable developments of the past twenty-five years has

been the growth of Trinity College and the University into real universities with high standards of scholarship and with laboratories commensurate with such standards. Whenever I am inclined not to believe in miracles, I think of the difference between Trinity College as it was when I began to teach there in 1894 and the Duke University of the present time, or between the University of North Carolina as it was in those days and as it is today. The difference is something more than that of educational plants. There have always been scholars of a certain broad culture in these institutions and some really great teachers, but only until recent years have scholars fitted for research in many fields of learning had that opportunity. Thanks to Presidents Venable, Edward K. Graham, and William P. Few and their successors there are now at both institutions scholars who have won national recognition by their investigations and their published writings. At both places are maintained journals that are to be found in every American university library—notably *American Literature*, *The Journal of South American and American Relations*, and *Law and Contemporary Problems* at Duke, and *Modern Philology*, the *Journal of the Elisa Mitchell Scientific Society*, and *Social Forces* at the University. References to the noteworthy work of L. R. Wilson, Howard W. Odum, Rupert B. Vance, Phillips Russell, and Paul Green and his associates have already been made, and to them might be added the writings of Archibald Henderson, W. C. Coker, E. W. Knight, W. B. MacNider, Newman I. White, Calvin B. Hoover, William MacDougal, and others. The university presses maintained at both places have now a national significance.

It is not to the separate work in these two institutions, however, that attention should most be directed, but to the cooperation of the two in making one of the real centers of learning and scholarship in this country. This fact is all the more noteworthy in view of the conflict that long characterized their relationship. It is not necessary to recall that unpleasant period, but it is well to realize that the building of two great libraries is now the best evidence of a cooperative plan whereby the scholars and students of each institution may profit by the combined resources of these libraries. It is not a vain hope that the two administrations will find more and more opportunity for

sharing the work that is necessary for the continued programs of research in all departments of learning. The report published by the American Council of Education in 1932, surveying the opportunities for graduate work in the thirty-five fields of learning in all the universities of this country, listed eleven departments at the University and eight departments at Duke in which advanced graduate courses could now be given. Undoubtedly, a similar study today would reveal a larger number of departments in the two institutions, but even the early report is a matter of sincere congratulation as showing their leadership among southern institutions of higher learning.

So far we have not considered Paul Green's criticism of the lack of creative art in North Carolina. He himself and his colleagues in the Carolina Playmakers, under the guidance of Koch, served to refute the generalization that the state had found no artistic expression of its life and thought. I should be bringing coals to Newcastle if I talked of the importance of this movement from the standpoint of the state, the region, or the nation. The significance of the plays themselves is in the revelation of the humor and tragedy of the forgotten people of the state—the hillbillies, the mountaineers, inhabitants of small towns and rural communities, workers in factories, and most strikingly, Negroes, seen not from the standpoint of their relation to the whites merely, but from their own traditional folklore and workaday and spiritual songs. The plays, crude as some of them are, cause us to think deeply of the other than traditional elements that make up our complex population.

I merely suggest others like James Boyd and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, who have written charming romances of colonial and revolutionary times. Olive T. Dargan, who has written poems that give the background and atmosphere of the mountains around Asheville, has more recently written a novel, entitled *Call Home the Heart*, in which she presents and interprets the labor movement as seen dramatically in the Gastonia strike. Here certainly are more things than have been dreamed of in our conventional view of the much vaunted industrial progress.

But the outstanding event in the literary history of North Carolina was the publication in 1929 of Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel*, and six years later *Of Time and the River*, and then,

out of the millions of words that he left, his posthumous novels, *The Web and the Rock* and *You Can't Go Home Again*—all of them really constituting one book that grew out of his experiences in this state, in America, and in many European countries. Here we have for the first time a great genius who causes us to think of comparison with Walt Whitman, Melville, Poe, Samuel Butler, James Joyce. The question that concerns us is how the people of Asheville and the state in general received him. When the first book had been accepted by one of America's leading publishers and he returned home on the eve of that publication, a newspaper reporter announced that his book would be "a romance of the Old South, centering about the history of a distinguished ante-bellum family of this region," and that he would "commemorate the life, history and development of western North Carolina in a series of poetic legends comparable to those with which the poet Longfellow commemorated the life of the Arcadians and the folklore of the New England countryside." He represented Wolfe as saying that there was no place he had ever visited that could compare in beauty with Asheville—"a veritable paradise of Nature. Air, climate, scenery, water, natural beauty, all conspire to make this section the most ideal place in the world to live." Here he would find the inspiration to do his work. There might come a veritable renaissance, and it was the author's purpose to do everything in his power for this great cause, "and to urge all my writing and artistic friends to settle here—to make Libya Hill the place it ought to be—The Athens of America."

When the volume appeared with all its realistic pictures of the people of Asheville as he had seen them, there was consternation, bitterness, that expressed itself in the press and in hundreds of letters that came to him, threatening violence if he ever returned home. When his work received more and more acclaim from the leading critics of America and from the general reading public, he was subjected to invitations of every kind, which were even more disturbing to his artistic soul than the cruel condemnation which had beat about his head. Some extracts from letters to his mother while he was experimenting with plays will indicate his conception of his work better than anything that might be said; they are prophetic of his novels:

I have chosen a lonely road for my travel—a road that is pretty far removed from the highway, and even the best of you may have sympathy but little understanding.

The only progress is spiritual; the only lasting thing is Beauty—created by an artist.

North Carolina needs honest criticism—rather than the false, shallow, “we are the-finest-state-and-greatest-people-in-the-county” kind of thing. An artist who refuses to accept fair criticism of his work will never go forward. What of a state?

I know that I have something to say now; it twists at my brain and heart for expression. If God would only give me one hundred hands to write it down.

If you explore your own backyard carefully enough and compare it with all other things, (you find out), you may someday find out what the whole earth is like.

At another time he wrote:

The plays I am going to write may not be suited to the tender bellies of old maids, sweet young girls, or Baptist ministers, but they will be true and honest and courageous, and the rest doesn't matter. If my play goes on I want you to be prepared for execrations upon my head. I have stepped on toes right and left—I spared Boston with its nigger-sentimentalists no more than the South, which I love, but which I am never-the-less pounding. I am not interested in writing what our pot-bellied member of the Rotary and Kiwanis call a “good show” I want to know life and understand it and interpret it without fear or favor. . . . Life is not made up of dishonest optimism, God is *not* always in his heaven, all is *not* always right with the world. It is not all bad, but it is not all good; it is not all ugly, but is is not all beautiful; it is life, life, life—the only thing that matters. It is savage, cruel, kind, noble, passionate, selfish, generous, stupid, ugly, beautiful, painful, joyous,—it is all these, and more, and it is all these I want to know and, by God, I shall, though they crucify me for it. I will go to the ends of the earth to find it, to understand it. I will know this country when I am through as I know the palm of my hand, and I will put it on paper and make it true and beautiful.

There is not time even to suggest how faithfully Wolfe carried out his program and to consider what he wrote of Asheville and other cities in all regions of the South. It is easy to see his limitations as an artist, and as a thinker—his lack of discipline and restraint, his rhetorical passages that interfere with the total effect of his novels, his perversity of mind that emphasizes isolation from his people, extreme naturalism not so well balanced with his idealism and even mysticism. But what we need to

emphasize at this time is his contribution to the presentation and interpretation of one of our typical cities, his clear insight into many of the things that have hindered intellectual progress, such as complacency, boastfulness, high talk, and a blindness to the darker side of a state's life. It ought to be said in all fairness that he wrote equally realistic things about Boston, New York, Brooklyn, and that he possessed the wide stretches of an imaginative grasp of all things American. He lived through the disillusionment, cynicism, and pessimism of the period between the two wars; he understood all the literary tendencies of that period and penetrated beneath the surface of those who were considered the major writers of his time—the esthetes of both the mind and art. He never succumbed to the temptation of many of our expatriates who found in Europe the supreme home of all that we mean by culture. His mind and imagination, even amid the most picturesque scenes of France, England, and Germany, turned to America. He tells of hearing the chimes in Dijon one night, but they awoke in him memories of the old bell at Chapel Hill. So he revived all the memories of his boyhood days and of his later life in the cities of America.

Wolfe revealed in his novels this same independence and frankness that he praised in Horace Williams. He often spoke of himself as a "lost Soul," "God's lonely man," hungering for books, beauty, experience. Did he ever find himself? In the conclusion of his last book, *You Can't Go Home Again*, I think he did come home, and that he found America. I conclude with his very last words written to his friend, William Perkins, who did so much to balance his enormous vitality and unrest:

I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found. And this belief, which mounts now to the catharsis of knowledge and conviction, is for me not only our own hope, but America's everlasting, living dream. I think the life which we have fashioned in America, and which has fashioned us was self-destructive in its nature, and must be destroyed.

I think the true discovery of America is before us. I think the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land, is yet to come. I think the true discovery of our own democracy is still before us. I think I speak for most men living when I say that our America is Here, is Now, and beckons on before

us, and that this glorious assurance is not only our living hope, but our dream to be accomplished.

I think the enemy is here before us too. But I think we know the forms and faces of the enemy, and in the knowledge that we know him, and shall meet him and eventually must conquer him is also our living hope. . . . I think the enemy is single selfishness and compulsive greed. . . . I think he stole our earth from us, destroyed our wealth, and ravished and despoiled our land. I think he took our people and enslaved them, that he polluted the fountains of our life.

Thus we have come to the end of the road that we were to go together. My tale is finished—and so farewell. But before I go I have just one more thing to tell you: Something has spoken to me in the night, burning the tapers of the waning year; something has spoken in the night, and told me I shall die, I know not where. Saying: 'To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing; to lose the life you have, for greater life; to leave the friends you love, for greater loving; to find a home more kind than home, more large than earth—Whereon the pillars of this earth are founded, towards which the conscience of the world is tending—a *wind is rising, and the rivers flow.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799. By Louise Frederick Hays. (New York: The Hobson Book Press, 1946. Pp. ix, 395. \$3.50.)

In the spring of 1771 Elijah and Hannah Harrington Clark removed their children, livestock, and personal belongings from Orange County, North Carolina, into Craven County, South Carolina. Two years later they were leaders in a movement which carried about twenty-five Carolina families farther south into Georgia. There they settled in the newly ceded lands south of Broad River, later included in the county of Wilkes. Clark continued his leadership in the newly formed community, and Clark's Fort was an important outpost for defense against the Indians. Hesitant at first about joining the Revolutionary movement, he broke with the mother country when faced with the choice of fighting with his friends and neighbors or fighting with the savages who were being incited by royal agents. His experience in Indian fighting and his driving energy proved highly valuable in the guerrilla warfare of the back country, and his contribution to the cause of independence was recognized by the legislatures of both North Carolina and Georgia in the form of a gift of \$30,000 by the former and extensive land grants by the latter. He supported the ratification of the Federal Constitution, but turned against the Federal administration when President Washington counseled peace with the Indians while he and his neighbors were still engaged in a struggle against hostile Creeks and Cherokees.

There is much in this book that the trained historian will criticize. It is based on wide study of the older histories of Georgia and the Carolinas, supplemented by numerous references to official records, wills, inventories, and personal papers in the Georgia Department of Archives and History. The resulting narrative is an agglomeration of tall yarns, ready-made conversation, Georgia folklore, and general description applied to specific places and events. All these are reduced to a chronological sequence and arranged about authentic events in the lives of Hannah and Elijah Clark and their neighbors in the only community in Georgia that never accepted defeat in the Revolutionary struggle. The specialist in North Carolina history will

doubt the validity of the interpretation of the War of the Regulation as the opening phase of the American Revolution (p. 307); he will deny that the battle of Kings Mountain was a result of Clark's heroic act in leading four hundred refugees from Georgia to the Watauga Valley (p. 112); he will marvel at the physical endurance of the militiamen who swam Savannah River south of Augusta and staged a nonstop race to their homes in North Carolina (p. 62).

In spite of all these things, it is clear that Mrs. Hays has performed a distinct service for students of American history. In the first place, her work reveals in concrete, human terms both the close relations existing among the early communities in the Piedmont region and the "provincialism" which set them apart from the seaboard areas in their respective states. It is also a valuable commentary on the social history of the period. Births, deaths, weddings, and home building were constant accompaniments of war and politics in the back country. The author is at her best in presenting these things, and neither her unorthodox method of citing all sources at the same level of acceptability nor her unique system of abbreviations for titles need prove an insuperable obstacle to the serious student. Finally, this work etches with the fidelity of a finely cut cameo the origin of that agrarian, individualistic spirit of local democracy that has characterized those communities established by the third and fourth generations of American-born pioneers. The Rutherfords and the Seviars, the Marions and the Pickenses, the Clarks and the Doolys left little that the formal historians have deemed worthy of literary exploitation. It is fortunate, therefore, that an understanding biographer will dare to present one of them in the modest, yet significant role that he played in history.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, North Carolina.

Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796-1946. (Nashville: Sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society. [1946.] Volume I, pp. xvii. 490. Volume II, pp. ix, 493.)

These two volumes, sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society and financed

with funds made available by special arrangement of the governor, were published in 1946 as a part of Tennessee's sesquicentennial celebration..

The contents, consisting entirely of reprinted material, were gleaned largely from two former but now discontinued publications, *The American Historical Magazine* and the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, which never had a wide circulation, even at the height of their popularity, and of which there are now but few complete files in the state. To these, in order to close certain gaps, were added a few articles from two current publications, the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* and *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, and some fifteen other items from fugitive sources. Among the latter, and of particular interest, is a reprint of Gilbert Imlay's "A Short Description of the State of Tennessee, Lately Called the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio," taken from the Third London Edition (1797) of his *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*. Other significant items include "An Address Delivered on the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Knoxville" by Thomas W. Humes in 1842 (misprinted 1942); "The Great Seal of the State of Tennessee" by R. L. C. White; the "Provisional Constitution of Frankland"; and the "Records of the Cumberland Association."

According to the Publication Committee, no attempt was made "to edit or alter the articles appearing in this publication. Even incorrect spelling, faulty punctuation, and awkward sentence structure remain untouched. Assuredly, there are articles based upon meager historical sources; in fact, some articles are wholly without documentation. Nevertheless, many of these articles contain valid information of interest to present-day Tennesseans. There are articles that are inadequate or even somewhat erroneous in the light of subsequent research. But the interest and value of many other facts in such articles perhaps outweigh any lack of minute detail or bewildering historical nicety deemed a *sine qua non* by the purist or mote-hunting stickler."

This reviewer would disagree with the above viewpoint; and would wish that two such handsomely printed and bound vol-

umes might have been instrumental in adding something to the knowledge of Tennessee history not already published.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

James W. Patton.

Zachary Taylor. By Brainerd Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. 455. \$4.00.)

Zachary Taylor was not a great President. In fact, so far as this reviewer can determine from reading this biography, he was not markedly superior in any respect, except possibly in his personal courage and ability to lead and inspire men in the thick of battle. He was a soldier nearly all his life but did not attain the rank of colonel until he reached the age of forty-seven. In frontier posts in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin he in no wise distinguished himself. In the war against the Seminoles in Florida he won a bloody victory at Lake Okeechobee but otherwise his mission was not particularly successful. In the Mexican War his victory at Palo Alto was a deserved one; at Monterey he negotiated an armistice which was repudiated by the administration; at Buena Vista he won a victory against superior numbers but had disobeyed orders in advancing to that point, and President Polk thought it an unnecessary battle with unnecessary bloodshed. Taylor was removed in favor of Winfield Scott for the Vera Cruz campaign, and properly so, because the administration had lost confidence in Taylor even as he had lost confidence in the administration. The manner of his removal, however, was ungracious.

Taylor's great ambition was to settle down as a successful planter in Louisiana. He did become a planter after paying \$95,000 cash (the source of which the author fails to explain) for a plantation, but he did not settle down and he was not successful. He was thrust into politics, partly by the able pen of his son-in-law, partly by the desire of Thurlow Weed and John J. Crittenden to back a winner in 1848, and partly by his own ambition to get in a lick at an administration he had come to despise. The absence of party ties was an advantage, and his very lack of political adroitness appealed to the people and was in keeping with his sobriquet of "Old Rough and Ready." No matter that he had never been particularly interested in national or international affairs and had not previously voted in a presi-

dential election. As President he was unfortunate in his Cabinet, in his break with Clay, and in his opposition to the Compromise of 1850. His relations with Congress were not harmonious, though he had announced a policy of letting Congress make the laws without the interposition of the executive office except in matters clearly unconstitutional.

It is the reviewer's judgment that this is a good biography but not a great one. The research is careful, the writing is plain, and the judgments are sound. The tone is sympathetic but not adulatory. The author finds that Taylor had many fine qualities. He was in no sense a stuffed shirt; he was a man of sense and patriotism; without being learned in the science of strategy and tactics, he was a brave soldier and an inspiring leader; and he was not selfishly ambitious.

It does not seem likely that another biography of Taylor will be needed for a long time. Yet Taylor the man does not come alive in the sense that the reader can enter into his thoughts and being. Not until page 184 do we get a description of his person. In part this is due to the paucity of information about his youth and the absence of any large body of private correspondence. The illustrations are fitting enough, but probably better maps could have been selected.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham, N. C.

The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution. By Frank G. Speck. (Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science. Bulletin No. 23, Oct. 1945. Pp. 94.)

In the collections of the museum of the Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, certain ethnological material, most of it from the Great Lakes region, is receiving special study. As a background for the museum exhibits, Dr. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania was asked to prepare a study of the Iroquois, and he has added another contribution of importance to the many that have resulted from his widely extended research.

In his "Introduction" Dr. Speck seeks to diminish the unfavorable impressions made by the French pioneers and Jesuits "who execrated the natives who resisted their conquest of the land

and souls." He believes that the Iroquois were not so bad as they were painted by the early explorers and later historians. The Iroquoian tribes of Carolina, the Cherokee and the Tuscarora, are called in for evidence as well as the Northern tribes.

The detailed description and tabulation of "The Iroquoian Linguistic Family and Populations" furnish valuable information about population and distribution of the early inhabitants and their survivors.

"Social and Civil Aspects of Iroquois Culture" reveal a remarkably clear picture of the tribal political organization, the achievement of a federation of democratic people. Here the Iroquois excelled, with their league of nations, in contrast with their Algonkian neighbors, by whom they were outnumbered and surrounded, but who were never successful in uniting their tribes in political combination.

Although Dr. Speck does not explain the long continued warfare between the Iroquois and the Siouan tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia, there is reason to believe from the study that the depredations made by the Northern Indians, especially the Seneca, were not operations of the Five Nations as a whole but of independent war parties recruited and led by outstanding warriors. Colonel William Byrd's observations seem to support this view.

The chapter on Iroquoian culture, with elaboration of arts and crafts, decorative designs, and ceremonial properties, comprising more than half of the publication, furnish extensive information about the peaceful pursuits of the Iroquois. Many illustrations are provided from the collections of the Cranbrook Institute. Numerous eminent authorities, such as Dr. William H. Fenton, Dr. Arthur C. Parker, and Dr. F. W. Waugh, are called in for reference.

For this latest achievement in ethnological publication, Dr. Speck can add another feather to his amply decorated Indian head-dress.

The Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Douglas L. Rights.

Recommended Readings on Florida. By A. J. Hanna. (Winter Park, Florida: Union Catalog of Floridiana, 1945, second edition, 1946. Pp. 64. \$1.25.)

The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1945 as *Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial*. In the

present edition, the chapter on Florida's centennial has been omitted, an outline map of Florida and an index have been added, and several recent books have been included.

There has long been a need for a popular reading list on Florida. In the 163 books and pamphlets listed here, the reader will find many of the better Florida books, usually with a helpful critical or descriptive annotation.

The purpose of the book, Dr. Hanna states, "is to provide a balanced introductory guide primarily for the student and general reader." It is not surprising, therefore, that many books essential to the historian are not included. The general reader, however, will find that several of the titles are collectors' items and that others, long out of print, are not readily accessible.

The arrangement of the bibliography is topical except for two sections. In one of these, Dr. Hanna lists nine titles which he considers indispensable for an introduction to the literature on Florida. A "Miscellaneous" section takes care of a dozen titles whose subject matter does not fall within the topical headings he uses.

There are fifteen such headings, ranging from "Biography" to "War and Reconstruction," but "History" is not among them. This causes the rather forced classification as "Description" of such books as Patrick's *Florida under Five Flags* and Corse's *Key to the Golden Islands*. Substitution of the single heading "History" for the topics "Exploration," "Settlement," and "War and Reconstruction" would obviate this difficulty and, in the opinion of this reviewer, effect a more logical organization. The sections on "Conservation" and "Nature" might similarly be combined.

The book has a serious shortcoming over which Dr. Hanna had no control and which he himself points out. "That a wider range of subjects has not been included," he says, ". . . is due to the unfortunate lack of readable and accurate printed materials. These gaps indicate how comparatively unworked is the Florida field."

Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946. By Roscoe Collins Clark. (Indianapolis, Indiana: Eli Lilly and Company, privately printed, 1946. Pp. ix, 132.)

This is an "outline history" devoted particularly to the commercial development of the company. From this point of view it is similar to that of many American business enterprises: a small, unstable emergence, then a mushroomlike growth, resulting in a prosperous and important establishment.

In 1854 Eli Lilly, then sixteen, became an apprentice to an English-trained apothecary of a small drug store in the frontier town of Lafayette, Indiana. Twenty-two years later, 1876, when the young druggist "turned the big key in the double doors of a small building" in Indianapolis, the firm of Eli Lilly and Company had passed its first milepost.

The efficiency of the three presidents, Colonel Eli, his son, and his grandson, which steered the business successfully through depressions and war prosperity, together with the high quality of the products, helped to make the company global in extent. Agencies or branches were established in the various areas of the United States, Latin America, Canada, Britain, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

The evolution of drugs, which passed through the stages from gelatin-coated pills to penicillin, was as definite as were the commercial changes. The Lilly Company succeeded so well here that it was invited to cooperate with the discoverers in the production and distribution of insulin.

The author passes so hastily to the story of the great and successful Lilly Company that he loses an opportunity to make a study of the rich sources of the social history of the time or to elaborate on the "making of medicines," one of the best chapters in the book. The work is poorly organized and has a few technical errors. The inclusion of innumerable names, intended to give deserved recognition to the participants in the building of the business, results in the bewilderment of the reader.

The writer has succeeded in bringing to light the importance of his subject and in leaving his readers with a keen interest in its further development. Herein is a challenge to some historian to write a definitive study on an intriguing theme.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Alice Barnwell Keith.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Catherine E. Boyd, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position of associate professor of European history at Carlton College.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, on leave of absence for graduate work at the University of Chicago, has been awarded the William Rainey Harper Fellowship for next year. During the past year she held the Wolf Fellowship in History at that institution.

Dr. Philip J. Green, professor at Queens College, will teach during the summer session at the University of Georgia.

Drs. M. B. Garrett and J. L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina are looking forward to the appearance of their new text, *Europe Since 1815*. F. S. Crofts and Company have promised the volume by August.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina, on March 30-31, attended a meeting of historians in early American history at Princeton University.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, on March 26, gave an address before the Richmond County (Georgia) Historical Association on the subject "Contributions of some Georgians to the History of the Southwest."

Professor Tinsley L. Spraggins, professor of history at St. Augustine College, is the recipient of a grant of \$1,500 from the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust to make a study of the political life of the Negro in North Carolina.

Salem College, founded in 1772, is preparing an historical sketch of 175 years of uninterrupted service. This is being done in recognition of the anniversary celebration, and the editorial work is under the direction of Dr. Lucy Wenhold, Dr. Douglas L.

Rights, Dean Ivy Hixson, Miss Marion Blair, and President Howard E. Rondthaler, each of whom is contributing a review of an assigned section bearing in mind the fact that during 175 years the doors of the institution have not been closed on a single school day in spite of the invasion of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, and the Union troops under Major General Stoneman.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Winston-Salem on the afternoon and evening of April 19. The afternoon session was held in the museum of the Wachovia Historical Society. Dr. R. H. Woody of Duke University reported on unexploited materials in the Flowers Collection of Duke University. Dr. Woody reported that Duke University will soon publish a catalog of the Flowers Collection. Dr. Douglas L. Rights, president of the Wachovia Historical Society, reported on unexploited materials available in Winston-Salem. The evening session was held in the restored Salem Tavern. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina led a discussion of unexplored aspects of North Carolina history. Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, president of the society, presided at both sessions.

The Alexander County Historical Association is sponsoring the Alexander County Centennial Celebration to be held June 5, 6, and 7, at Taylorsville.

The history departments of Meredith College and State College, and the State Department of Archives and History were hosts to college and university history teachers at a dinner held on April 12 at the Country Club, Raleigh. Representatives from Meredith College, State College, University of North Carolina, Duke University, Davidson College, Wake Forest College, and the State Department of Archives and History were in attendance. Forty-seven persons attended.

The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames, on April 29, in Gilmour Hall of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, sponsored an exhibit of old silver and a lecture on "Early Ameri-

can Silver” by Dr. George B. Cutten of Chapel Hill. Among the many interesting pieces of old silver loaned for this exhibit was a tankard which once belonged to Flora Macdonald.

The Moore County Historical Association, on April 30, in the courthouse at Carthage held its last meeting before recessing for the summer. Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler, president of Salem College, delivered an address on Marshall Ney. Mr. Struthers Burt, a novelist of Southern Pines, delivered prizes to the four high school students winning prizes in the Moore County History Contest. The winners in this contest were Lewis Pate, Southern Pines; Viola Fore, Cameron; Ann Davis, Pinehurst; and Mary Lou Cameron, Aberdeen. After awarding the prizes the members made their first historical pilgrimage—the itinerary of which included a visit to the tomb of Governor Williams and “The House in the Horseshoe,” the pre-Revolutionary home of Philip Alston. At the latter, Mr. John Hardin, secretary to Governor R. Gregg Cherry, made a brief talk in which he gave the history of the house. The last stop was at Mr. Julien Bishop’s Horseshoe Quail Farm, where the guests were served refreshments.

Dr. Thomas J. Wilson III has resigned as director of the University of North Carolina Press to accept the directorship of the Harvard University Press. Dr. Wilson became director of the University of North Carolina Press in January, 1946, following the resignation of Mr. W. T. Couch, who was director from 1932 to 1945 but who resigned to become director of the University of Chicago Press.

On April 13 Mt. Hope Evangelical and Reformed Church celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary. Dr. Schuford Peeler of Charlotte, a former pastor of the church, delivered the morning sermon, and Dr. Harvey Fesperman of Burlington delivered the evening message. The Mt. Hope Church was founded in 1847 by Dr. George W. Welker and the brick structure was built in 1851. The present church was erected in 1873.

The University of North Carolina Press celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on March 13 by observing an open house, serv-

ing tea, and displaying on the second floor of Bynum Hall exhibits of the press's work.

The Greensboro Council of Garden Clubs is sponsoring an essay contest in the city and county white schools of Guilford County on "The Life of Dolly Madison." The main phase of the committee's activities is to obtain facts about the residence of Dolly Madison in Guilford County. The committee is composed of Mrs. R. Glenn Johnson, chairman; Mrs. Van Wyke Williams; and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger. A bibliography of books and articles dealing with Dolly Madison's birthplace has been compiled and placed in the Greensboro Public Library and the Guilford College Library.

The house in Austin, Texas, where "O. Henry" (William Sidney Porter) made his home following his marriage, has been converted by the residents of that city into an O. Henry Memorial. O. Henry was a native of Greensboro.

Volume VIII of a ten volume set of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, is expected to come from the press in November. *A History of the South* will be published jointly by the Louisiana State University Press and the University of Texas Press. Volume VIII, by E. Merton Coulter, is the first volume to be completed. The titles of the several volumes in the set, with their authors, are as follows: Volume I, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689*, by Wesley Frank Craven, professor of history, New York University; Volume II, *The Southern Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1689-1763*, by Philip Davidson, dean of the Senior College and of the Graduate School, Vanderbilt University; Volume III, *The Revolution in the South, 1763-1789*, by Philip M. Hamer, head of the Records Control Office, National Archives, and secretary of the National Historical Publications Commission; Volume IV, *Jeffersonian Democracy and Westward Expansion, 1789-1819*, by Thomas P. Abernethy, professor of history, University of Virginia; Volume V, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1849*, by Charles S. Sydnor, professor of history, Duke University; Volume VI, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861*, by Avery Craven, professor of

American history, University of Chicago; Volume VII, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, by E. Merton Coulter, co-editor of the series; Volume VIII, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1880*, by E. Merton Coulter, co-editor of the series; Volume IX, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, by C. Vann Woodward, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University; and Volume X, *The Present South, 1913-1946*, by Rupert B. Vance, Kenan professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

The third summer training course on the Preservation and Administration of Archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archives will be offered by the American University, Washington, D. C., with the cooperation of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records, from July 28 through August 23, 1947. The program will provide lectures on the most important phases of work with archives and manuscripts, demonstrations, group conferences, and practical work in such fields as arrangement and description of archival and manuscript material, repair and preservation, cataloging, and photoduplication. Dr. Ernst Posner, professor of history and archives administration, The American University; Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, program advisor to the Archivist of the United States; Dr. Morris L. Radoff, archivist, Maryland Hall of Records; and other members of the staffs of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records will serve as instructors. Detailed information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Ernst Posner, The American University, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Republic of Liberia, West Africa, on July 26 will observe its one-hundredth anniversary of independence. An international exposition will be held in the capital city, Monrovia, 1947-1949, in which the nations of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America have been invited to participate. The Liberian Centennial Commission appointed by President William V. S. Tubman is composed of the following persons: Dr. G. W. Gibson, former secretary of public instruction, commissioner; Dixon B. Brown, deputy commissioner; Hilyard R. Robinson, architect and city planner, technical director; and Joseph F. Dennis, secretary.

Books received include Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947); University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications, *Books from Chapel Hill, A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1947); Emmet D. and James W. Atkins, *Extracts from the Diary of Benjamin Elberfield Atkins: A Teacher of the Old School, 1848-1909* (Gastonia, North Carolina: privately printed, 1947); Mary U. Rothrock, *The French Broad-Holston Country, A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, Tennessee: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1946); E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Edgar W. Knight and Agatha Boyd Adams, *The Graduate School Research and Publications* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Alfred N. Chandler, *Land Title Origins, A Tale of Force and Fraud* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, Inc., 1945); William Francis English, *The Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1947); Daniel Jay Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945); Josephus Daniels, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, North Carolina: The Miller Printing Company, 1947); Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-County Planters* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947); The National Archives, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Year Ending June 30, 1946* (Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1947); Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mrs. Willie Grier Todd's address is Buford, Georgia.

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Dr. Robert Burton House is chancellor of The University in Chapel Hill, and vice-president of The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Nannie May Tilley is director of the manuscripts division of Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. LeGette Blythe is an editorial and feature writer of *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Dr. Edwin Mims is professor emeritus of English at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. James A. Padgett is an archivist, United States Department of Commerce, Division of Liquidation, Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection in the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.