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THE TOE RIVER VALLEY TO 1865

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The history of the more isolated sections of the mountains of North Carolina has not received the attention from historians that it justly deserves. Such accounts as have been written are inadequate and in many cases totally misleading. The field has been a rich one for the feature writer, who has loved to paint lurid pictures of crime, laziness, and ignorance; but such writers have refused, or at least have failed, to see the progress that has been made in these regions, and most of all they have failed to understand that an intelligent planning and leadership have been present quite as much as in the better known regions. The notion has been spread abroad that the pockets in the Carolina mountains were infested with an inferior people who were incapable of self-direction, who were unambitious, shiftless, reckless.

The truth of the matter is that these regions have been greatly handicapped by geographical conditions but that, despite this handicap, steady progress has been made. The people have worked; they have lived; they have prospered. In addition, they have always shown a keen interest in state and national affairs and have directed quite intelligently their own local affairs. If they lagged somewhat behind other sections, it was not because they were apathetic but because they had more difficult problems to solve. This study of the development of the Toe River Valley before 1865 attempts to show that progress was made in that section under great handicaps; that it was populated by a respectable class of people, alert, hard-working, intelligent, and ambitious; that this community was quite as capable of directing itself as other communities; and that it was possessed of high principles of democracy and nationalism.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The Toe River Valley lies in that part of the southern Appalachian Mountains which is in the western part of North Carolina.¹ It contains an area of approximately 687 square miles, entirely surrounded by high mountain peaks and connecting ridges. It has an average width of twenty miles and an average length of thirty-five miles. It extends from southwest to northeast, parallel to and west of the Blue Ridge and east of the Smokies. It forms the central-western pocket of North Carolina, bounded on the south by the Black Mountains, on the north by the divide connecting the Blue Ridge with the Smokies, and on the west by those segments of the Smokies known as the Bald Mountains, the Unaka Mountains, and the Iron Mountains.

The valley contains the whole of Yancey and Mitchell counties, and a part of Avery County. A segment of Avery County lies east of the Blue Ridge, and hence only about three-fourths of this county lies within the Toe River Valley. Mitchell County comprises 213 square miles in the central part of the valley; Yancey County with its 298 square miles occupies the southern and western portion; while approximately three-fourths of the 235 square miles of Avery County, or 175 square miles, lie in the northeastern part.²

The name of the valley is taken from the river Toe, an abbreviation of the Indian word *Estatoe*.³ This river with its tributary streams drains the entire valley. It breaks through the Unaka Mountains on the west and becomes the Nolichucky after it passes into the state of Tennessee. The course of its waters is then by way of the French Broad, the Holston, and the Tennessee rivers to the Mississippi. Hence, the valley slopes westward and the drainage is eventually into the Gulf of Mexico. In piercing the Unakas, the river flows through a deep gorge, a fact which suggests that at one time this may have been a lake country.

¹ The account of the geography of the Toe River Valley is written largely from the personal knowledge of the writer and from the United States Geological Survey maps of the Department of the Interior. The Roan Mountain, Cranberry, Morganton, and Mount Mitchell quadrangles give data for elevations, streams, topography, and the like for the entire valley.

² *Fourteenth Census, State Compendium for North Carolina* (Washington, 1925), pp. 11-13.

³ Shepherd M. Dugger, *The Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 121.

The Toe River has a northern and a southern branch and the junction of these is near the center of the valley. The northern branch has its source in the slopes of the northeastern section of the valley. The southern branch flows from the southeastern side of the Black Mountains. The waters from the southwestern side of these mountains flow into Caney River, which joins Toe River at Hunt Dale, a station on the Carolina, Clinchfield, and Ohio Railroad, located in the western part of the valley.

In addition to these rivers, Poplar Creek, Pigeon Roost Creek, Brummett's Creek, Rock Creek, Cane Creek, Snow Creek, and Bear Creek join the Toe River from the north; and Jack's Creek, Brush Creek, and Crabtree Creek flow in from the southern side. Bald Creek is an important tributary of the Caney River, while Little Crabtree Creek flows east into the South Toe. The North Toe has many important tributaries such as Henson's Creek, Roaring Creek, Squirrel Creek, and Grassy Creek.

A description of these streams indicates in general the topography of the Toe River Valley. There is a central valley forking into a southern and northern branch. The central valley is broken into on either side by numerous smaller valleys, many of which broaden out into extensive areas of comparatively even uplands. These upper valleys are separated by highland ridges and in some cases by mountain peaks. Along the valley of the Caney River there are extensive bottom lands which are excellent for general agricultural purposes. A somewhat more extensive valley is that of the South Toe, while possibly the largest of all is that of the North Toe. As a rule there are swelling, rising coves at the heads of the creeks.

The average elevation is well above 2,000 feet. At the Tennessee line where Toe River breaks through the Unaka Mountains the elevation is 1,729 feet. The highest point in the vicinity (though only partially in the valley itself) is Mt. Mitchell, which lies to the south in the Black Mountains. This peak rises to an elevation of 6,684 feet and is famous both because of its situation among a large group of peaks more than 6,000 feet high and also because it is the highest peak east of the Mississippi River. In this same group are the Black Brothers, Clingman's Peak, Balsam Cone, Cattail, Potato Hill, and Blackstock Knob. In the north and

on the Tennessee line the Roan High Knob rises to a height of 6,362 feet. Just east of this mountain is the Big Yellow which is 5,600 feet high. The average elevation of the Blue Ridge is 4,000 feet, but there are two gaps, the Gillespie and the McKinney, which sink as low as 2,800 feet. The northwestern rim of the valley follows the divide in the Smoky Mountains, whose average elevation is also about 4,000 feet.

Within the rim of the valley there are groups of mountains rising up between the smaller valleys, and some of these mountains are important enough to have names. For example, the Caney River Mountains in the southwest separate the valley of Caney River from the valley of Jack's Creek; just east of these, the Green Mountains separate the valley of Pig Pen Creek from the valley of Brush Creek; and in the north central part the Cane Creek Mountains, with their extension in the Spear Tops and in the Little Yellow, separate the valley of the North Toe from the valleys to the west.

The mineral resources of this region are important. Large amounts of kaolin clay, feldspar, and mica are produced, and tests are now being made for the production of kyanite. This is the chief clay-producing area in the United States, and the center of feldspar and mica production.⁴ Asbestos is found in large deposits near Ledger, Bakersville, and Minneapolis. Dolomitic marble occurs on the north bank of Toe River near Sink Hole Creek. Magnetic iron is found in large quantities near Buladean. The total mineral production of Mitchell County alone is worth more than \$1,000,000 annually.⁵

The Toe River Valley is a paradise for the botanist. He finds a wider variety of plants in this section and adjoining ones than in any other temperate region on earth except Japan.⁶ The valley is a special home for the azalea, the kalmia, and the rhododendron. These plants flourish in great number and with most luxuriant growth. Sixty-three per cent of the total area of the valley is covered with forests, seventy per cent of which is farm

⁴ *North Carolina Resources and Industries* (Raleigh, 1929), p. 208. Also Holmes Bryson, *Mining Industry in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1930), pp. 74-75.

⁵ *North Carolina Resources*, p. 208.

⁶ Asa Gray, as quoted in an unnamed folder issued by the management of the Cloudland Hotel, 1888.

woodland.⁷ The annual stumpage value of timber in Mitchell County is \$20,000 and in Yancey County \$70,000. The total quantity of standing board feet is estimated at 350,000,000, all of which is now fairly accessible.⁸

The soil and climate of the Toe River Valley are such that any of the cereal crops may be grown profitably. Corn is the chief crop, but excellent wheat is grown on the lower levels. Grasses grow abundantly and require little attention. Hence livestock raising is important. Seventy-five years ago it was predicted that this region would be a leader in the growing of livestock,⁹ but the uncertainty of marketing and the development of mining have discouraged this industry. The region is well adapted to fruit growing. There is seldom a complete failure in the apple crop. The problem of marketing, however, has discouraged fruit growing also. Tobacco, which at one time was a leading staple, is now being grown in Yancey County and in some parts of Mitchell.

The wealth of the Toe River Valley, however, cannot be adequately measured by the products of its mines, forests, and fields. There are other resources which cannot be evaluated in terms of dollars and cents. It has climate; it has altitude; it has sparkling waters and landscape attraction. Such points as Little Switzerland, Sunny Brook Farm, Burnsville, and Spruce Pine are becoming well-known health resorts, and in summer they cater to an ever-growing tourist trade.

The physical features and location of the Toe River Valley have affected its history. The Blue Ridge, seen from the east, "presents the aspect of a steep and rugged escarpment springing suddenly from the Piedmont Plateau to an altitude of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above it."¹⁰ It was indeed the great barrier to settlement. The two entrances from the east, the McKinney Gap and the Gillespie Gap, are reached only after long and toilsome climbing. Those who dared to enter these passes found themselves pocketed in the Toe River Valley with little opportunity

⁷ *North Carolina Resources*, pp. 124, 226.

⁸ *North Carolina Resources*, pp. 124, 226.

⁹ T. L. Clingman, *Speeches and Writings* (Raleigh, 1877), p. 115.

¹⁰ R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago, 1929), I, 22.

for close association with the older settlements. Hence they chose the less difficult course of action, living unto themselves and becoming largely self-sufficient. The habits, customs, and manners which they brought with them remained little changed for practically a century. There was nothing to do but live on the fat of the land, retaining their speech and blood in greatest purity. There was little incentive to progress. In the course of time conservatism became the keynote of their character. Consequently the development of schools, the construction of roads, and the enjoyment of all except the most simple luxuries were delayed in this region.

EARLY EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

It is not known who were the first white men to explore the Toe River Valley, nor can it be definitely stated who were the first to explore the mountain region outside the valley. There are evidences of pre-historic mining throughout western North Carolina,¹¹ and the Sink Hole mines and the Clarissa mines in Mitchell County are notable evidences of this early mining.¹² It is believed by many that the Spaniards, dating from the time of De Soto, who in 1540 entered what is now North Carolina, did extensive mining in the mountain region. The late Dr. F. A. Sondley, lawyer and historical writer of Asheville, was of the opinion that the Spaniards lived and mined in this region for 150 years or more, from 1540 to 1690, and possibly later.¹³ If Dr. Sondley was correct in this conclusion, then undoubtedly the Spaniards were the first white explorers in the Toe River Valley. They were seeking gold and it is reasonable to conclude that they would search out the valleys and mountain sides in their quest for this precious metal.

In 1867 General T. L. Clingman, member of Congress and United States Senator from North Carolina for many years, observed timber standing in the wastes of the Sink Hole mines, which he stated had been growing there for three hundred

¹¹ John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina, A History (From 1730 to 1913)* (Raleigh, 1914), p. 11.

¹² C. D. Smith, *Ancient Mica Mines in North Carolina*, Smithsonian Institution Report, 1876, p. 441.

¹³ F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County* (Asheville, 1922), p. 51.

years. He also saw a slab of stone near one of these workings that had evidently been marked by blows of a metallic tool. The Indians of course had no metallic tools. He speaks of a tradition among the Indians that long ago white men came from the south and carried off white metal with them.¹⁴ This tradition and these observations are in line with Dr. Sondley's conclusions.

If the Spaniards were interested in gold in the region of western North Carolina, it appears that the English were no less interested in building up and maintaining a lucrative trade with the Indians. In 1670 Governor William Berkeley of Virginia sent the famous John Lederer to explore the interior of the Carolinas.¹⁵ While the journeys of Lederer cannot be traced with any assurance, it may be that he even touched upon the foothills of western North Carolina and that he came in contact with the Indians living there.¹⁶ In 1673 James Needham and Gabriel Arthur were sent out from Virginia to explore the region of the Cherokee Indians. These men entered the mountains and on their journey southward passed six rivers running to the west.¹⁷ Their journey was made in the interest of trade with the Indians,¹⁸ and it may be that these were the first Englishmen to explore the mountains of western North Carolina. Besides these explorers, unknown traders and hunters had pushed into and beyond the mountains, followed by others whose names are lost in obscurity, long before the first settler built his cabin there.¹⁹ It is a reasonable conjecture that the Toe River Valley was known and explored more than 100 years before the Revolution, and that the first settlers had authentic information about this region before they came.

At a very early date paths and roads were found traversing the Toe River Valley. Some of these, undoubtedly, were buffalo or Indian trails. As early as 1771, just after the battle of Alamance, James Robertson led a band of sixteen families from Wake County across the mountains into the valley of the Watauga. They probably followed the Catawba to its head, cross-

¹⁴ T. L. Clingman, *Speeches and Writings* (Raleigh, 1877), pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1858), pp. 11, 43.

¹⁶ F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County* (Asheville, 1922), p. 51.

¹⁷ F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County*, p. 51.

¹⁸ F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County*, p. 51.

¹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (New York, 1900), I, 173-174.

ing the Blue Ridge at the McKinney Gap; from there their course seems to have lain up the valley of the North Toe and to have followed Bright's Trace across the Yellow Mountain.²⁰ When the Watauga settlement became Washington County, in 1777, a wagon road was opened across the mountains into the settled parts of North Carolina.²¹ This was the first road of its kind to be carved out across the mountains,²² and vast hordes of emigrants, including a future President of the United States,²³ were to pass over it on their way to the west. It was the road, in part at least, over which John Sevier and his men were to march on their way to Kings Mountain in 1780.²⁴

The route of the Kings Mountain men has been marked out as follows: beginning at the Sycamore Shoals, the place of rendezvous, they ascended Gap Creek to its head, and crossing Little Doe River they came to the "Resting Place" at the "Shelving Rock" after a march of twenty miles on the first day. Here they camped for the night. The next day they ascended the mountains, following the well known Bright's Trace through a gap between the Roan and the Yellow mountains. On reaching the "Bald of the Yellow," the volunteers paraded under their respective commanders and were ordered to discharge their rifles; and such was the rarity of the atmosphere that there was little or no report. At this point two of Sevier's men, James Crawford and Samuel Chambers, deserted. Fearing that the object of the deserters was to apprise Ferguson of their approach, the troops took the left hand or more northerly road instead of bearing to the right as they had planned. Descending Roaring Creek four miles, they reached the North Toe River; and continuing down this river, they reached the Davenport spring where they rested at noonday. That evening they reached Cathey's plantation at the mouth of Grassy Creek, where they camped for the night. On the following day they ascended the valley of Grassy Creek to Gillespie Gap, and here the army divided, the Virginia troops going six or seven miles south to

²⁰ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 233.

²¹ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 232; Walter Clark (editor), *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 141.

²² Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 233.

²³ Andrew Jackson.

²⁴ Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), pp. 176-180.

Henry Gillespie's while the others followed the old trace in an easterly direction to the north fork of the Catawba.²⁵ The remainder of their journey to Kings Mountain, which was through another section, need not concern us here. The original plan of the Kings Mountain men seems to indicate that there was a road leading from Carver's Gap of the Roan down the valley of Little Rock Creek and possibly to Buck Creek Gap. It is difficult to imagine any other course they could have followed had they turned to the right from the shelving rock as they had planned.

An emigrant to the west, however, could have reached the Watauga settlements by a much shorter route. Entering the valley at the McKinney Gap, or two miles farther south at the Gillespie Gap, he could have followed the road which led from the Turkey Cove by way of the forks of Crane Creek near the site of Bakersville to Toe River. Pursuing a course down the river for a distance of about three miles to a point where the road branched, he could have followed the northern branch up Rock Creek and across the Iron Mountains into the Lost Cove; or he could have followed the southern branch which crossed Rock Creek near its mouth and led across the Unakas into the Greasy Cove. Even though either of these courses would have been a much shorter route to Watauga, it appears that they were not travelled as frequently as the one across the Yellow Mountain. In 1802 F. A. Michaux, a French botanist collecting specimens in America, came back from his excursion in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois by way of the Iron Mountain road. He found reason to regret attempting the route, however, because it was so difficult to travel. It was necessary in many places to push back the rhododendron in order that his horse might pass, and since the road followed the bed of Rock Creek for a long distance it was not an easy matter to follow it. For twenty-three miles he saw no sign of human habitation, and on reaching Baker's place (at what is now Bakersville) he learned that this road was very seldom travelled.²⁶ The branch leading across the Unakas was clearly an Indian path, for in a grant secured by John McKnitt

²⁵ Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, pp. 176, 180.

²⁶ Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), p. 284.

Alexander and William Sharpe in 1778, the land granted was described as lying at the mouth of Rock Creek on Toe River near where the Indian path leads across the Unakas. The present highways leading through Mitchell County into Tennessee follow very closely these early trails.

The region of the Toe River Valley was not legally opened up to settlement until 1778. Prior to that time no grants were issued for lands lying in the valley. By royal proclamation, in 1763, all lands west of the Blue Ridge had been reserved for the Indians, and individuals had been forbidden to purchase from them. The proclamation had been almost universally disregarded and pioneers had settled on the lands in question almost at will. This legal restriction as far as the Toe River Valley was concerned was not removed until after North Carolina had become independent of the crown. The legislature of 1778, following a more liberal policy, opened up to settlement all the lands lying north of the divide between the Swannanoa and the Toe rivers, and extending westward in such a way as to include all the settled portions west of the mountains.²⁷ The Toe River Valley was partially included within these bounds, but there is little doubt that prior to the passage of this act there were white residents in the valley.

The earliest grants made for lands lying in the Toe River Valley were secured by John McKnitt Alexander and William Sharpe. Alexander lived in Mecklenburg County, was secretary to the convention which drew up the resolves of May 31, 1775, and was a close friend of Waightstill Avery, who practiced law at that time in east Tennessee and western North Carolina.²⁸ Sharpe was one of the leading men of the state, having served as aide-de-camp to General Griffith Rutherford in the Indian wars, as a commissioner to make a treaty with the Indians at Long Island of Holston, as a member of the constitutional convention of 1776, and as a member of the Continental Congress.²⁹ These men secured four grants dated December 10, 1778. One tract lay at the mouth of Rock Creek, another on the banks of

²⁷ Walter Clark (editor), *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 159-160.

²⁸ John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 78.

²⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 216.

Caney River, the third at the forks of Cane Creek near where Bakersville is now located, and the last on the south side of Yellow Mountain. It appears probable that they were interested in minerals. Two of these tracts would be considered valuable for agricultural purposes; but the other two could have little value except for the minerals they might contain. An outcropping of mica or possibly some other mineral may have attracted their attention. It would appear that there was no intention on their part to live on the land.

Probably the first grant taken out by an actual resident was that obtained by Samuel Bright, March 5, 1780, for 360 acres lying in the valley of the North Toe. Bright was a loyalist who lived three miles from the McKinney Gap. Bright's Trace takes its name from him. It appears that he was in league with the Indians and that he had lived with them before the Revolution. He served as guide to parties crossing the mountains and went west some time before 1800 with a family named Grant. It is believed by many that General Ulysses S. Grant was descended from this family.³⁰

Very soon after Bright's grant was issued, others were taken out by William Wisemen, William Davenport, William Davis, and William Pendley. Wiseman, Davis, and Pendley were co-adventurers, having left London together as boys and having remained together thereafter. They landed in New England, made their way south, lingered for a while on John's River, became guides to hunting parties going into the mountains, and eventually took up land near each other in the Toe River Valley. Davis, and probably Wiseman also, was a soldier in the Revolution. Wiseman was appointed the first magistrate in the valley, and on one occasion Samuel Bright's wife was brought before him for trial on the charge that she had stolen a bolt of cloth from a peddler. The evidence was sufficient to convict her, and the penalty was to be thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The question arose, however, as to who should administer the punishment, and the peddler insisted that Wiseman should do it. Bright was a dangerous foe, and Wiseman did not wish to incur his wrath. A solution was reached when, by court order, the

³⁰ John Preston Arthur, *A History of Watauga County* (Richmond, 1915), pp. 54-55.

peddler himself was assigned the task. The sentence, however, was never executed.³¹ Davenport was the first man to own slaves in the valley. He possessed a large tract of land on what is now known as the Aden Wiseman tract, the best farm in Avery County. Here his home became an open hostelry to the weary traveler, and he entertained, among others, André Michaux in 1795 and the younger Michaux in 1802.³²

The census of 1790 lists some eighty families living in the Toe River Valley. The whole of the tenth company and a part of the twelfth company of Burke County, it seems, lay in the valley. The tenth company embraced the present territory of Mitchell and Avery counties and a small portion of Yancey, while the twelfth company took in the southern part of Yancey. A few of the men of the tenth company were William McKinney, Thomas McKinney, John Gouge, Thomas Young, John Wilson, and Reid Medlock in the Cane Creek Valley; Nathan Deaton, David McCracken, Joshua Young, and Sam Wilson south of the Toe River; and Thomas Knight, senior, Thomas Knight, junior, Martin Davenport, Samuel Bright, William Wiseman, Thomas Wiseman, and Daniel Hollifield along the slopes of the Blue Ridge extending north into the valley of the North Toe. In the twelfth company there were, among others, James Hensley, Holland Higgins, James Bernet, John Edwards, Robert Baker, Isaac Anglin, and John Renfrow. The total population of the valley at this time was more than 300 persons.³³

These first settlers and others who followed them were largely of English or Scotch-Irish stock. Miss Margaret Morley, a Bostonian, who lived for some years among the people of western North Carolina and who made an excellent study of them, says:

The truth is, the same people who occupied Virginia and the eastern part of the Carolinas peopled the western mountains, English predominating, and in the course of time there drifted down from Virginia large numbers of Scotch-Irish, who, after the events of 1730, fled in such numbers to the New World, and good Scotch Highlanders, who came after 1745. In fact, so many of these stanch Northerners

³¹ Arthur, *A History of Watauga County*, p. 55.

³² Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, p. 284.

³³ *State Records of North Carolina*, XXVI, 337-341.

came to the North Carolina mountains that they have given the dominant note in the character of the mountaineer, remembering which may help the puzzled stranger to understand the peculiarities of the people he finds here today.³⁴

While the land in the Toe River Valley was being occupied by actual settlers, the speculative bug was busy. A few far-sighted individuals began to realize that this mountain land would some day be of great value. Indeed, precious minerals were imbedded in the valleys and mountain sides which at a future date were to bring great wealth to the owners. It was also a fine livestock region. In summer thousands of cattle could graze on the slopes, and fruits would grow in abundance. About 1785 Waightstill Avery, the first attorney general of the state of North Carolina, took out hundreds of grants, usually in 640-acre tracts, extending from the headwaters of North Toe River along its course to Toecane but also on the headwaters of South Toe River. On November 9, 1796, John Gray Blount, a citizen of Beaufort County, and brother of William Blount, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, secured a grant calling for 320,640 acres extending from the Toe River on the north and Crabtree Creek on the east southward in such a way as to include practically the whole of what is now Yancey County.³⁵

The Blount land was sold in 1798 for delinquent taxes, and John Strother, Blount's agent, bought it and acquired title to it in his own name. When Strother made his will in 1806, however, he remembered his "beloved friend," John Gray Blount, and bequeathed to him all of the unsold portion. Many small tracts had been sold and the deeds cited the sheriff's sale of September 19, 1798, to Strother as authority for the title. On the death of Strother, Robert Love became the agent for the executors of John Gray Blount, and in 1834, for the sum of \$3,000, the executors transferred all the unsold land to Robert Love and James R. Love, whose residence was in Haywood County.³⁶ This seems to have been a good bargain for the Loves, since as late as 1848 there were large tracts of this land still unsold and

³⁴ Margaret W. Morley, *The Carolina Mountains* (Boston and New York, 1913), pp. 138-139.

³⁵ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 137-138.

³⁶ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 137-138.

listed for taxation by the owners for several times the original purchase price.³⁷

The same story is repeated as to the lands north of the Toe River. William Cathcart in 1795 took out two large grants, one for 99,000 acres and the other for 59,000 acres. These grants covered practically the whole of what are now Mitchell and Avery counties and included the Avery grants.³⁸ Subsequently a great deal of litigation took place with respect to boundary lines, and at least one corner of the larger tract is still questioned. The mineral rights are still owned by the heirs of the agent of Cathcart, and this fact has discouraged in large degree the activity of prospectors, who cannot hope to reap a rich harvest by uncovering veins of minerals which could be exploited by other hands. The land itself, not the mineral rights, has been sold to people who have built homes upon it and who in part are responsible for changing the region from a "howling wilderness" into a prosperous land.

There are no reliable records which describe the relationship of the early settlers with the Indians. Prior to the coming of the white man the Catawbias held the country to the crest of the Blue Ridge, while west of that line the Cherokees, a numerous and warlike tribe, held sway to the Mississippi River. There is little reason to believe that large numbers of these ever inhabited the Toe River Valley. It is more probable that from time to time large bands of Indians roamed through this unsettled region where game was plentiful, and that after the coming of the whites they preyed upon the more isolated settlers. The presence of arrowheads in large numbers, notably near Ledger and in the Deyton Bend, and the fact that trails were found leading across the mountains in the direction of the populous Indian settlements, are evidence that the Toe River Valley was a hunting ground of both tribes.

There are traditions of many conflicts between the whites and the Indians. A man by the name of Rose was killed and scalped by Indians near Altapass, and Rose's Creek derived its name

³⁷ Tax list for Yancey County for the year 1848. (All county records cited in this article are in the county courthouses.)

³⁸ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 138-139.

(so the story goes) from this fact.³⁹ Aaron Burleson, an ancestor of Postmaster-General Albert S. Burleson of President Wilson's Cabinet, was massacred somewhere on the headwaters of Cane Creek about 1781.⁴⁰ And there is a story to the effect that a woman by the name of Mace was scalped alive by three Indians on the headwaters of Grassy Creek. Her husband returned from a hunting trip and, finding his wife in this mutilated condition, followed the Indians to a point near the present Grassy Creek Baptist Church and shot them. Three mounds have been pointed out on the edge of a pasture, but grown over with pines, as the graves of these Indians. Strange to say the woman recovered, and hundreds of her descendants now living have received the story from the lips of their parents or grandparents.⁴¹ There is a tradition in almost every family that at some time in the hazy past the Indians constituted a real source of danger to the early settlers.

Indian legends are few, but the one explaining how the Toe River got its name is worth preserving. The story is to the effect that there was a beautiful Indian princess named Estatoe who lived somewhere in the Toe River Valley, the place varying according to the person who is relating the story. A young brave from the Watauga region on one of his hunting trips into the valley chanced to see the princess, and it was a case of love at first sight. Pretty soon after this he returned and made known to Estatoe his love for her and she agreed to elope with him. But they were pursued by her kinsmen as they fled down the river, were overtaken, and the young brave was killed. Estatoe was so overwhelmed by the loss of her lover that she cast herself into the river and was drowned. The river after that time was called Estatoe, and the whites abbreviated the name to Toe.⁴²

While definite information about the Indians is lacking, it is certain that wild beasts constituted a great source of danger to the settlers. Panthers, wildcats, bears, and wolves were the

³⁹ Tradition preserved by Mr. W. W. Bailey of Spruce Pine.

⁴⁰ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 250.

⁴¹ Told to the writer by Mr. John C. McBee of Spruce Pine, who is a grandson of the woman scalped.

⁴² Duggar, *Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain*, p. 121.

most troublesome depredators and they were the means of much serious damage to the stock of the settlers, most of which was driven to the mountain ranges where luxuriant grasses abounded from May until October. Colts, calves, and pigs were frequently attacked and destroyed by these "varmints," as they were called. Wolves especially were so destructive that beginning in 1836 a special wolf tax was levied each year until 1857. The proceeds of this tax were offered as a bounty for wolf scalps.⁴³

The settlers learned early that in unity there is strength. There were many problems to be solved. The forests had to be cleared, houses built, and crops planted and cared for until they matured; and the sparseness of the population rendered the problem of protection, whether against the Indian or the wild beast, a difficult one. All of these were common problems and led to the cultivation of a mutual dependence and brotherhood. Consequently, there was developed a friendly and neighborly intercourse which has seldom been surpassed. A corn-husking, log-rolling, or house-raising drew settlers for miles about; and oftentimes crops were even planted, cultivated, and harvested by several families who, exchanging labor and companionship, moved from one clearing to another and thus made the most of their opportunities to develop a worthy community spirit. Through such methods it was possible to lay the foundation for an economic unit that was practically self-sufficing.

DEVELOPMENT TO 1860

The history of the Toe River Valley to 1833 is tied up with that of Burke and Buncombe counties. The entire valley was a part of Burke County from the time of the formation of the latter in 1777⁴⁴ to the creation of Buncombe County in 1791.⁴⁵ In the latter year all that portion of the valley lying south of Toe River and west of Crabtree Creek became a part of the newly created county of Buncombe. The remainder of the valley continued a part of Burke County until 1833, when the

⁴³ Minutes of County Court of Yancey County, 1836-1857.

⁴⁴ *Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina*, revision made by Frederick Nash, James Iredell, and William H. Battle (Raleigh, 1837), II, 108.

⁴⁵ *Revised Statutes of North Carolina*, II, 107.

entire valley was taken to form a part of Yancey County. Thereafter, and until the creation of Mitchell County in 1861, the story of the Toe River Valley is in reality the story of Yancey County.

The need assigned for the creation of Yancey County was the extreme difficulty and expense of rendering public service by the inhabitants living in the area which was to be included in the new county.⁴⁶ For example, a member of the county court of Buncombe who resided near Toe River would have to travel more than forty miles over very bad roads to attend the sessions of court at Asheville. His neighbor living just north of the river, in Burke County, would have to travel approximately the same distance to reach Morganton. In either case the round trip would consume two days and one night—this in addition to the time required by the transaction of business. Moreover, witnesses summoned to appear before the courts would usually be put to a great deal more expense in making the trip than they could hope to receive in fees. Consequently the course of justice was often hindered and delayed because of the absence of witnesses. By 1833 the population of the valley had grown rapidly since its first settlement, both because of natural increase and through immigration. A host of new settlers had arrived in the valley, had secured land, had built homes, and planned to remain there. A new county, it was thought, would add greatly to the convenience of conveying titles to property, dispensing justice, and building roads. An ambitious people would not long consent to remain so far removed from the seats of their government.

The bounds of the new county of Yancey were much greater than those of the Toe River Valley and included a large portion of the present county of Madison as well as that section of the present county of Avery which lies west of the Blue Ridge. The eastern and western boundary lines, however, for the most part coincided with the bounds of the Toe River Valley.⁴⁷ In 1831 an area on the southwest was included in the new county of

⁴⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina Session of 1833-34* (Raleigh, 1834), chap. 83.

⁴⁷ *Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1833-34*, chap. 83.

Madison,⁴⁸ and in 1849 a portion on the northeastern section was taken to become a part of Watauga.⁴⁹ From 1851 to 1861 the bounds of Yancey County were practically coterminous with those of Toe River Valley.

Yancey County was named for Bartlett Yancey, a native North Carolinian and a citizen of Caswell County. He was twice a member of Congress and eight times a member of the state senate. He was one of the first to agitate the question of a public school system in North Carolina. In the House of Representatives he rendered distinguished service and often was called by Henry Clay to the Speaker's chair, in which capacity he presided with dignity and ability.⁵⁰ Burnsville, the county seat, was named in honor of Captain Otway Burns, another native North Carolinian. Burns was a noted naval officer during the war of 1812, and commanded the United States privateer *Snapdragon*. He made himself a terror to the British, who sent the *Leopard* to capture him. While Burns was off duty because of illness his vessel was captured, but not until much damage had been done to the British shipping.⁵¹ A monument has been erected in the public square of Burnsville, commemorating his brave deeds and services in the Second War for Independence.

The location of the county seat of Burnsville was not difficult to determine. In an act supplementary to that establishing the county, Rickles Stanley, Thomas Baker, Joseph Shepherd, John McElroy, and Levi Bailey⁵² were appointed commissioners to fix the location for the seat of justice, and to acquire title to it either by donation or by purchase. The tract of land so selected was to consist of not less than 100 acres and was to be within five miles of the home of James Greenlee.⁵³ By March 6, 1834, these commissioners had secured from John Bailey, commonly known because of his fighting propensities as "Yellow Jacket

⁴⁸ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1850-51* (Raleigh, 1851), chap. 36.

⁴⁹ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1848-49* (Raleigh, 1844), chap. 25.

⁵⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 78-79.

⁵¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 467-468.

⁵² No attempt is made to identify the many men whose names are mentioned in connection with the location of the county seat, the acts of the county court of pleas and quarter sessions, and the laying out of roads.

⁵³ *Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina, Sessions of 1833-34* (Raleigh, 1834), chap. 84.

John," title for 100 acres of land, and at the June session of the county court acknowledgment of the deed was received.⁵⁴ It appears that this site was satisfactory to all. The tract lay on a plateau in the divide between Little Crabtree Creek and Caney River, and from the standpoint of natural beauty it is doubtful whether a better location could have been secured. It was not far from the center of the county at that time. The comparatively populous sections of Cane Creek, Rock Creek, and Toe River, in the extreme north and east, were a little farther removed from the county seat, but the inhabitants had a much more level route to travel than those who lived in Ivy and Laurel sections, since for the most part they could descend one valley and ascend another until the Burnsville plateau was reached; while the inhabitants of the southwestern area, while not as far distant from the county seat had to cross Ivey Gap or Paint Gap, and the ascent from the west side was across a mountain and was very similar to the roads crossing the Blue Ridge from the east.

The first session of the Yancey County court of pleas and quarter sessions opened on the third Monday in January, 1834. The place of meeting was the Caney River meeting house, which stood near James Greenlee's. There were sixteen justices present. Strange to say, a chairman was not chosen until the second day of court, when John Hensley was elected to this position. On the first day, however, the following officers were elected: clerk, Amos Ray; sheriff, Samuel Byrd; solicitor, Burgess S. Gaither; surveyor, Abner Jarvis; register, Joseph B. Ray; entry-taker, Ansell Cook; county trustee, Gutridge Garland; treasurer of public buildings, William Dixon; coroners, Reuben Young and Zephaniah Norton; proceSSIONERS, David D. McCanles, J. W. Garland, and Joel E. Jarvis. All of these, together with the many constables appointed for various companies, were to hold office until the time for the regular election, in July. Polling places were established as follows: one at Smith's and McElroy's store at Burnsville, one at May Jarvis's on Caney River, one at Isaac Rice's on Ivy Creek, one at Thomas Young's on Little Crab-

⁵⁴ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, June, 1834.

tree Creek, one at Adam Hoppas's on Toe River, one at Lodawick Oaks' on North Toe River, one at Garland's and Brigg's store on Rock Creek, and one at Jonathan Tipton's on Brummett's Creek.

Another important item to come before the court was that of devising ways and means of securing public buildings. The plan of creating a commission and investing it with the proper authority was decided upon, and W. L. Lewis, Daniel Carter, Tilman Blalock, John Edwards, and D. D. Baker were appointed members. They were invested with the authority to make plans, draw up specifications, and let the contract for the erection of a courthouse in the most advantageous manner. The commission functioned admirably, and the sessions of the court were held in the newly erected courthouse in the fall of 1836. It was constructed of brick, and stood near the site of the present building.

Some minor items transacted by the first term of the court are interesting. For example, it appeared to the court that David D. Baker and W. W. Carson were men of good character and steadiness, and therefore the sheriff was directed to issue each a license to retail spirits by the small measure for a period of one year. At the closing session of the court, probably in a spirit of merriment, Reuben Keith was fined three dozen apples and a gallon of cider; and Samuel Byrd, presumably the newly elected sheriff, was fined a gallon of cider. No offense is stated, but Byrd paid his fine. Probably Keith felt that he should not treat the court since he had been appointed to no important office. There is no record that his fine was ever paid.⁵⁵

The main problem facing the new county was that of building roads. It was desirable that these should radiate from the county seat to all sections of the county and that good connections be opened up with the adjoining counties in both North Carolina and Tennessee. Consequently, nearly all the acts passed by the legislature relating to Yancey County up to 1860 were road acts, and the enforcement of these required a great deal of the time of the county court.

⁵⁵ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January term, 1834.

The first local road act for the county was passed by the legislature in 1834. Its purpose was to open up connections with the east and the west at one stroke. Colonel William Dixon, Alfred Perkins, and William Murphy, Jr., of Burke County, and John G. Phillips, Bacchus S. Smith, and Colonel David Baker of Yancey County were appointed commissioners to survey and lay off a road from Morganton via the nearest and best route to Burnsville, and continuing thence to Bennett's Station in Buncombe County, or to such other point on the road from Asheville to Newport as might be best calculated to open a channel of communication between Burnsville and Tennessee.⁵⁶

A part of this road, that from Burnsville to the Blue Ridge, was built before 1840, but the completion of the entire road within a few years time was beyond the resources of the county. Road building was expensive, and for this purpose the county had to depend almost solely upon free labor. That part of the road extending from Burnsville to the Tennessee line was abandoned temporarily, for in 1847 a new commission was appointed to lay out that section of the road on a grade not to exceed ten per cent.⁵⁷ A new attempt was made to extend the road in the direction of Morganton in 1841, but this time state aid was sought. Alexander F. Gaston, William Gillispie, James H. Greenlee, and Daniel Cox of Burke County, and William Dixon, Jacob Hollifield, Jesse Wilson, and Isaac C. Wilson of Yancey County were appointed to lay off a road beginning at the point where the road leading from Burnsville toward Morganton terminated, and thence following the most practical route down the Blue Ridge to Turkey Cove Creek. For this project \$1,000 was to be paid from the public improvement fund of the state in the event the citizens of Burke and Yancey expended \$500 in cash or labor upon the road. Even with this state aid, however, the project was not completed, and in 1849 a more ambitious scheme was undertaken when the McDowell and Yancey Turnpike Company was incorporated to build the road. The company was to secure subscriptions of \$7,000 from the citizens of Yancey and

⁵⁶ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1834-35* (Raleigh, 1835), chap. 124.

⁵⁷ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1844-45* (Raleigh, 1846), chap. 83.

McDowell counties and to receive \$3,000 from the state public improvement board, the latter sum to be set aside for the purpose from the sale of public lands in the valley.⁵⁸ The incorporators, however, found that they could not secure the required subscriptions of \$7,000, and an amendment was enacted by the legislature of 1850-1851 to reduce the subscription to \$3,000; and in case that amount could not be secured Yancey County was authorized to supply two-thirds of the deficit and McDowell County the other one-third. The two counties were directed to raise their share of the funds in the same manner that other funds for county purposes were secured, that is, by direct taxation.⁵⁹

Even this generous plan, however, failed to bring about the completion of the road. In 1861 an additional \$3,000 was authorized to come from the funds of the internal improvement board and to be set aside from the sale of public lands, not merely in Yancey or McDowell counties but anywhere west of the Blue Ridge.⁶⁰ The Civil War interfered until several years afterward. In the modern sense, this road, even when constructed, could never have been classified as a graded road. It was narrow, and the grade in ascending the Blue Ridge in many places exceeded the one-foot-in-ten limitation specified in the act of incorporation.

The story of the construction of the road westward from Burnsville to the Tennessee line is similar. The best location was not a matter easily to be determined. A highway leading to Asheville as well as into Tennessee was desirable. In 1847 Colonel William Brown, Jr., M. Smith, and Milton Penland were appointed commissioners to lay off a road from Asheville to Burnsville and thence to the Tennessee line, while the county courts of Buncombe and Yancey were directed to "call out all hands subject by law to work upon said road and to make the route which shall be laid off by said commissioners." This commission did not function, and the Laurel Turnpike Company was chartered in 1849 to construct a road from the Tennessee line to Ivy Gap.⁶¹ Prior to this, however, in piecemeal fashion

⁵⁸ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1849-50* (Raleigh, 1850), chap. 219.

⁵⁹ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1850-51* (Raleigh, 1851), chap. 145.

⁶⁰ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1860-61* (Raleigh, 1861), chap. 187.

⁶¹ *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1848-49* (Raleigh, 1849), chap. 216.

a road had been opened up from Burnsville, by way of Bald Creek, to Ivy Gap. In 1857 the internal improvement board was authorized to subscribe \$3,000 to the capital of the Laurel Turnpike Company, but this amount was insufficient and the road was not finished until after the Civil War.

The tolls to be charged by the McDowell and Yancey Turnpike Company and the Laurel Turnpike Company on the roads constructed by them were to be as follows:

wagon with five or six horses.....	.75
pleasure carriage drawn by two horses.....	.75
wagon with four horses.....	.50
wagon with 2 or 3 horses.....	.30
wagon or cart with one horse.....	.15
peddler.....	.50
gig or sulky.....	.25
man and horse.....	.10
loose horse or mule.....	.05
cattle each.....	.03
sheep and hogs, each.....	.01

The greatest interest had been shown in the construction of roads connecting with the east and with Tennessee on the west. But a road leading through North Toe River Valley to Ashe and Watauga counties was important especially for the inhabitants of the northeastern section of Yancey County. Consequently much effort and time were spent in opening up a route from Council's store in Ashe County to Bedford Wiseman's, near the mouth of Three Mile Creek. It was not until the late 'fifties that this route was marked out. Connecting side roads within the county were also important, and these were usually opened up by the county court without reference to any special act of the legislature authorizing each particular project. For example, in 1835 a road from William Baker's on Rock Creek to D. D. Baker's on Cane Creek was ordered built; in 1836 one connecting the Yellow Mountain on Bright's Road with the Iron Mountain Road;⁶² and in 1851 one from Jack's Creek across the Green Mountains to Burnsville.

⁶² Minutes of County Court, Yancey County.

The isolated location of the Toe River Valley did not have its full effect until after 1860. In the period 1830-1860 this mountain section began to be shut off from the remainder of the state, but the poorness of the mountain roads was not as much a deterrent to travel before the Civil War as afterwards. Road building in the more prosperous, thickly settled portions of the state led to distinctions between valley areas and mountain ridge sections. The stream of immigration from east to west was gradually subsiding. This frontier section still existing in the mountains was separated from the frontier region of the northwest by a belt that had reached a more advanced stage of development. The tendency was for the Toe River Valley to become more isolated. For the most part, after 1850, there were no large migrations through the valley. The stress in road construction had been laid on building through and not to the valley. Consequently, very few of that large number of emigrants wending its way westward from 1830 to 1850, to escape the toil of poverty in central North Carolina and to enter a nonslave territory, remained in the mountains. There was contact with the outside to be sure. Outsiders could be seen daily, bringing news from the east, but they were headed farther west. The Iron Mountain road and the Yellow Mountain or Bright's road were in such a state of improvement as not to deter the emigrant headed west. But when this migration ceased, contact with the outside was largely cut off. Thereafter, to all intents and purposes, the curtain fell and there was little further contact with the east, while those who had passed on to the west were likewise forgotten. The enormous expense encountered in building roads in this section rendered it impossible to keep pace with the lowland and valley sections to the east or west. Hence, progress was much slower, and the spur of contact with more developed communities was lost. In a word, the Toe River Valley, though not populated by a class who were conservative by nature, became conservative as compared with more accessible regions. It became conservative because it could not possibly compete with the more favored sections.

The matter of public education in Yancey County was given little attention prior to the Civil War. There was a decided interest in orphans, but the masses of children received less attention than conditions would have seemed to justify. Apprenticeship laws seemingly were vigorously enforced, partly because of a sincere desire to help the unfortunate but also because this was a popular thing to do. During the year 1834 four orphan children were bound, and this practice continued from year to year even as late as 1866. The first child bound was Lewis Bailey:

On motion made ordered by the court that Lewis Bailey who is now between seven and eight years old be bound to Willie C. Bailey, which was accordingly done and is to give Lewis eighteen months schooling, one horse bridle and saddle worth sixty-five dollars, three good suits of clothes when he comes to the age of twenty-one years, one of which is to be store goods.⁶³

At the same time Polly E. Bailey was bound to Abner Jervis, who was to give her twelve months schooling, one cow and calf, one bed and furniture, and five good suits of clothes, two of which were to be store suits. The following spring Malinda Goldsmith was bound to Reuben Keith until she should arrive at the age of eighteen, "said Keith to learn said apprentice to read and write well and also to teach said apprentice the art and mystery of Industry and constantly provide all necessary food and clothing for said apprentice."⁶⁴ At the same session of the court Thomas Sawyer was bound to Daniel Carter, "said Carter to give the apprentice two years of schooling, one year before he becomes fifteen years of age, and the other year before the time of his freedom; to give him horse, bridle and saddle worth eighty dollars, three suits, one to be of good decent Broadcloth and teach said apprentice the art of farming." In the fall term of 1834 Amos Boon was bound to James Boon, who was required to give the apprentice two years of schooling; a horse, saddle, and bridle worth eighty dollars; four suits of

⁶³ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, December 30, 1834.

⁶⁴ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, June term, 1835.

clothes, two of which were to be of good "Janes" and two of everyday apparel; one ax; one good hat; and one "pars" of shoes. In 1852 it was "ordered by court that Francis Rose, a minor orphan of Alfred Rose and Sarah Rose, deceased, be bound to James M. Patterson until he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, who [Francis Rose] is now about fourteen years of age who [James M. Patterson] is to give him two years of schooling and at his freedom two suits of clothes, six dollars in cash and one Bible."⁶⁵

As a rule, orphans were apprenticed to relatives, and in each case a bond for the faithful performance of the latter's obligations was required. Whether or not the provision for one or two years of schooling was complied with cannot be determined, but it is certain that girls were usually taught the "art and mystery" of industry, which meant carding, spinning, and weaving, and that boys were taught the rudiments of agriculture.

Yancey County did not participate in the State Literary Fund before 1844. It is to be supposed, therefore, that there were no public schools in the county before that date. In the August election of 1839 the vote was against adopting the state scheme of education, which was based on the principle of joint support by local taxation and by participation in the income of the State Literary Fund. No doubt the view frequently expressed in North Carolina at that time as to the comparative importance of schools and internal improvements prevailed in Yancey County. "Governor Swain in 1833 said that by a judicious system of internal improvements the people would become prosperous and then would not have to depend upon the public schools for an education."⁶⁶ The prevailing attitude seems to have been that large sums should be spent for internal improvements but little or nothing for schools.

Little is known about the schools of Yancey County before 1853. The reports of the State Superintendent of Schools, Cal-

⁶⁵ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, July term, 1852.

⁶⁶ William E. Drake, *The History of Education in Tyrrell County*, 1928, p. 24, as quoted by Bramlett, *Popular Editor in North Carolina, 1815-1860*, p. 31. (Both studies are transcripts in the University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill.)

vin H. Wiley, from 1853 to 1860 show that there were schools in many of the districts in those years. In 1853 there were 37 districts in the county, and schools were taught in twenty-two of them. In 1854 there were forty-six districts and thirty-three of them had schools. The average length of the term in that year was two and one-fourth months, and the average monthly salary for teachers was \$16. For the school year ending September, 1859, there were forty-eight districts, of which thirty-seven had schools. There were thirty-seven licensed teachers, and in that year the term was two and one-half months. In all of the years from 1853 to 1860 the number of children taught was about one-half the total of the school population. The number of children taught was not reported for the year 1853, but the total school population was reported as 3,605. In 1858, 1,662 children out of a total of 3,244 were in attendance upon the schools. The decrease in the total population from the number reported in 1853 is accounted for by the transfer of certain districts in the southwest to Madison County. In 1860, 1,703 children out of a total of 3,409 were taught in the schools. The total school revenue for that year was \$2,250.32, of which amount \$467.36 remained unexpended at the close of the year—a condition which seems to have been characteristic of the prewar period. There was a surplus of revenue over expenditures in all those years in which reports for the county were completed.⁶⁷

The collection of the school funds was not always efficiently managed. Oftentimes the sheriff, who was also the tax collector, was dilatory about making accurate statement and settlement of the funds collected by him. In fact, in the year 1850 and again in 1858, the sheriff absconded without paying over the funds collected, but fortunately the county was able to recover the funds. In 1855 the county chairman refused to make settlement for the funds passing through his hands. But upon the advice of the State Superintendent, a new chairman, M. P. Penland, was elected to this position and things seem to have run smoothly thereafter. This situation called forth an exten-

⁶⁷ Calvin H. Wiley, *Educational Reports, 1853-1860* (Raleigh).

sive discussion of the weaknesses of the school system on the part of State Superintendent Wiley.⁶⁸ Had news collecting been as efficient then as it is today, no doubt the scandals in Yancey's official circles would have been heralded far and wide.

Doubtless there were private schools before the beginning of the public schools. The census of 1850 shows that there were only 962 adult whites out of a total of 7,809 who could not read and write. This was only 12.7 per cent, a figure which, if correct, was exceeded by many returns prior to 1900. The people had in some manner succeeded in learning a few of the fundamentals, and many of the leaders were liberally educated for that time. The neatness, accuracy, and completeness of many of the county records for the pre-Civil War period, as compared to the condition of the records today, show that those virtues were more effectively taught than in the period after 1900.

There was one private school in the county which rendered fine service for its day—Burnsville Academy. Though never a chartered institution it had a wide reputation, and many outstanding men were educated there. An exact history of this school cannot be secured, but it was opened about 1845 by Professor Stephen Adams, who taught there ten or twelve years. After his death Professor J. E. Rheim had charge of the school for seven or eight years.⁶⁹ This academy was a Methodist institution. On one occasion three students who came from Baptist homes professed themselves Christians and joined the Methodist Church. This put the parents of those students to thinking, and the result was the establishment of Mars Hill College, a Baptist institution, at Mars Hill.⁷⁰

The agricultural development of Yancey County prior to 1860 was little short of marvelous. The soil and climate were not only favorable to the production of grain but also peculiarly

⁶⁸ Wiley, *Educational Reports*, 1856-1857; also minutes of the county court for the years mentioned.

⁶⁹ C. H. Mebane, *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1897-1898 (Raleigh, 1898), p. 721.

⁷⁰ E. H. Stillwell, *Notes on the History of Western North Carolina* (Cullowhee, 1927), p. 140.

fitted for grasses. Land was cheap. In a letter of February 3, 1844, Congressman Clingman wrote:

With respect to the prices of land, I can assure you that large bodies of uncleared rich land, most of which might be cultivated, have been sold at prices varying from twenty-five cents to fifty cents per acre. Any quantity of land favorable for sheep-walks might be procured in any section of the county, at prices varying from one to ten dollars per acre.⁷¹

Moreover, the livestock of the Kentucky and Tennessee country was marketed largely in the South Atlantic seaboard region, and large droves of hogs, cattle, and mules were frequently driven through the Toe River Valley on their way to market. Because of the cheapness of land and the possibility of disposing of livestock to the drovers who passed through the valley, cattle raising came to be of major concern, and comparatively large estates developed in the county.⁷²

There were also handicaps to agriculture, but the local government aided in a very practical way. Wolves were destructive especially to lambs, pigs, and calves. But the wolf tax levied annually aided greatly in the extermination of these animals. The prevalence of "milk-sickness" in the higher altitudes was more difficult to cope with. Indeed, this disease is little understood even to the present day and has not yet been eradicated. The marketing of stock was not always certain, but in many instances owners were able to sell to drovers who were passing through the county. Otherwise, local buyers and sometimes the owners themselves would drive the stock to the cotton belt or even to Charleston and dispose of the animals at low prices.

The following table, taken from the censuses of 1840 and 1850, will serve to show something of the importance and growth of the production of livestock, wool, and dairy products:

⁷¹ Clingman, *Speeches and Writings*, p. 114.

⁷² The tax list for 1848 shows that there were seventy-four estates in the county ranging in size from 500 acres to 3,000 acres.

Livestock, Wool, and Dairy Products of Yancey County, 1840-1850

	Number, Quantity, or Value Produced in 1840	Number, Quantity, or Value Produced in 1850
Cattle.....	5,585	10,379
Sheep	5,041	20,061
Swine.....	18,718	29,132
Wool.....	2,931 lbs.	19,829 lbs. ⁷³
Butter and Cheese..	\$5,182	\$8,984.20

It should be borne in mind, however, that the area of the county was smaller in 1850 than it was in 1840. A portion of the county had been taken in 1849 to form a part of Watauga, and hence this table does not represent the total increase for these items. Such a large slice was added to the new county of Madison in 1852 that it seems best not to include in the table the figures for 1860. It would seem, however, that prior to 1840 the farmers of the Toe River Valley had definitely decided that their economic welfare largely depended upon the production of livestock, in competition with the blue grass region of Kentucky and Tennessee in that lucrative trade which had been built up between that section and the South Atlantic cotton plantations. No other plausible reason for the enormous increase in the production of livestock in the ten-year period, 1840-1850, can be offered. Yet the farmers of Yancey County did not put all of their eggs in one basket. They followed a scheme of diversification.

The following table will show something of the extent of diversification and the trend of agriculture during the period 1840-1850:

Farm Products of Yancey County, 1840-1850

	Amount Produced in 1840	Amount Produced in 1850
wheat, bu.	6,320	7,500
rye	418	6,275
oats.....	33,670	122,544

⁷³ The census of 1850 shows that the total amount of butter and cheese produced was 89,842 pounds. In order to make comparisons with the figures for 1840, the value was obtained by rating the amount produced in 1850 at ten cents per pound.

corn	405,390	284,016
potatoes.....	89,270	12,928
tobacco, lbs	4,830	12,245
flax		11,204
flax seed		821
orchard products, value.....	\$3,924	\$5,508
hay, tons	185	1,181
home manufactured articles, value.....	\$4,688	\$64,279

It appears that either the figures for the 1840 census are in error as to the production of corn and potatoes, or that these had been raised for export and that the problems of transportation and marketing were too great to permit a profit on these items. An increase in the production of oats, rye, and hay was necessary because of the increased number of cattle and sheep, but the increase in the production of tobacco would indicate that this crop was coming to be recognized as an important staple. Clearly, the production of wheat was for home use only. The production of flax was in line with the increased amount of home manufacturing. Other types of manufacturing were negligible.

In addition to livestock, there were many other products of farm and forest that might be exported. Such necessities as salt, sugar, and coffee were secured in the markets of South Carolina and Georgia, and they were purchased with the produce of the county. It was the custom for several families to pool such articles as they possessed for export, such as bacon, lard, dried fruit, deer hams, honey, and beeswax, and to have these carried to market. From thirty to sixty days were required for the round trip,⁷⁴ and the cost of one-way transportation ranged from \$1.75 to \$2 per hundredweight, thus consuming a large portion of the receipts.⁷⁵ "It was interesting to see the people meet to get from the wagons their portion of the return load; and happy was the small family that got half a bushel of salt, 50 cents worth of coffee, and a gallon of molasses."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284.

⁷⁵ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 279.

⁷⁶ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284-285.

There was one article, ginseng, for which there was a local market. The mountains abounded in this herb, and as early as 1837 Smith and McElroy, merchants doing business in the Caney River section, purchased 86,000 pounds, yielding 25,000 pounds of "choice clarified" root. This they shipped to a firm in Philadelphia, which in turn sold it in the Chinese markets. Although the supply gradually became exhausted and production declined, as late as 1850 the total value of ginseng collected in the county was \$5,500. But gradually a market was developed for many other native herbs such as bloodroot, raspberry leaves, spearmint, and liverwort. Unfortunately, however, there are no figures showing to what extent these were exported.

Life in Yancey County prior to 1860, and even later, was essentially that of the pioneer. There were no newspapers, communication with the outside was difficult, markets were far away, and many of the things considered essential in a later period were unknown. There were only two sawmills as late as 1850, and most of the houses were built of hewn logs. Nearly all the clothing was manufactured in the homes. Carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, in addition to the many other duties of the home, took up the time of the women. Occasionally a tanner, shoemaker, or hat-maker made his rounds, but as often as not each farmer tanned his own leather and made the shoes and hats for the family, together with other necessary articles such as harness and saddles. The difficulty met in securing supplies made it necessary that each farm be self-supporting as nearly as possible.⁷⁷

Until the coming of the railroads, there was a great deal of primitiveness in the types of houses, clothing, manners, and customs of the people; but religion was always a strong and controlling factor in their lives. They had churches from the very beginning. The isolation of the early settlers was conducive to religious thought. To one of a later period it may appear that there was little depth to their spiritual convictions and that the church existed primarily to feed denominational strife

⁷⁷ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 254-255.

and offer opportunity for argument. But the fact that there was a great deal of invective spent in fighting a rival denomination and that the sermons were usually of the doctrinal type reveals the earnestness with which these pioneers sought the truth. Oftentimes they may have been misguided, but they were always earnest.

The great majority of the people were Baptists. In 1850 there were twenty-nine churches in the county, and no less than twenty of them were Baptist. Of the other nine, eight were Methodist and one was "Tunker" (Dunkard.)⁷⁸ Since the people were largely Scotch-Irish, it would be expected that the Presbyterians would be in the majority. It should be remembered, however, that the settlers did not come in bands made up of entire congregations but usually in small groups of one or two families. They brought no ministers with them and they joined the church which had already been established, or they were organized by visiting ministers of the Methodist and Baptist faith who preached a democratic religion. From 1800 to 1815 Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Church made regular visits to western North Carolina, passing usually through what is now Madison County and into Buncombe County.⁷⁹ No doubt it was largely through his influence that the Methodists were established in Yancey County. The descendants of James Anderson, who is said to have been the first Methodist west of the Blue Ridge, settled in Yancey County.⁸⁰ Many of these came to be very influential, and of course they were devout Methodists. One of the earliest Methodist preachers was Conario Brayton Smith, who was converted in 1836 while clerking for Smith and McElroy on Caney River. He was licensed to preach the following June and followed this calling until 1853, when he went on the supernumerary list because of bad health. He seems to have been an earnest man and won many converts to the cause of Methodism. In 1855 he became an agent for the American Colonization Society in Tennessee and sent to Liberia two families of emancipated slaves. In 1854 he be-

⁷⁸ *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 327-331.

⁷⁹ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 215-216.

⁸⁰ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 130.

came interested in mineralogy, and through his studies he became recognized as an authority on geology, winning a little later the position of assistant state geologist under Professor Emmons. He maintained his interest in geology until his death in 1894.⁸¹

Little is known of the early Baptist preachers, but it is certain that they greatly outnumbered the Methodist ministers and that some of them had splendid organizing ability. The Reverend Stephen Morgan was one of the most powerful of these men and moved and worked among the people so earnestly that he is remembered almost as a saint. It appears that his early days were spent in what is now Madison County and that later he served many churches in that county and also in Yancey. He was the organizer of Grassy Creek, Bear Creek, and Roan Mountain churches in what is now Mitchell County.⁸² All of these churches were organized before 1840 and have always had large congregations. The Bear Creek Church has the largest membership of any church in Mitchell County.

A member of the Grassy Creek Church, commenting upon the earnestness of the early members of that church and the loyalty and esteem in which the preacher was held, says that often from both sides of the Blue Ridge the members would leave on Saturday and make the trip to Roan Mountain, a distance of more than twenty miles, in order to attend church the following day. Services were very rare, coming sometimes not oftener than once in two months, and the Reverend Morgan was followed from one church to another by devout Christians.⁸³ The Reverend Stephen Collis succeeded the Reverend Morgan and proved a worthy successor to that good man. The best known portion of the labors of Collis, however, fall in the period after the Civil War, when he became an ardent prohibitionist and a foe of idleness. He seems to have considered whiskey and idleness as the two greatest evils.

Sometimes one fears that the conduct of church members and those who did not belong to a church, but who nevertheless

⁸¹ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 228.

⁸² Statement of Stephen Willis of Ledger.

⁸³ "Notes on the History of the Grassy Creek Church," *Spruce Pine News*, October 7, 1930.

believed in the respected Christian doctrine, was anything but in keeping with the teachings of the church. Fighting and drinking seem to have been among the most common sports, and the two usually went together. But the fights were seldom serious, and murder was rarely committed. Oftentimes the courts took cognisance of the fighting and fines were levied upon the participants. To show something of the prevalence of fighting, a few of the court records of Yancey County may be cited. At the spring term of the superior court held in Burnsville in 1837 fourteen criminal cases were tried, and ten of these were for assault and battery or for affray. At the fall term of 1840 there were fifty-five criminal cases, and thirty-one of these were for these offenses. Evidently the election that year must have had something to do with the activities of the court. Only ten cases of assault were tried at the fall term of 1845 and nine at the fall term of 1848. The number continued to decline until the Civil War. Minor cases, however, were often disposed of by the county court. At the January term, 1844, two prominent citizens were fined for "having passed a contempt [*sic*] to the court by fighting at the courthouse door and in the presence of the court." ⁸⁴

The distilling, retailing, and drinking of spirituous liquors were common among all classes. Even ministers in many instances are said to have made and sold whiskey. It was considered right to convert the surplus corn, rye, and fruits into whiskey and brandy, some of which was probably exported. The statement is attributed to Aden Wiseman, who served as sheriff of Mitchell County during the Civil War, that he sold 1,200 gallons of whiskey in Shelby, Charlotte, and South Carolina towns in 1859, and that the proceeds enabled him to discharge his share of the bond of a former sheriff who had absconded.⁸⁵ It would seem that the quantity of whiskey exported would have been fairly large since in 1840 there were thirty-two distilleries in the county with a total output of 5,790 gallons.⁸⁶ Liquor was sold, however, in every country store and

⁸⁴ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January, 1844.

⁸⁵ Statement of John G. Phillips, a farmer of Ingalls.

⁸⁶ *Sixth Census of the United States*, 1840, p. 246.

in many private homes, for the local demand required the greater part of the amount distilled. Drinking was prevalent on all public occasions. In 1854 Judge A. S. Merrimon, who was holding court at Burnsville, spoke very bitterly against the prevalence of drinking among the office-holding class in Yancey County and declared that he could not hope for better social conditions as long as the leaders persisted in getting so drunk that they were unable to perform their duties.⁸⁷ It seems that there was little or no objection to whiskey on religious grounds during the period.

DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE, 1861-65

The period 1861-1865 was one of stress in the Toe River Valley. It was a period in which many serious problems were pressing for solution and whose very existence created dissension among the people. The first of these problems was the demand for a new county, a circumstance which was brought about partly by the desire for an equal share of the county offices by all sections and partly by the policy which had been followed in western North Carolina of creating new counties as rapidly as the growth of population would permit. Since the formation of Yancey County in 1833 most of the representatives elected to the state legislature had resided south of the Toe River. In fact, there had been only two elected from the northern section of the county in the twenty-seven years of its existence. Burnsville and its immediate vicinity had furnished not only all the representatives except these two but most of the county officials as well. There was a feeling on the part of those living north of the river that they should have greater recognition in local government and that the best solution would be the creation of a new county. There was ample precedent for such a demand. The problem was common to all western North Carolina⁸⁸ in that the east had usually dominated in the state legislature. The creation of a new county would give the west greater representation in that body, and would also bring the seat of local government in the territory affected

⁸⁷ "Heavy Drinking at Court Times in Olden Days," (anonymous), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, July 19, 1931.

⁸⁸ Stillwell, *Notes on Western North Carolina*, p. 90.

closer to the people. The opportunity came in 1860 when Jacob W. Bowman, a rising young politician of Bakersville, was elected to represent Yancey County in the legislature. Young Bowman, eager to serve his people north of the Toe River, secured the passage of an act creating Mitchell County.⁸⁹ Unlike previous acts affecting the section, this one cut the county in two in the middle, whereas former acts had merely trimmed off the edges, leaving the county a more nearly complete geographic unit than had been the case before the pruning. The dividing line was made to follow the Toe River and Crabtree Creek, so that Mitchell County would include the territory to the north and east while Yancey County was confined to the territory south and west of this line. The separation did not become complete at once for the two counties voted as a unit in general elections until 1868. There was a county court in the new county, but there are few records of its transactions. A superior court sat regularly, and the first term was held in the fall of 1862.

The two sections of the valley as marked out by the boundaries of the two counties differed on fundamental questions. While slavery was never a vital issue in the Toe River Valley, it was much more prevalent in the southwestern section than elsewhere. There were only 362 slaves in the entire valley in 1860, while in 1862 there were only 65 slaves in the portion cut off to form Mitchell County.⁹⁰ There seems to have been very little discussion of the institution of slavery, but its merits were not so easily appreciated in those northern districts where it did not exist at all. Three of the five districts in Mitchell County had no slaves. The tendency was to look upon slavery as being in competition with free labor and as constituting a distinct disadvantage to the poor man.⁹¹

There was, in general, agreement between the two sections regarding national unity. Union sentiment was always strong in the valley. It should be borne in mind that in 1860

⁸⁹ *Public Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1860-61* (Raleigh, 1861), chap. 8.

⁹⁰ Mitchell County Tax List, 1862.

⁹¹ Statement of S. J. Black, a lawyer of Bakersville, whose father was a Union soldier. Mr. Black quotes his father as having expressed this feeling.

this region was still a frontier community and that its views and attitudes were typically western. There was no section of North Carolina where democratic principles were more strongly entrenched. In all the years of Whig ascendancy in the state, the Toe River Valley remained consistently loyal to the Democratic party in state and county elections. In national elections, however, there were two defections, one in 1840, and another in 1848. The panic of 1837 may have figured largely in the election of 1840, but most probably the log-cabin and hard-cider campaign tactics of the Harrison supporters appealed most strongly to this backwoods section. In 1848 the defection is most largely attributed to the influence of the returned soldier. One company, the Yancey Rangers, had been organized under Captain Tilmon Blalock and had marched to the Mexican border.⁹² Fourteen of the men had died during the campaign. The rest of the company were mustered out in August, in ample time to participate in the presidential election. Through the influence of Captain Blalock and several other prominent members of the company, General Taylor was given a nice majority of the vote of the county. The Whigs stood firmly for internal improvements, a matter in which the inhabitants of the Toe River Valley were vitally interested, while the party of Jackson held an appeal because it was more truly democratic. The nationalist spirit which was characteristic of the west seemed to pervade this eastern frontier.

The test on secession came in the convention election early in 1861. The issue was thoroughly debated and the campaign was a very heated one. There were many fist fights, and in one instance at least a pitched battle came near taking place. Despite the influence of certain important pro-slavery leaders in the southwest and in the northeast who fought valiantly to carry the election for secession,⁹³ the returns showed a Union victory. The vote was close, 576 against calling a convention and 548 for calling it. The division followed pretty closely geographical lines, with the Yancey section voting generally for the conven-

⁹² Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, 1848.

⁹³ This information concerning the convention campaign was secured from Mr. R. J. Young of Bakersville. Mr. Young attended many of the meetings at which leading citizens spoke and he remembers well many of the incidents of the campaign.

tion and the Mitchell section casting its ballots against it.⁹⁴ It is significant, however, that of all the votes cast for delegates in case the convention should be called, not one was cast for a secession delegate.

When war was declared the inhabitants of the valley fell into three divisions. There was a group in the southwestern section of Mitchell County which was opposed to war under any conditions, and it was augmented by various men who felt that they were not vitally concerned in the war and planned in any event to avoid military service. There was another group whose Union sentiment remained strong despite the fact that the state had joined the Confederacy. They hoped for the defeat of the South from the very beginning, and a few of them escaped to the North in the earliest stages of the war and joined the Union army. The third group, consisting probably of three-fourths of the people, immediately became enthusiastic in their support of the Confederacy, many of them hastening to join the nearest military organization.⁹⁵ Eighty-six volunteers were mustered into service before the fifteenth day of August, 1861.⁹⁶

The total number of troops furnished the southern armies was probably more than 1,200. Most of these belonged to the Twenty-ninth and the Fifty-eighth regiments. Companies B, C, I, and K of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina and companies A, B, C, G, and K of the Fifty-eighth North Carolina were made up in Mitchell and Yancey counties. Besides these there were a company of cavalry, originally Company K of the Sixty-fifth but later of the Fifth Battalion, and a few scattered troops in various regiments, notably the Sixth, Ninth, and Thirty-ninth. All of these troops saw action, mainly in the west and south, but their war records need not be of concern here. The battles of Bentonville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Atlanta, in which many of these men of the Toe River Valley were engaged, belong to the history of the South as a whole and not to that of any particular section.

⁹⁴ This statement is made on the basis of the statements of two highly intelligent ex-Confederate soldiers, James N. Green of Forbes and Stephen Willis of Ledger.

⁹⁵ This statement is made on the basis of the statements of two highly intelligent ex-Confederate soldiers, James N. Green of Forbes and Stephen Willis of Ledger.

⁹⁶ Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January, 1862.

There were many serious problems at home which required the attention of the local governments and of all patriotic citizens. These were complicated from the beginning by the fact that the valley was divided in its feeling, with a small minority remaining loyal to the Union and obstructing as far as possible all attempts to aid the Confederate cause.

The first problem of major importance was that of equipping the volunteers and the militia with arms, ammunition, and uniforms and of caring for the families of those who volunteered for service.⁹⁷ Ready cash was scarce, for large amounts of money had never been in circulation in the valley. Trade to a large extent had been barter.⁹⁸ The one item for which cash was always required was taxes, but the rate had been kept as low as possible. Even in the matter of building roads, free labor had been substituted for taxes. It had been the custom of many to save up cash in small amounts from week to week to meet the tax bill a year in advance. In 1861, however, there was a sudden demand for money in amounts much larger than had ever been required before.⁹⁹ The first effort toward securing funds to help carry on the war was sufficient to bring home to the people the meaning of war and to discourage many enthusiastic supporters of the Confederacy. In September a tax was levied in Yancey County at the astonishing rate of 150 per cent of the amount levied at the beginning of the year, the proceeds to be used for equipping the militia with arms, in purchasing uniforms for the volunteers, and in caring for the wives and children of those entering the Confederate service. The total tax rate for 1861 was raised by this one decree from \$1.90 to \$4.75. The property of soldiers, however, was exempted from this additional tax, a fact which violated the principles of uniform taxation and which gave cause for protest on the part of many Union sympathizers. The faith and credit of the county were pledged in borrowing funds from various officers and citizens of the county, an agent was appointed to expend the funds,

⁹⁷ Where not otherwise credited, the information for the remainder of this chapter is taken from the Minutes of the County Court of Yancey County, 1861-1865.

⁹⁸ Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284.

⁹⁹ Statement of James Green, of Forbes.

and the agent's certificates of indebtedness were made legal tender within the county.

There had been some poverty before the war, and the usual tax levy for poor relief had been five cents; but suffering became acute as the struggle progressed. By April, 1863, it had become necessary to appoint a commissioner for the county and sub-commissioners for each district to distribute the poor funds. By this time supplementary funds were being secured from the state, and the commissioner was placed under a bond of \$26,000 for the faithful performance of his duties. The basis of distribution was made as follows: to wives and children of deceased soldiers, two shares each, and to wives and children under twelve years of age, one share each. No doubt a great deal of aid was rendered, but the problem was too acute to be solved adequately.

The entire population suffered not only from the payment of heavy taxes but also from the lack of supplies, especially such articles as salt and baking soda. The latter article could be secured scarcely at all, and the residue ash from the burning of corn cobs was used as a substitute. The nearest point at which salt could be secured was at the works in southwest Virginia. If left to private distribution, it was evident that the price of salt would become prohibitive. Thus a salt agent, together with subagents for each district, was appointed. These officials were to handle the distribution in such a manner as to supply each family, excepting the disloyal, with its quota at a fixed price of ten cents per pound. The quantity so apportioned was based both upon the amount of salt delivered at the distributing points and also upon the number of families in each district as ascertained by actual count by the captain of the district. The wagoners who hauled the salt from the works were allowed five cents per pound for hauling. The distribution was not satisfactory, however, and within a year's time the office of agent was declared vacant on three different occasions and each time a new man was appointed to the position. To aid further in the purchase of salt the chairman of the county court was directed to secure \$2,500 on the credit of the county and to place this amount in the hands of the salt agent. Wagoners were made more liberal

offers and were permitted to keep for their own use, at the base price, three bushels of salt for each 1,000 pounds hauled. As Federal soldiers advanced and infested the mountain regions, the task of getting through became more difficult, and consequently suffering became more acute.

In the midst of such trials and suffering, as if the people were not already sorely enough pressed, smallpox broke out and added to the distress. The local government, as it had already done in the matter of caring for the destitute wives and children of soldiers and in alleviating the salt famine, exerted the greatest efforts to help. A camp was established in the Pensacola region in the southern part of the county and all patients and suspects were huddled into it and placed under guard. A physician was secured to wait upon the patients, and everything possible was done to prevent the spread of the disease. The existence of even a few cases caused great anxiety and alarm. Smallpox was a most dreaded disease, and its ravages were feared more than the bullets of the enemy.

The most serious problem, however, was the breakdown in law enforcement and the presence of an increasing number of Union sympathizers who were ready to join the Federal armies as the quickest means of ending the war. The intense suffering on the part of the civil population had led to lawlessness and crime. Robbery was an everyday occurrence. Desertion increased as the Confederate armies were pushed back, and the valley became infested with deserters who either had had enough of war or who planned at the first opportunity to pass through the lines and join the Union army. As early as December, 1862, the county court passed the following resolution:

Resolved by the court, a majority of the Justices being present that in our opinion it is unsafe to call any more men out of our county into the Confederate service, all who have lately volunteered or who have been conscripted according to the late act of Congress should be organized into a company for county and state defence; that our families and property need their aid and assistance of the men liable now in this county for military service; that we will use all our efforts with the governor of the state and the proper authorities of the Confederate

States to allow those above alluded to to remain in this county for its defence and for the defence of the state from the depredations of the Tories and Deserters.

A month later, in January, 1863, the court passed an order directing Colonel J. W. McElroy of the One-hundred-eleventh Regiment of North Carolina Militia to call out the county militia at any and all times he might think such action necessary for the safety of the county. By the spring of 1864 every able-bodied man above the age of conscription who still believed in the Confederate cause was taken into the organization of home guards which had for its purpose the punishment of criminals and the rounding up of deserters. The activities of this organization against the bands of robbers and deserters made fast and permanent a hatred among neighbors which was more enduring than the hatred of the enemy.¹⁰⁰

The situation in Mitchell County was even worse than that in Yancey. To begin with, there were more Union sympathizers and these were more ably led. Suffering was great, and as the number of conscripts who deserted from the Confederate army increased, those who were supporting the Confederate cause were more likely to be mistreated. Stealing and robbery became the rule rather than the exception. During the first session of the superior court held in that county after the close of the war, no less than thirty people were indicted for robbery. In fact all the cases except two that were tried at that term of the court were for larceny or assault and battery.¹⁰¹ Colonel George W. Kirk of the Third North Carolina United States Volunteers had drawn into his regiment, which was organized at Knoxville, many of the Union sympathizers and deserters from the Confederate army. These recruits had followed the example of their leader and had become desperate and brutal in character. In the latter days of the war bands of these and others who claimed to belong to Kirk's regiment had pillaged and plundered throughout the Toe River Valley. In fact, the supporters and admirers of Kirk had gained control of Mitchell County.

¹⁰⁰ Letter of John C. McBee to the author, July 1, 1931.

¹⁰¹ Minute Docket of Superior Court, Fall Term, 1865, Mitchell County.

With the coming of the peace the divisions in the Toe River Valley were more distinct than at the beginning of the war. It seems that peace was a special blessing at the time to the winners only. There was a great deal of mistreatment of the vanquished and hatreds were engendered that were to continue for almost half a century. A new political alignment was to come about following geographical lines, with the northern section lining up with the Radical party and the southern section remaining as a rule loyal to the party of Jackson. Beginning with the close of the Civil War the history of the Toe River Valley can no longer be considered as the history of a politically homogeneous unit. For good or for evil, the breach in the valley became wider, with the northern section continuing its course as Mitchell County and the southern section as Yancey County. It remains to be seen whether a reunion will yet take place, whether the Toe River Valley, constituting a single unit in blood, geography, and economic interests, will again become a single political unit.

THE VIRGINIA SOUTHWESTERN RAILROAD SYSTEM
AT WAR,
1861-1865

By CHARLES W. TURNER

The American Civil War was the first military conflict in which railroads were a highly important factor. Some lines had been operating in the South for more than twenty-five years and by 1861 had formed a fairly complete network of tracks over Virginia for use of the Confederacy. Certain lines had made connections with other lines and had agreed to uniform rates and schedules. Such lines might be considered to form a system over which trade and travel could flow. The destruction of these lines was a major goal of the Federal armies.

Three railroad companies, the Richmond and Danville, the Southside, and the Virginia and Tennessee, made up a system of railways extending south of Richmond to the North Carolina line and west to the Tennessee border. Though beginning as independent lines between 1846 and 1848, the tracks were connected, and in the next decade uniform rates were worked out agreeable to the respective companies. This system furnished the most complete transportation facilities for the area covered by the rails as well as contacts with out of state lines.

Before 1860 a majority of the stockholders were local investors, who were paid good dividends partly because of the fact that the railroads were built with low capitalization. The state purchased at least three-fifths of the stock, while local governments took some shares.¹ The system was dependent on northern and foreign manufacturers for iron and rolling stock. Few

¹ Virginia and Tennessee shares, 1860 (in a box labeled "Virginia and Tennessee," in offices of State Corporation Commission, Richmond, Virginia).

State of Virginia	23,000 shares	County of Montgomery	390 shares
City of Richmond	1,461 shares	County of Pulaski	159 shares
City of Petersburg	278 shares	County of Wythe	230 shares
City of Lynchburg	5,418 shares	County of Smythe	329 shares
County of Campbell	152 shares	County of Washington	1,413 shares
County of Botetourt	3 shares	County of Floyd	33 shares
County of Bedford	369 shares	County of Grayson	2 shares
County of Franklin	2 shares	County of Scott	1 share
County of Roanoke	152 shares	County of Tazwell	1 share
		Others	1,529 shares
TOTAL			35,402 shares

extensions were planned or made during the war years. The lines were crippled, as the war dragged on, with raids, general wear and tear, and shortages in labor and materials. The Union armies used the ties for firewood, while depots, bridges, and rolling stock were burned. In April, 1865, the total assets of all the Confederate railroads equaled only one-third of those of 1861. The credit of the three companies declined, interest went unpaid, and mortgages piled up. Their main customer, the Confederacy, paid the lines in bonds and paper currency which had become practically worthless by 1864. In spite of this, the railroads managed to pay dividends fairly regularly.²

Regardless of their losses, the railways rendered an invaluable service, sustained the South in its cause, and possessed an able leadership which went all out to keep the lines running. The three lines of the southwest system are described in some detail to prove the truth of the above statement. Today the Southside and the Virginia and Tennessee are a part of the Norfolk and Western, and the Richmond and Danville is a part of the Southern.³

The Southside Railroad Company was chartered in 1846 to provide a line between Petersburg and Cox's Road in Nottoway County. Extensions had made the line 123 miles in length with \$3,000,000 capitalization by 1861.⁴ A second line of the system, the Richmond and Danville, was chartered in 1848 to build a track from Richmond to Danville. Having obtained several millions in capital in the next decade, the stockholders decided to make an extension through Henry County to make connection with the Virginia and Tennessee.⁵ These funds paid for two more extensions, namely, from Keysville to Clarksville, and from Danville, Virginia, to Greensboro, North Carolina.⁶

To satisfy the petitions for a line running through the southwest to the Virginia line, the General Assembly passed an act in

² C. R. Fish, "The Restoration of Southern Railroads," University of Wisconsin, *Studies in Social Studies*, no. 2, 1919, pp. 1-28; C. W. Ransdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," *American Historical Review*, XVII (1911), pp. 794-804.

³ *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1845-1846*, p. 92.

⁴ *Penny Post* (Richmond), April 11, 1855. W. F. Switzler, *Report of Internal Improvements of the United States* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1886).

⁵ *Richmond Whig*, December 14, 1855.

⁶ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 5, 1859.

1845 providing for the incorporation of the Richmond and Ohio, which was never incorporated as such.⁷ People from beyond Lynchburg continued to clamor for a railroad since the James River and Kanawha Canal seemed destined never to reach them. The following reasons were cited in favor of such a railway: (1) it would provide large returns to the investors, (2) the line would offer a means whereby the interior could be developed, (3) improvement in trade relations between the interior and the coastal cities would result, (4) the Springs (mineral springs of western Virginia) would be more accessible, (5) foreign capital would be invested in the state, and finally (6) a rail line toward the Pacific would permit the tapping of trade of the Far east.⁸ M. F. Maury, writing in the *American Railway Journal*, urged the construction of this line in order that Norfolk might be made a great trade center.⁹ Shortly thereafter a bill was passed to charter the Virginia and Tennessee with a capital of \$2,500,000.¹⁰ The first stretch of sixty miles was let between Lynchburg and Salem.

At the opening of the war the above mentioned lines were linked together and were paying dividends to their stockholders. Reports from one rail line (the Richmond and Danville) alone show gross receipts of \$4,000 a month in 1855.¹¹ The stockholders in annual meetings, after hearing the yearly reports of progress and finance, elected officers for the coming year—a president and directors who were in turn to select the superintendents, agents, and other officials needed for the railroad's effective operation.

The companies had able leadership under the presidency of such men as William Mahone of the Southside, Lewis E. Harvie, and A. S. Buford of the Richmond and Danville, and Robert T. Owen of the Virginia and Tennessee. They held their positions for practically the entire period, and no record has been found of their failure to carry out honestly the tasks assigned or to

⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, 1845-1846, bill no. 2.

⁸ *Richmond Enquirer*, May 2, 1848.

⁹ *American Railway Journal*, August 12, 1848.

¹⁰ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1847-1848, p. 184.

¹¹ *Richmond Whig*, October 26, 1849, and September 25, 1856; *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, 1851, pp. 5-15. These reports are in the Virginia State Library.

cooperate with the governments in support of the southern cause.¹² The offices of secretary and treasurer were often separated. The five directors, three selected by the state and two by the company, met with the president at least monthly. These officials were called to meet with other railroad officials of the South in convention during the war.

The next position of importance was that of superintendent of transportation and upkeep. Several outstanding personalities were connected with this position, such as H. D. Bird of the Southside, Charles G. Talcott of the Richmond and Danville, and Thomas Dodamead and E. H. Gill of the Virginia and Tennessee, all of whom tried as best they could to keep the lines open and replied constantly to the complaints of lack of service registered with them. Showing the value attached to the work of one of these men, Thomas Dodamead was placed in charge of the properties of the Richmond and Danville in 1865 in order to get it back into operation as quickly as possible.¹³

The remainder of the force included as many as 800 men on one line alone—conductors, "train drivers," baggage men, mechanics, inspectors, carpenters, unskilled help, and the agents stationed at the various depots. Several lists given as examples show that the Richmond and Danville in 1862 had 400 laborers, 50 train hands, 30 carpenters, and 20 blacksmiths,¹⁴ while the Southside had its labor departmentalized in 1866 with 132 in transportation, 60 in machinery, 220 in road, and 2 in executive departments.

The securing of skilled and unskilled labor was a serious problem that did not improve during the war years. Higher wages were demanded. Jobs which paid \$1.50 per diem in 1850 now required from \$3.00 to \$4.50. Raids carried off Negroes, and conscription took many of the white laborers. The Virginia railroads complained to the state and Confederate governments of the lack of a labor supply. The General Assembly passed an act as early as 1862 stating that "if within 20 days

¹² *Report of the Board of Public Works, 1862, p. 142; 1866, pp. 46, 91.*

¹³ Letter dated June 8, 1865 (in box labeled "Richmond and Danville," in offices of Virginia State Corporation Commission, Richmond).

¹⁴ *Richmond Daily Examiner, January 22, 1862.*

after the draft, the president and superintendent of railroad, canal, and telegraph companies certify certain persons necessary for the operation of the road they might be deferred."¹⁵ The Confederate Congress passed an act in the spring of 1864 exempting from military service a certain number of skilled laborers for railroad duty, with a provision that these men might be called into service if an emergency arose.¹⁶ These measures alleviated the situation very little, however, and advertisements for help appeared regularly in the papers.

Slave labor was employed during the period. The slaves were either hired by the year or purchased from local planters. The cost of hire and keep tripled as did the general price level. The Virginia and Tennessee employed 500 slaves, and the Richmond and Danville employed 300 in 1862.¹⁷ The General Assembly tried without much success to impress into service a sufficient supply of slaves.

The Virginia assembly had passed acts in 1836 and 1857 allowing the state to appoint members to the railroad's board of directors and require the railroads to send annual reports to the Board of Public Works. A further act passed in 1863 required the railroads to transport all soldiers and war materials without requiring legal charge in advance.¹⁸ Certain extensions and consolidations were urged by the state, but neither the Confederacy nor the state interfered with the management or attempted to force certain policies on the lines.

The Confederate government placed railroad supervision under Quartermaster General A. C. Myers, who was to coordinate the roads and see that troops and supplies were carried at special rates agreed upon in the southern and state railroad conventions. One such convention brought together the president and superintendent of each line in order, as one newspaper stated, "to serve and promote southern rights."¹⁹ W. S. Ashe was appointed Myers's assistant and was sent over the railroad on fre-

¹⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1862, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, January 12, 1864.

¹⁷ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, pp. 82, 142.

¹⁸ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1863, p. 38.

¹⁹ *Richmond Daily Examiner*, June 30, 1862.

quent inspection tours. This arrangement failed to work, however, and W. M. Wadley was appointed supervisor of railroads under the Confederate Department of War in December, 1862. Wadley called a conference of the southern railroads to meet in Augusta, Georgia, where an attempt was made to consolidate its lines into a single unit. The superintendents were requested to send in weekly reports to Wadley, who would check over the schedules. This control proved too rigid, and F. W. Sims, who understood the railroad business thoroughly and tried hard to improve railroad equipment, was placed at the head of an engineering bureau in June, 1863.²⁰

Direct governmental control was always a threat, and the necessary authorization was provided in a bill as early as 1861. This failed to pass, but a convention recommended military control, under a competent supervisor, of all lines entering the Confederate capital. The governor of Virginia, in a speech before the senate in 1863, expressed fear of Confederate control of railroads, and said that he agreed with a federal judge who had declared that no government had any railroad rights.²¹ Not until February, 1863, was a bill passed allowing the Confederate Secretary of War to place any railroad, canal, or telegraph line under such officials as should be designated to keep them in repair and to operate the lines. All damages inflicted would be paid for by the Confederate government. Nevertheless, the war was concluded before the act had been enforced. The strongest government control came when the Federal government, having defeated the Confederacy, sequestered the Virginia railroads and turned them over to the Board of Public Works in June, 1865. The board, however, handed them back to the superintendents of the old companies in order to put them in operation as fast as possible.²²

The three lines of the system by 1861 had consolidated their facilities, but each planned extensions which still were to be completed. The Virginia and Tennessee had not reached Bristol, while the Richmond and Danville and the Southside lines

²⁰ Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," p. 804.

²¹ *Journal of the Senate, 1863-1864.*

²² *Journal of the B. P. W., Book W, p. 140.* (In offices of State Corporation Commission.)

were seeking out-of-state connections. The extension of the Richmond and Danville to Greensboro, North Carolina, was deemed of major importance in connection with the war program. In a secret session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1861, an act was passed urging this extension and providing that, if the company failed to do this, the Confederacy be requested to handle the job.²³ The act went further and urged extensions and consolidations as rapidly as possible to facilitate the war effort.²⁴ The *Daily Richmond Examiner* stated that the above extension was of great military value and urged that it be completed in six months to connect with the North Carolina Central.²⁵ Conventions were held at Richmond and Reidsville demanding this improvement. Former Governor Morehead of North Carolina was speaker at the first, while at the second it was pointed out that both states had chartered the extension, and it was resolved to request President Jefferson Davis to promote it.²⁶ Davis, in a message before the Congress, favored the extension, though considerable opposition was registered.²⁷ As late as the fall of 1862 this line was not complete as a result of a labor supply shortage, for only 200 Negroes were employed where 2,000 were needed.²⁸ In the final year of the war the connections remained incomplete. One editor disclosed that railroads were built without a general plan and that jealousy of cities and the "battle of the gauges" proved the foolhardiness of the builders. He called upon the Confederate government to give heed and correct the situation.²⁹

With the coming of peace, Virginia realized the need for completed extensions and encouraged these measures. A letter of President Owen of the Virginia and Tennessee, June 23, 1865, declared that his line had just been opened as far as Bristol.³⁰ Furthermore, acts of the Assembly authorized the purchase of the Piedmont Railroad for debt and the extension of the South-

²³ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 55.

²⁴ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 64.

²⁵ *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Nov. 23, 1861.

²⁶ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Dec. 13, 1861.

²⁷ *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Feb. 8, 1862.

²⁸ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Oct. 22, 1862.

²⁹ *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Jan. 4, 1865.

³⁰ Letter in offices of State Corporation Commission.

side System, and allowed \$2,500,000 for a Danville to Lynchburg extension.³¹ Therefore, though extensions bogged down during the war, the lines speeded them up with the return of peace.

The three companies of the system suffered greatly from the wear and tear of war. At the beginning of the war the Southside Railroad reported a rail line of 123 miles with the equipment listed below.³² The second year there were only 11 passenger cars and 190 freight cars.³³ The final year only 13 engines pulled 9 passenger and 114 freight cars over its tracks. The line was fortunate enough to secure iron the first year, but the supply was soon cut off. The company always complained of too few cars and a scarcity of supplies practically unobtainable in the Confederacy.³⁴

Before the war the Virginia and Tennessee used 27 passenger, 14 baggage, and 200 freight cars over its tracks. In 1862 the number of passenger cars had been reduced to 19. The Federals cut the tracks in a number of places, and in 1865 the Virginia and Tennessee trains ran only as far as Big Lick. The Confederacy was very desirous of keeping the trains running over the whole line, for it tapped such a large area with many needed war materials.³⁵ The equipment usable at the end of the war is given below.³⁶

The Richmond and Danville reported in 1860 that the following improvements had been made on its line. The "T" rails

³¹ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1865-1866*, pp. 319, 334.

³² *List of Southside Equipment:*

Engine houses and shops	3
Engines	29
First-class pass. cars	10
Second-class pass. cars	3
Baggage cars	4
Freight cars	208

³³ *List of Southside Equipment, 1862*, p. 285.

³⁴ *List of Southside Equipment, 1866*, p. 35; Pres. T. H. Campbell, *List of Southside Equipment, 1861*, p. 277.

³⁵ *Reports of the B. P. W., 1861*, p. 71; 1862, p. 93; *Richmond Whig*, July 6, 1865

³⁶ *Equipment of V. & T., 1866* (Report of B. P. W., 1866, p. 83)

Number of engine houses	9
Number of engines	29
First-class pass. cars	13
Second-class pass. cars	5
Baggage and express cars	7
Box cars	170
Stock cars	8
Platform cars	60
Caboose cars	18
Depot cars	12

had been laid for 9½ miles, leaving only 8¾ miles of the old flat rails to be removed. The Virginia Assembly had appropriated \$350,000 for deepening the James River at the Richmond and Danville wharf in Richmond. A freight office at Richmond and a boarding house at Clover had been erected, and four wells had been dug along the right-of-way. The equipment of the line in 1860 is listed below.³⁷

This supply was soon heavily taxed, for by 1863 only 22 engines and 328 cars remained in use,³⁸ and the year of surrender found it with 25 engines and 161 cars.³⁹ The president's report told a hard-luck story, declaring that the situation as to equipment had become increasingly worse. Furthermore, owing to the difficulty of procuring necessary material, little work had been done during the years from 1862 to 1864 in the way of repair. Ditches had not been cleaned, and often water and mud had covered the rails, causing the cross ties to decay. The portion of track between Burkeville and Meherrin (11 miles in length) had been laid with strap rails from which engines were thrown frequently. After July, 1865, when the company had its equipment returned, "T" rails had been laid, a large force employed for ditching, 184,958 ties and 1,100 tons of iron had been laid, and the Howe trestle had been used where necessary. The new trestle work had been placed at Manchester, Rochett's, and Richmond in order to accommodate the coal business. Depots and water stations had been put up at Keysville, Mossingford,

³⁷ Equipment of R. and D., 1860 (*Report of B. P. W.*, 1860, p. 91)

Engines	29
First-class pass. cars	11
Smoking cars	3
Second-class pass. cars	6
Mail cars	10
8-wheel box cars	206
4-wheel box cars	19
8-wheel box cars	48
Stock cars	34
Wood cars	21
Sand cars	2
6-wheel iron and coal cars	56
Gravel and coal cars	2
Sleeping cars	2

³⁸ Equipment of R. and D., 1863, p. 132.

³⁹ Equipment of R. and D., 1865, p. 161.

⁴⁹ Equipment of R. and D., 1866, p. 49.

Price's, and Rockfield. The company had purchased 7 new locomotives and 41 new cars at high prices⁴⁰ and had secured a part of the supply of railroad equipment which the Federal government had sold at auction.⁴¹ As early as July 28, 1865, the 140-mile Richmond and Danville was boasting that with its Southside and Virginia and Tennessee connections it had opened a great southern route of repaired track and replenished rolling stock via Bristol to Knoxville and Chattanooga.

The limitations of equipment played no small part in restricting the effectiveness of the southwest system in wartime. When the war was concluded these lines, as did their sister lines, the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac, and the Virginia Central, made quick recoveries.

The problem of finance for the southern railroads had always been serious. All the lines had opened with too small a capital outlay, which was increased only when new extensions were allowed. During the war the military engaged more of the lines facilities at lower rates, and paid in depreciated currency. Though the companies of the southwest system had been retiring their debt prior to 1861, they found it increasingly hard to pay the interest, to say nothing of the principal. All the while, dividends ranging from three to seven per cent were being declared out of funds, which might have been applied to replace the capital spent or pay off its fast accumulating debt.

Of the Richmond and Danville's \$3,500,000 capital, the state took \$1,500,000. In 1861 the General Assembly allowed the company to increase its capital by \$2,000,000 for the Greensboro extension.⁴² As late as 1863 only \$2,000,000 of the entire stock had been paid in, with the state owning the major part, 72,000 shares.⁴³ The state had meanwhile taken \$2,300,000 of the \$5,000,000 capital of the Virginia and Tennessee. No increase in the Virginia and Tennessee came until after the war, when the total capital was increased by \$2,000,000.⁴⁴ The Southside had

⁴¹ *Richmond Whig*, July 28, 1865.

⁴² *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1861, doc. 8, p. 29.

⁴³ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 60; *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, p. 128; list in box dated 1866, in offices of State Corporation Commission.

⁴⁴ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1865, 1866, p. 332.

a capital stock equaling \$1,400,000, with the state owning \$803,000 worth.⁴⁵ By 1866 individuals had purchased \$53,000 of a small amount of new stock which had been allowed.⁴⁶

The total debt of the Richmond and Danville in 1860 was \$1,200,000 plus a bond issue of \$65,400.⁴⁷ Though this was slightly reduced by 1863, the funded debt stood at \$551,091, and there was a floating debt of \$113,733.⁴⁸ Bonds to the amount of \$2,018,338 raised the total debt by the final year to \$2,018,338.⁴⁹

The company paid off the state debt slowly.⁵⁰

At the beginning of the war the Virginia and Tennessee's debt was divided as follows:

Debt due the state.....	\$ 992,030
Debt due to others.....	2,019,000
Floating debt	618,958
	<hr/>
	\$3,629,988 ⁵¹

In 1862 the funded debt equalled \$992,030 and the floating debt \$485,995, with six classes of bonds in debts due the state, first and second mortgage bonds, salt works mortgages, and the like.⁵² The total debt the following year equaled \$2,231,185, which was reduced only slightly by 1866.⁵³

The total debt of the Southside Company in 1861 amounted to \$1,763,750.⁵⁴ This was reduced the following year and divided

⁴⁵ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 284.

⁴⁶ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 321.

⁴⁷ *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Richmond and Danville Railroad Company*, 1860, p. 90.

⁴⁸ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 149; 1863, p. 128.

⁴⁹ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, pp. 142, 157.

⁵⁰ *R. & D. debt payments* (In offices of State Corporation Commission.)

Jan. 1, 1860	\$561,442	Jan. 1, 1863	\$534,555
Interest	16,843	Interest	16,036
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000
Jan. 1, 1861	553,004	Jan. 1, 1864	524,479
Interest	15,590	Interest	15,734
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000
Jan. 1, 1862	564,052	Jan. 1, 1865	513,790
Interest	16,321	Interest	15,413
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000

⁵¹ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 66.

⁵² *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 88.

⁵³ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 80; information in box in offices of State Corporation Commission.

⁵⁴ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 284.

as follows: a \$800,000 funded debt and a \$252,613 floating debt.⁵⁵ The company continued to pay off its debt, and as late as 1864 notices appeared in the *Sentinel* to the effect that bonds due January 1, 1865, should be presented to the Petersburg office.⁵⁶ The debt was divided thus in 1866:⁵⁷ loans from the state, loans guaranteed by the city of Petersburg, bonds issued to the city of Petersburg, and bonds issued to complete the railroad. Though the railroad made efforts to reduce the debt, it appeared hard to do during these critical years.

As a result of the agricultural depression of 1861, the Richmond and Danville Railroad suffered a decline in receipts from freight which equaled \$207,582, a decrease of \$113,444 below the figures for 1860.⁵⁸ The year following showed little improvement.⁵⁹ These figures had improved by 1863, and by 1865-1866, though there had been reductions, the Richmond and Danville's earnings were well ahead of expenses, which were \$661,743 and \$341,185 respectively.⁶⁰

In the case of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, no decline in trade was indicated up to July 1, 1861, with gross earnings of \$798,928 and expenses of \$399,414. Part of its net earnings the company applied to pay off the debt.⁶¹ From passenger travel \$446,979 was received, while the expense account included such items as repair of roadbed, buildings, machinery, operation, insurance, and taxes.⁶² The financial condition for the year following was the best yet, with the earnings double those for

⁵⁵ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 282.

⁵⁶ *The Sentinel*, Dec. 31, 1864.

⁵⁷ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 32.

⁵⁸ "President's Report to the B. P. W.," 1861, p. 149.

⁵⁹ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, pp. 140, 141.

Receipts for 1862

Passenger cars	\$281,246
Freight cars	175,941
Mail cars	13,845
Other cars	27,343
Virginia and Confed.	226,053

\$724,430

Expenses for 1862

Operation	\$197,518
Repairs	32,692
Maintenance	11,021

\$241,231

⁶⁰ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, pp. 157, 158; 1866, p. 148.

⁶¹ *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 14, 1861.

⁶² *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, pp. 77, 81.

1861.⁶³ The table of returns is given below.⁶⁴ In 1863 the *Sentinel* reported that the Virginia and Tennessee was making net earnings of fifty-six per cent of its capital.⁶⁵ This was a remarkable record for a line to make in one of the most critical years of the war. The able administration and the fact that it tapped such a valuable area were the reasons for such showing. In 1866 expenses amounted to \$200,000 more than earnings, but this was due to the strained business conditions of surrender and after.⁶⁶

On the Southside Railroad Company the gross earnings of \$158,181 of 1861 had increased to \$579,958 in 1862.⁶⁷ Though inflation had set in by 1863, earnings dropped while expenses increased.⁶⁸ This condition continued through 1866, when the gross earnings were \$289,580 and the expenses \$439,693. No wonder the state was ready to sell its share at the first opportunity; as Governor F. H. Pierpont declared as early as 1865, the state was making little return from its investment in railroads and he advised the sale of the stock held by Virginia.⁶⁹ At the time the state owned \$22,704,524 worth of shares of stock in this transportation facility as compared to \$12,277,290 in navigation, \$465,800 in plank roads, \$2,674,540 in turnpikes, \$11,868,098 in state roads, and \$106,100 in bridges in various parts of the state. The Railroad investment in 1865-1866 seemed none too sound.⁷⁰

⁶³ *Daily Richmond Examiner*, Dec. 5, 1862.

⁶⁴ *Report of B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 88.

Earnings for 1862 on the V. & T.

Passengers	\$577,206
Freight	403,385
Mail	35,934
Others	34,690

\$1,051,215

⁶⁵ *The Sentinel* (Richmond) March 11, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 85.

⁶⁷ *Report of B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 234; *Report of B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 282.

⁶⁸ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, p. 450.

Earnings for 1863 on the Southside

Passengers	\$491,765
Freight	318,004
Mail	14,456
Express	50,648
Rent	5,648

\$880,102

Expenses for 1862

Maintenance	\$179,629
Repairs	95,221
Operation	187,578

\$462,429

Expenses for 1863

Transportation	\$405,488
Interest	97,405
Taxes	38,649
Debt	25,700
Interest due state	208,500

\$775,742

⁶⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1865, p. 18.

⁷⁰ *Documents of the General Assembly*, 1865, 1866, doc. 1, p. 25.

The value of the southwest system to the Confederacy cannot be over-emphasized. The railroads served as the best east-west approach to the inland country of the Confederacy. Supplies could be secured from Tennessee and Kentucky as well as from the western and southern areas of Virginia. Doctor Douglas Freeman considers this system one of the main supply lines of the war. A number of the battlefields of the war lay in the area of southwestern Virginia. The Federals desired to sever the system's connection with the capital. Early in 1861 the companies had agreed to allow the necessary troop trains to move at the will of the Confederate military command. The lines authorized President Jefferson Davis and the states to use their men, property, and shops for the manufacture of war munitions, and they accepted Confederate bonds in payment for transportation of soldiers and use of the companies' equipment.⁷¹ The making of gun carriages was one of the main tools the shops could carry out, and as early as December, 1861, the Richmond and Danville shops had turned out thirty-five such carriages.⁷²

To aid the cause, the Virginia and Tennessee as early as 1861, in spite of grain failure, the washing away of thirty miles of track, and smallpox epidemics, transported troops and freight at one-half the regular rates.⁷³ The company's roller mill was employed for government use, and its salt mines were limited exclusively to the use of the state of Virginia, though Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina requested supplies for his state.⁷⁴

The Southside in 1861 reported that its main business was the transportation of troops and that the company had sufficient equipment to do that adequately. Furthermore, their own cars were being manufactured in their own shops, and very few manufactured products were needed from the outside. In 1862 the Southside reported that less equipment was available but that the supply of ties was the best in years.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 19, 1861.

⁷² *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Dec. 19, 1861.

⁷³ *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 62.

⁷⁴ Report of the president of the Virginia and Tennessee, June 30, 1863 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).

⁷⁵ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Dec. 8, 1862.

The military damage and the failure to repair the lines in the 1863-1865 period made for inefficiency. In 1864 the heaviest raids of the war came on the rail lines. In May E. H. Gill, superintendent of the Richmond and Danville, went over the entire system to ascertain damages done by the frequent raids and discovered a body of 3,000 Federal cavalry crossing the line and advancing toward the Clover Hill coal pits.⁷⁶ Shortly thereafter the Virginia and Tennessee reported that six raids had destroyed the greater part of the depots and bridges (4,000 linear feet), and that eighteen miles of track had been torn up in one place. The whole damage was repaired in sixty days at a cost of \$600,000.⁷⁷ Though the Southside was defended by R. E. Lee, Wade Hampton, William Mahone, and Fitzhugh Lee, bad breaks were made along its line. Freeman declares that by December 20, 1864, the Richmond and Danville's cars and locomotives seemed hardly able to crawl over its rusty and worn tracks.⁷⁸ U. S. Grant aimed to cut the Richmond and Danville line as well as the Southside at vital points. By February, 1865, the Danville had been rendered useless, and 80,000 Federals stood ready to tear up the Southside.⁷⁹

One month after Appomattox the lines were being repaired. The Southside under the direction of Superintendent Bird was hiring hands, purchasing timber, and sawing out trestle work.⁸⁰ On the Virginia and Tennessee, where only one depot and three bridges were left standing, work was beginning,⁸¹ while the year 1866 found the Richmond and Danville being quite completely repaired, ditched, and supplied with cattle guards, crossings, bridges, and depots. The bridge over the Staunton River was finished, while a Howe Truss bridge was built over the Little Roanoke River. The Piedmont Railroad's gauge was changed, since the Danville line had leased it for \$75,000 annually.⁸²

⁷⁶ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 13, 1864.

⁷⁷ *The Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1864.

⁷⁸ Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III, 453; IV, 22, 23.

⁷⁹ Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, IV, 75-81.

⁸⁰ *Richmond Whig*, June 9, 1865.

⁸¹ Letter of Pres. Robert Owen, June 23, 1865 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).

⁸² *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 143.

The rates for passenger fares and for freight remained fairly normal until 1864, when inflation and currency depreciation caused them to double and triple. The passenger fares and freight charges per ton mile on the Southside were 4.06c and 4.86c respectively, while on the Virginia and Tennessee they were 2.94c and 5.3c the first war year. The Southside carried 106,047 passengers and 95,644 tons.⁸³

In 1862 business improved, and the Virginia and Tennessee reported 194,106 passengers and 67,339 tons of freight.⁸⁴ In 1863 with fares and rates of 3.25c and 4.43c respectively charged by the Richmond and Danville, the carryings included 240,171 passengers and 186,517 tons of freight.⁸⁵

Charges had increased by the end of 1863: the Richmond and Danville had doubled its, while the Virginia and Tennessee average fare was .04c and its average rate .08c per ton mile for freight.⁸⁶ The Board of Public Works had authorized these increases even if the charters had set limitations due to the war emergency.

The legislative act permitting this had allowed the lines to apply in three months' time for such increase and had granted them as much as one hundred per cent increase on express providing the charge was no more than fifty per cent above the freight charge.⁸⁷ The next year the rates were increased further, as the illustration shows.⁸⁸ Still, the Southside asked the Board of Public Works to double passenger fares, to increase corn and wheat rates, and to double and triple the other rates per ton mile.⁸⁹ The year of surrender found the three lines operat-

⁸³ Southside Tonnage in 1864

Cotton (pounds)	7,894,590	Flour	3,746,339
Bacon	3,583,906	Plaster	5,634,734
Fruits	685,347	Salt	801,318
Cattle	820,944	Hogs	2,207,253
Lumber	718,953	Copper	1,191,757
Wood	6,675,716	Liquor	1,244,941
Leather	88,188	Drugs	399,252
Butter	56,993	Dry Goods	1,382,593
Corn	2,029,487		
Wheat	18,233,405		

⁸⁴ Southside Tonnage in 1862, p. 95.

⁸⁵ Southside Tonnage in 1863, p. 152; *The Sentinel*, April 28, 1863.

⁸⁶ Southside Tonnage in 1863, p. 128.

⁸⁷ Each railroad had contracts with express companies to haul express over its lines for a certain per cent of the charges. *Acts of General Assembly*, 1863.

⁸⁸ Handbill in offices of State Corporation Commission. See above, opposite p. 484.

⁸⁹ Letter of Pres. H. D. Bird, July 19, 1864 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).

ing only part of the year with reduced rates varying from .04c to .06c for both passengers and freight.

In 1865 the Richmond and Danville carried 2,840 bushels of wheat eastward as compared with 33,640 bushels in 1866, and 9,365 hogsheads of tobacco as against 15,063.⁹⁰ The Virginia and Tennessee reported a carriage of only 58,344 passengers and 46,247 tons of freight.⁹¹ The Richmond and Danville showed similar small amounts.

Accidents and complaints were registered during the period in the usual numbers. Complaints were sent to the local papers and to the Board of Public Works. A writer stated in a newspaper article that discrimination in charges should be made when supplies were sent by homefolks to their sons in government service.⁹² The privilege of men in government service being allowed to ride free was abused, and the railroad companies ruled that no official could board a train unless he had a passport signed by President Davis or the governor of Virginia.⁹³ The city of Richmond requested, during the winters of 1863 and 1864, that the system apportion more flat cars for hauling wood for fuel. The lines replied that they had no extra cars to apportion.⁹⁴

The schedules of 1862 show that the Richmond and Danville mail train reached Danville at 7 A. M. and connected at Burkeville with the Southside at 3:10 P. M. for Petersburg and Norfolk.⁹⁵ The Southside left Petersburg daily at 7 A. M. to reach Lynchburg at 2:15 P. M.⁹⁶ As a military precaution during the war, few if any schedules were published. The first line to resume a regular schedule was the Richmond and Danville, when it published in October, 1865, a notice that a train would leave Richmond at 8 A. M. to return at 4:35 P. M. and 6:35 P. M.⁹⁷

A railroad convention was held in Richmond on May 16 and

⁹⁰ *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 143.

⁹¹ *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, pp. 37, 83.

⁹² *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Aug. 2, 1861.

⁹³ *Richmond Whig*, July 16, 1861.

⁹⁴ Letter dated Nov. 28, 1862 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).

⁹⁵ *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1861.

⁹⁶ *Richmond Enquirer*.

⁹⁷ *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Oct. 30, 1865.

17, 1866, at which the lines adopted a time table and agreed on through tickets, a uniform system of handling baggage, and postal rates.⁹⁸ These steps were the forerunner of further advancement in the postwar years.

The preceding account is that of how three railroad companies, forming a system of which every mile lay in the battle zone, carried on in wartime, fed men and material to the Confederacy, and carried on business in spite of loss of rolling stock, depreciation, and inflation. This was done without any major disputes among the lines or any direct governmental control. Instead, under their own management the roads succeeded in chalking up dividends for their stockholders and were a means by which the Southern forces were enabled repeatedly to succeed in the campaigns of the upper South. When the end came, the railroads under wise leadership were reconstructed quickly for service in building the New South.

⁹⁸ *Proceedings of a railroad convention in Richmond, May 16-17, 1866* (Norfolk, Virginia, Norfolk Printing House, 1866).

RATES OF TRANSPORTATION ON THE SOUTH SIDE RAIL ROAD, TO TAKE EFFECT JANUARY 11th, 1864.

BETWEEN PETERSBURG AND ETC.

N. B. Freight between any depot or between any depot and Lynchburg, will be charged as from Petersburg for the same distance, but if the distance is greater, the charge will be as from Petersburg to the next depot beyond that distance.

Art.	Wm. & W.	Wm. & W.	Black & White										
Articles not enumerated, (first class) per 100 lbs.	80	85	90	95	1 00	1 10	1 20	1 30	1 40	1 50	1 60	1 70	1 80
Agricultural implements, less than 100 lbs. each.	1 25	1 45	1 55	1 65	1 75	1 85	1 95	2 05	2 15	2 25	2 35	2 45	2 55
Oak, per bushel.	20	27	32	37	42	47	52	57	62	67	72	77	82
Flour, Common, and Flour, per barrel.	1 00	1 10	1 20	1 30	1 40	1 50	1 60	1 70	1 80	1 90	2 00	2 10	2 20
Lime, per barrel.	1 00	1 05	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	1 60
Lumber per 1000 feet.	16 00	17 00	18 00	19 00	20 00	21 00	22 00	23 00	24 00	25 00	26 00	27 00	28 00
Laths, per 1000.	3 20	3 30	3 40	3 50	4 00	4 10	4 20	4 30	4 40	4 50	4 60	4 70	4 80
Paraffine less than 100 lbs.	80	85	90	95	1 00	1 10	1 20	1 30	1 40	1 50	1 60	1 70	1 80
Peas, per bushel.	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00
Poultry—chickens and ducks, per doz.	2 10	2 30	2 50	2 70	2 90	3 10	3 30	3 50	3 70	3 90	4 10	4 30	4 50
Swine—turkeys and geese, each.	52	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	76
Bell—Virginia, per bushel.	1 10	1 05	1 15	1 24	1 33	1 42	1 51	1 60	1 69	1 78	1 87	1 96	2 05
Shingles, per 1000.	8 50	9 50	10 50	11 50	12 50	13 50	14 50	15 50	16 50	17 50	18 50	19 50	20 50
Stock, Horses and Mules, each.	24 00	25 00	26 00	27 00	28 00	29 00	30 00	31 00	32 00	33 00	34 00	35 00	36 00
Cattle, each.	24 00	25 00	26 00	27 00	28 00	29 00	30 00	31 00	32 00	33 00	34 00	35 00	36 00
Calves, Hogs and Sheep, each.	3 45	3 60	3 75	3 90	4 05	4 20	4 35	4 50	4 65	4 80	4 95	5 10	5 25
Wheat and Corn, per bushel.	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42

The following articles will be carried by the car load.

Bar, Bricks, Posts and Poles.	45 00	45 00	45 00	50 00	53 00	57 00	61 00	65 00	69 00	73 00	77 00	81 00	85 00
Stock, Horses and Mules.	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00
Cattle and Hogs.	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00	24 00
Staves.	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00	23 00

SPECIAL LIST.

Carriages and buggies will be charged four times first class rates. Liquors will only be carried at owner's risk, and charged four times first class rates. Sugar in hogsheads will be charged three times first class rates.

The following named Articles will be charged double first class rates.

Acids, baron, (if in boxes at owner's risk, unless securely boxed and strapped) bonnets, brooms, buckets, coffee, cut-nails, cotton yarn, dry goods, (at owner's risk, unless securely boxed and strapped), eggs, feathers, furniture, (at owner's risk, unless well boxed), hats and caps, leather, (at owner's risk, unless boxed and strapped), looking glasses, and glass, (at owner's risk), manufactured tobacco, musical instruments, nails, oils, (at owner's risk), saddlery, shoes and boots, sugar

in boxes, barrels, half barrels and quarter barrels, staves, sewing machines, toys, tubs, wood and willow ware.

Firewood will only be carried by the owner paying one cord for each cord carried.

Steam engines and boilers, locomotives and cars, railroad iron, and all articles of unusual size or weight, will be carried by special contract only. These articles and every thing carried by contract, must be loaded and unloaded by the owners. If the cars are not unloaded when required, and the company has to do it, an extra charge will be made for the service.

The load for a car is 5000 feet of seasoned pine, 4000 feet of seasoned oak, 4 cords oak wood, 6 cords of pine, 2500 bricks, and 16000 pounds of sundries. Any person putting more than this weight on a car will be charged extra besides the cost of repairing the car if injured by being too heavily loaded.

Freight carried by Mail Train will be charged double the above rates.

Whenever articles are not weighed they will be rated as specified in the annexed list:

Apple Peaches and Apples, per barrel.	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00	5 00
Bacon, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Beans, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Birds, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Butter, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Cheese, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Corn, per bushel.	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00
Cotton, per bale.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Coffee, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Flour, per barrel.	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00	1 00
Iron, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Lard, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Meat, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Oil, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Peas, per bushel.	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00	3 00
Pork, per barrel.	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00	10 00
Wheat, per bushel.	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00	30 00

1. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company. It will not be liable for the loss of any articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

2. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

3. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

4. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

5. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

6. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

7. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

8. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

9. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

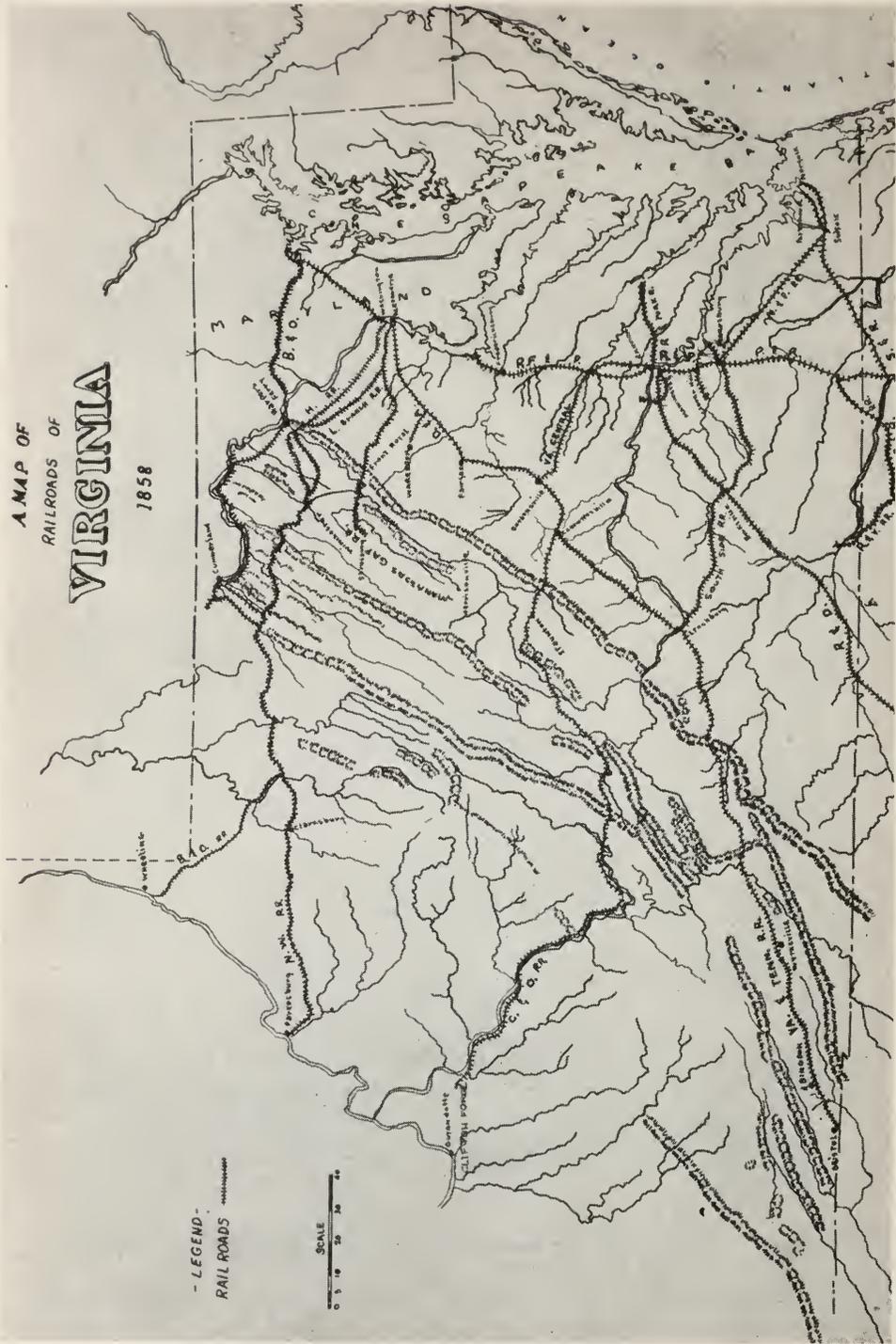
10. This Company will not be responsible for the damage sustained by freight, from fire, theft, or otherwise, of any of its articles, unless it is proved to have been damaged by the negligence of the Company.

By Order of the Board of Directors,
JOHN S. BIRD, President, STEAMERS STREET, PETERSBURG.

H. D. BIRD,
General Superintendent.

A MAP OF
RAILROADS OF
VIRGINIA

1858



- LEGEND -
RAILROADS



CARACAS EXILE*

By NANCY JANE LUCAS

James Williamson left his native Scotland when he was twenty-two years of age and settled in Person County, North Carolina. He married the daughter of Dempsey Moore, the first settler of the county seat, Roxboro,¹ and to these parents a son was born on December 2, 1793.² The child was named John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson. Apparently Mrs. Williamson died soon after John G. A. was born. James took as his second wife Susan Paine, daughter of Major Paine of Paine's Ordinary in Person County. Three sons and five daughters were born of this union.³

James Williamson soon became an important figure in Person County, for he accumulated a comparatively large fortune in land and slaves. His will shows that he was interested in all his children and wanted to make a just distribution of his wealth among them. There are indications, however, that for a Scot he was unusually liberal and lenient with his eldest son, John G. A., to whom he advanced \$6,000 in getting that young man started on a career.

* In the summer of 1942 the present writer unpacked that portion of the William T. Morrey library which Mr. James A. McMillen had purchased for Louisiana State University. The most valuable item in this collection proved to be the manuscript diary of John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson, first United States diplomat to Venezuela. To date, no information has been secured as to where or how Morrey acquired the two large folio volumes. An edited, typed copy of the diary is now in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹ Stephen B. Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson (typescript in Charles L. Van Noppen Collection. Duke University library), Durham, N. C. (publication from this source is not permitted without written authorization from Duke University library.)

² Williamson wrote in his diary, December 2, 1839: "My birth day, I have completed to day my 46th year of pilgrimage on earth — and wish in turning to review them they had been better, more worthy of a miserable service to his God, than I fear mine has been." Nancy Jane Lucas (editor), *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 438. (Typescript in Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.)

³ Weeks, in his sketch of Williamson, has the following to say concerning the half-brothers and sisters of John G. A.:

Robert Williamson was a physician of Rockingham County and died about 1843; James Monroe was educated at the University of North Carolina, studied law, was in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1834, 1835 and 1836 and later removed to Tennessee where he was also a member of the Legislature and Speaker; dying after the close of the civil war. William Alexander (1814-1895) was a merchant and banker in Memphis, Tennessee, and left a large estate.

Of the four daughters, Mary married Dr. Donoho who died in Milton, N. C.; Parthenia married Hon. John M. Dick, judge of the N. C. Superior Court; Susan married a brother of Hon. Thomas Ruffin, the elder, and Madrid (Mildred?) (1817-1893) married Calvin Jones (1810-1889) a native of Person County, educated at the University of Alabama removed to Tennessee and served as Chancellor of the Western Division 1847-54.

In the will of James Williamson, his children by his second wife are listed as Mary, Parthenia, Robert, Susan, Anne, James, Alexander and Mildred. Person County Wills, Sales of Estates, and Taxables, 1831-1835, p. 321. (Manuscript in North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.)

John G. A. attended the University of North Carolina in 1813 but did not graduate.⁴ In 1817 he settled some business affairs for his father in "the Town of Petersburg in the Commonwealth of Virginia."⁵ Some time after this he "embarked in Mercantile business in New York."⁶ He could not have remained there long because he came back to North Carolina and served in the General Assembly for three terms, 1823, 1824, and 1825.

In 1823 Williamson became known as a "Jackson and Calhoun" man when he spoke in the Assembly in favor of the Fisher Resolutions.⁷ Having thus made himself eligible for whatever spoils might come his way, Williamson began his application for "a situation . . . that should be a permanent and honourable one to which there might be attached a salary and perquisites, or salary alone sufficient for a *genteel living*."⁸ His political friends, especially Bartlett Yancey, Hutchins Gordon Burton, and Romulus Mitchell Saunders, wrote letters of recommendation to the proper authorities⁹ and secured for Williamson the appointment in 1826 as "Consul of the United States at La Guayra, in the Republic of Colombia."¹⁰

Only two men had preceded Williamson in this office: Augustine Madan, a merchant of La Guayra who served for a few days in 1800,¹¹ and Robert K. Lowry of Maryland, whose term lasted from 1810 to 1826.¹²

During the first eleven years that Lowry served as consul, Venezuela fought for and won her independence from Spain. Simón Bolívar, the great leader in this struggle, felt that his country could not be safe as long as her neighbors were not free

⁴ Daniel Lindsey Grant (editor), *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (Durham, N. C., 1924), p. 678.

⁵ Person County Wills, Sales of Estates & Taxables 1815-1817, p. 264. (Manuscript in North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.)

⁶ A contemporary, Edward J. Hale, said that Williamson "was pronounced the handsomest man in New York when he came here as a merchant . . . To a magnificent person he added as handsome and sweet a face as I ever saw on a man's shoulders." Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson.

⁷ A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 428-470.

⁸ Williamson to R. M. Saunders, February 4, 1823. (Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1821-1828. Manuscript, National Archives, Washington, D. C.)

⁹ Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1821-1828, pages not numbered. (Manuscript, National Archives.)

¹⁰ Venezuela, Confirmations and Rejections, 1820-1832, pages not numbered. (Manuscript, National Archives.)

¹¹ *Senate Executive Journal*, (4 vols., Washington, 1828-1887), I, 332, 333.

¹² *Senate Executive Journal*, II, 207, 208.

from foreign rule. He went to New Granada (Colombia), Ecuador, and Peru and directed the revolution there. He left the *llanero*, José Antonio Páez, in charge of central Venezuela. When Williamson arrived at La Guayra, Bolívar was still in Peru (he had been absent from Venezuela for five years), and Páez and his followers were in revolt against the order established by Bolívar. They wanted Venezuela to separate from the Republic of Great Colombia (Venezuela, New Granada, Panama, and Ecuador). Williamson could not present his credentials to Bolívar's officials—they had been forced to leave the country—and he hesitated to deal with Páez because Bolívar might return to power. Actually, that is what happened. Early in 1827 Bolívar returned to Venezuela and forgave Páez for his unfaithfulness; and the excitement of revolution gave way to that of reconciliation. Every gentleman of La Guayra was invited to attend a grand banquet in the *Sala Principal de la Aduana*. Toasts were to be drunk and Williamson spent a week "concocting what he considered a certainty—namely the health of John Quincy Adams." An English naval officer who attended the banquet reported that Bolívar expressed the wish "that from the southern point of Spain to the banks of the Neva, all should be one Great Britain, under one great George." No reference was made to other countries. The Dutch consul soon forgot the incident, and the French consul "danced off his spleen"; but the Americans "bitterly felt the neglect, and, like freemen, were not slow to show it. The American consul . . . when he found that no allusion was made to his country, looked as pale as Mrs. Elizabeth Woodcock, who was found buried in the snow near Cambridge, in 1799; and directly the President rose, the whole of the free-born walked out in great dudgeon, and left us to lament their loss in the ball-room."¹³

This incident marked the beginning of Williamson's hostility for the British consul, Sir Robert Ker Porter. Sir Robert had arrived earlier in 1825. He was forty-eight years old and famous as a traveller, artist, and writer, and famous also because he was the brother of two popular novelists, Jane and Maria Porter.¹⁴

¹³ Frederick Chamier, *The Life of a Sailor* (2 vols. New York, 1833), II, 164-165.

¹⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Williamson felt that Sir Robert possessed "that effrontery common to all Englishmen." All through his diary he refers to him as "the old granny" or "the old woman." When Sir Robert first called to see Mrs. Williamson, John G. A. wrote:

I have known Sir Robert for 9 years . . . he is a painter by profession and following after his adventures as an officer in the British Army in Spain in 1806, 7 & 8, as an *attaché* to the British Legation to Russia, there *painted* himself into favor, married a Russian Princess, by whom he had a daughter, travelled over some part of Russia & Georgia painted the same, left the Country, wife daughter & all returned to England and was knighted by George the fourth and then sent as Consul to Caracas . . . he has been residing here near ten years and hardly speaks enough Spanish to ask for a glass of water— . . .

Sir Robert sat a considerable time in expectation I suppose of seeing Mrs. W., but fatigue, change of climate &, keep her in her own room, he therefore had to depart without this gratification.¹⁵

Williamson never had a good word to say for Sir Robert's liquor. One time, at a picnic at Blandin's (today the Country Club), Sir Robert furnished the sherry and "more horritical stuff was never offered to sinners to drink." Williamson added that could he have suspected such a cheat he would have sent his own which was good. On another occasion, Sir Robert gave a dinner for the French consul, "a common affair with wine strong enough to knock a horse down, and it *did it* for the young Frenchman *attache* to Mr. Mahalin—he drank with all & all most all with him, he took bumpers they merely siped he *got drunk* & they remained sober—when adjourned to take coffee the Frenchman never out of Paris before nor perhaps never dined with English drinking people found himself so far gone as not to be able to stand—He spewed in the Patio like a dog and the French *Chargé* took French leave and lead him home.¹⁶ Once when Williamson called on Sir Robert, he found him "in a great funk," because his landlord had ordered him to leave his house. Williamson grimly wrote: "How the old rat would laugh if such a

¹⁵ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, pp. 41-43.

¹⁶ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 247.

thing had fallen on me, and I of course consider myself privileged to laugh *now* at him.—”¹⁷

During the next few years Williamson acquired a knowledge of the commercial possibilities of Venezuela and an understanding of her political uneasiness. Páez and others feared Bolívar's monarchical ambitions. In 1829, under the leadership of Páez, Venezuela separated from Great Colombia. A constitution was framed in 1830, creating the Republic of Venezuela, and Páez was soon elected president. Bolívar died in December, 1830; and loyal followers of his tried to upset the new government. Páez, however, handled the insurrection with that skill which was to make him the chief caudillo until 1848. Williamson came to know Páez well, and his diary contains many intimate details about the man and his family.

In 1832 Williamson returned to the United States and on May 2 was married to Frances Travis of Philadelphia.¹⁸ The next year he became a Congressional candidate in North Carolina for the district composed of Wake, Orange, and Person counties. He was an “ardent and eloquent supporter of Jackson and his policies”;¹⁹ but, as the election returns show,²⁰ he was defeated because he did not carry Wake County.

About this time Williamson received a rather stern letter from the Secretary of State asking for an explanation of his prolonged absence from Venezuela and requesting him to report immediately to his station.²¹ Williamson returned to Venezuela alone. In a few months he wrote to the Secretary of State for permission to go to Philadelphia for his wife.²²

Williamson discovered, when he reached home, that the United States was going to recognize the Republic of Venezuela by sending a chargé to Caracas. He immediately set to work to secure this appointment, and his North Carolina political friends again rallied successfully to his support. They did not have to put forth much effort because Jackson wanted to reward Wil-

¹⁷ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 425.

¹⁸ Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

¹⁹ Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson.

²⁰ *Star and North Carolina State Gazette* (Raleigh), August 28, 1833, p. 3.

²¹ Letter of Louis McLane, August 27, 1833. (Venezuela, *Instructions to Consuls*, Vol. V. Manuscript in National Archives.)

²² Letter of Louis McLane, February 10, 1834. (Venezuela, *Instructions to Consuls*, Vol. V. Manuscript in National Archives.)

Williamson for his electioneering efforts in 1833. Also, Williamson was the logical candidate for the position since he had learned Spanish and had had experience in Venezuela; and it is entirely possible that there was no other applicant for the position.

With a salary now of \$4,500 per annum and an additional \$4,500 with which to purchase his "outfit," Williamson set out in high spirits to take over his new duties. This time Fanny accompanied him to Venezuela. Feeling the importance of his position, Williamson determined to keep a diary from the day of his appointment "to a foreign diplomatic situation." This record he kept faithfully from that day, March 3, 1835, until his wife left him in May, 1840. He died a few weeks later in Caracas.

Williamson was a shrewd, if biased, observer of Venezuela during its formative period; therefore his diary is an important first-hand account of phases of the history of that country from 1826 until 1840,²³ a period about which there have been altogether too few satisfactory records. Many amazing persons are presented, among them: Renato Beluche, one of La Fitte's pirates; Dublin-born Daniel Florencio O'Leary, Bolívar's chief secretary José Félix Blanco, the priest who "dowsed his *casaca* and seized the sword" and later edited a great work on Venezuelan documents; Augustin Codazzi, Italian geographer; and Sam D. Forsyth, an "ambidextrous personality." A few others of a similar character are Carlos Soublotte, Frederick Chamier, General Laurencio Silva, Diego and Andrés Ibarra, Lord Henry Peter Brougham, Simon Bernard, and Pedro Carujo. In addition there are famous people who are better known: Simó Bolívar, José Antonio Páez, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Queen Victoria and her husband (whom Williamson dubbed the "rib of her ribs"), Henry Clay, Santos Michelena, and Francisco de Paula Santander. (Mention of these does not imply that Williamson assumed intimacy with all of them.)

The diary is more than a history of Venezuela; it is a commentary on world events of the time. Caracas was isolated and silent. Those days on which mail arrived were red-letter days.

²³ While Williamson did not begin his diary until 1835, yet he made many references to events which had occurred during the period while he was consul.

After reading the long awaited papers, Williamson would write in the diary his opinion of the events about which he had been reading. Vivid contemporary accounts are given of such happenings as rumors of war with France over her failure to pay American spoliation claims, the blockade of Mexico by the French, mob action in Philadelphia because of agitation by abolitionists, the consequences of abolition in the South, steamships making the westward passage of the Atlantic, the coronation and marriage of Queen Victoria, Britain's attempts to end the slave traffic and conflicting policies in the West Indies, the end of the National Bank, Henry Clay's "white-wash" presidential activities, the Canadian-Maine boundary question, Canadian border clashes, French and English policy toward the United States, British aggressions in China and conflicts with Russia in Afghanistan and India, and British and French attempts to keep Russia out of the eastern Mediterranean.

One could wish that Williamson had made his diary more personal than it is; yet there are many indications of tragedy and humor, especially in Williamson's relations with his wife and with Sir Robert Ker Porter.

Mrs. Williamson was unhappy in Caracas and apparently made no attempt to adjust herself to its "dull routine of unsociable existence." At first Williamson tried to stimulate social gatherings at the different homes, but jealousy and gossip among the women threatened to result in "pistols and coffee for Two" of the most vigorous females, so such parties were discontinued. They could not explore the country, for the only means of travel was by mule or horseback and Fanny was a "great coward to ride." Sometimes John G. A. walked with his wife through various sections of the city. On All Saints Day, November 1, 1835, they went to several churches and then to the Cathedral, which they entered "arm in arm, and after having advanced to the lower part through the intricate mass of kneeling devotees on small carpets for the Churches in this good Catholic country have no seats but here and there a Confessional Chair, we were approached by a vulgar looking puppy, addressing me and telling me I should not come into the church *arm & arm* with my wife. I asked the fellow by what right he had to criticise me upon that

subject—who are you I demanded to all of which he could not or did not make any reply, but continued his protestation of this being a Christian Church & a holy place & & to all of which I simply replied *vaya usted con Dios*—after a turn or two left the Church.”²⁴

Fanny became ill and “complaining,” so that Williamson had to call in Doctor Lacombe who declared the sickness to be “spasmodic affection of the womb.” He prescribed “magnesium, castile soap, in powders, to be taken every two hours until the pain is removed, and a fraction of Camphor & sweet oil & perhaps a grain or two of opium.” Williamson thought that there was a great deal of “*charlatanism*” in the doctor.²⁵

When Fanny was better, Williamson tried to please her with a large masquerade party. “On the 14 [February, 1840], sent out cards of invitation for a ball on the 27, *disfraz* or fancy—the evening proved fine, our company large say some 55 ladies & 70 or 80 Gentlemen. It went off very well, but has cost me more than any two Balls I have ever given, at least 400\$—a *small hole into* a charge d’affaires salary—.”²⁶

Williamson’s efforts were wasted. When the Brig *Caracas* made a very “expeditious passage” and arrived some ten days earlier than anticipated, Mrs. Williamson determined to return to Philadelphia in it. Williamson wrote: “My wife I regret to perceive has a great disposition to return in her, what can I say to it when she seems so discontented here, my feelings say stay, but I must remain quiet, neither to insist nor deny, and when she determines be governed by it.”²⁷ Fanny sailed north within a few days.

This timid, self-centered woman who had not the “philosophy” to endure Caracas, found neither security nor happiness in Philadelphia. She developed a great fear of being buried alive and ordered in her will that after death her body was to be kept one week “but not in Ice—to be opened and embalmed, and afterwards interred, but not in a Metal Coffin—in a Vault at Laurel Hill Cemetery. . . .”²⁸

²⁴ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 126.

²⁵ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, pp. 282-283.

²⁶ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 266.

²⁷ Lucas, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, p. 497.

²⁸ Will no. 361 (September 5, 1857). (*Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall.*)

Mrs. Williamson, because of her fancied or real illness, had failed to perceive her husband's critical condition. Williamson frequently recorded in the diary that his health was not good. He had "occasional twitching about the region of the liver," and "a shooting pain from the interior of my right breast to the shoulder blade of my right arm." On more than one occasion he stated that he had been unwell for several days, "a heavy, dull inactive state of the system and frequently producing a vertigo state of the head." Sometimes Williamson called in Dr. Lacombe, but more often he treated himself by "encouraging puking," or by having recourse to the "blue pill system."

The last entry in the diary is:

I feel much irritation in my right side, great pain in my shoulder & blade—evident symptoms I fear of diseased or at least effected liver—

No news—the mail from the South brings nothing—The Caracas in which my wife sails, will leave LaGuayra I learn on Saturday, I suppose Sunday next—

Williamson died on August 7, 1840.²⁹ Sir Robert Ker Porter was the one to whom he turned as he closed his earthy affairs—in spite of his dislike for the British consul, Sir Robert looked after Williamson during his last illness and consented "not only as a Friend but as a colleague" to take charge of the archives of the United States legation.³⁰ The old Englishman made a careful report both to London and to Washington. He arranged for a stately and ceremonious funeral, and Williamson was buried in the English cemetery. Sir Robert built a chapel there "at his sole Expense," then he left Caracas in 1841 and died the following year. The cemetery was neglected and rank grass grew so tall that it was impossible to see the graves. Soon the whole place was covered with ant-hills several feet high.³¹

Unaware of the ant-hills or the chapel, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson lies undisturbed and forgotten "in a foreign situation."

²⁹ Ker Porter's letter to the State Department, August 9, 1840. (File Microcopy 79, roll 2, National Archives.)

³⁰ Ker Porter's letter to the State Department, August 9, 1840. (File Microcopy 79, roll 2, National Archives.)

³¹ Edward B. Eastwick, *Venezuela: or Sketches of Life in a South American Republic* (London, 1868), p. 52.

JOURNAL OF THE SURRY COUNTY (N.C.)
AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Edited by NANNIE MAY TILLEY

The records of an agricultural society which from 1819 to 1823 flourished in a semi-mountainous area in a remote section of North Carolina offer surprising indications of intellectual stirring. True, the membership of the society was not large; but, all factors considered, the serious determination of the leaders maintained the organization for a surprisingly long period, although enthusiasm waned after 1821. The Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society, 1819-1823,¹ now published for the first time, found its way to and long remained among the papers of David S. Reid, governor of North Carolina from 1851 to 1854.²

It has been stated merely as a fact, without any analysis whatever, that the "years immediately following the War of 1812 witnessed a great awakening of interest in agricultural societies" in the South.³ Though the formation of the Surry County Agricultural Society presents no exception to that statement, the detailed record of its activities may possibly suggest some explanation for the new interest. Nor was Surry County alone in North Carolina in organizing an agricultural society during the years immediately following the War of 1812. There were at least seventeen others—in Beaufort, Duplin, Edgecombe, Halifax, Cumberland, Wake, Robeson, and Northampton counties in the eastern portion of the state, and, in the western section, in Guilford, Chatham, Lincoln, Rowan, Orange, Mecklenburg, Rutherford, Stokes, and Richmond. Apparently tied in with these local societies was a State Agricultural Society, also organized in 1819. Although little is known of the activities of this latter society, it apparently was responsible

¹ Preserved in the library of Duke University.

² Since he was only six years of age in 1819, Reid had no part in the Society. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "David Settle Reid," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 476.

³ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. (2 vols., Washington, 1933), II, 784. After 1815 the same interest was equally as marked in the northern states, although for that area students of agricultural history have attributed the movement to the earnest work of Elkanah Watson, to the policy of state aid for agricultural societies, and to the great variety of reforms then being agitated. P. W. Bidwell and J. I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), pp. 187-190. Watson's work undoubtedly fell on sympathetic ground, and state aid did not come without pressure from farmers. Of the reasons given, it therefore follows that the spirit of reform must furnish the fundamental explanation.

for the creation of the Agricultural Fund of 1822, designed in part for the support of local agricultural societies. Connected with the State Society also was the establishment of a State Board of Agriculture to be composed of delegates from the county societies. Moreover, by the act of 1822, each county society was to receive a sum from the state equivalent to the amount raised locally. Included in the scheme there was not only a provision to encourage the offering of premiums for agricultural products but also a plan to have the winners write detailed accounts of their procedure. From these accounts the State Board of Agriculture was to select the better ones to be included in a volume and, at the expense of the state, have 1,500 copies printed to be distributed through the local societies "to the good people of the State."⁴ The journal printed here shows perhaps more of the details connected with the statewide movement for agricultural reform than has heretofore been generally known. In addition it also indicates that the local societies in some cases perhaps antedated the State Agricultural Society.

Various writers have suggested more or less indirectly that the timing of movements for agricultural reform has been interlocked with depressions in prices, westward migration, soil depletion, and effects of the scientific awakening of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before attempting to view the Surry County Agricultural Society in the light of these factors, it is perhaps advisable briefly to examine conditions in North Carolina, at that time one of the most backward states of the Union, and in Surry, which was certainly among the least favored of all the counties of that backward state.

It is a fact that North Carolina by 1819 had become rightfully known as the most unprogressive state of the Union, often being dubbed the "Rip Van Winkle state." Its legislature had done little to promote the cause of education, and illiteracy prevailed

⁴W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860* (vol. II of a *History of North Carolina*, Chicago and New York, 1919), pp. 100-101; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1821, p. 63; 1822, p. 62; *Acts of General Assembly of North Carolina*, 1824, p. 90; 1825, pp. 73, 86; *American Farmer*, V (Dec. 5, 1823), p. 293. See *Laws of North Carolina*, 1822, pp. 18-20, for the act to promote agriculture by establishing an Agricultural Fund and a State Board of Agriculture. Present at the first state-wide meetings to result from the act of 1822 were delegates from Orange, Rowan, Lincoln, Edgecombe, Richmond, Duplin, and Robeson counties. *American Farmer*, V (Dec. 5, 1823), p. 293.

in alarming proportions. The state was predominantly agricultural, with few or no markets and public roads. Not only were the existing roads wretched, but the sand-choked inlets and small rivers of the coastal area and the shallow streams of the piedmont offered little in the way of natural aids for transportation. Such natural aids as there were assisted only the large landholders who lived east of Raleigh. With few industries and fewer home markets, the state was constantly drained of working capital, and westward migration furnished the chief escape from such intolerable conditions. It has been estimated that North Carolina lost one-third of its population from 1815 to 1850. Perhaps the chief cause for this deplorable situation lay in the undemocratic political conditions existing in the state. Suffrage and office-holding were based on property qualifications without regard to population. In the western sector of the state population increased far more rapidly than in the east. Furthermore, land taxes throughout the state were levied on the basis of acreage, notwithstanding the greater fertility of soil in the eastern area. In the west streams were better adapted to industry than to commerce, but industrial enterprises demanded transportation facilities. The east, with a greater representation in the legislature, controlled the government, and all efforts to secure an *ad valorem* tax met defeat from votes based on sectional interest. It was therefore natural that the west came to demand schools, internal improvements, and constitutional reform.⁵ In the Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society this policy is virtually as clear as interest in agriculture.

Surry County perhaps suffered more from domination of the east than any other area, as a brief survey of its history and resources will indicate. Established in 1770 and situated in the northwestern corner of the state on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Surry lay approximately 250 miles from the nearest seaport. Though sparsely settled, it became the scene of violent strife during the Revolutionary period, with the num-

⁵ W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period*, pp. 83-104; R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (4 vols., Chicago and New York, 1928-1929), I, 438-474.

ber of loyalists and patriots about evenly balanced.⁶ The scant acreage of valuable land lay in narrow strips along small rivers and creeks, and by the account of one writer in 1857, it was "a poor man's country" in which rigid economy and hard labor prevailed. Observations made eighty years later from the vantage point of scientific training do not include many facts to offset this judgment of 1857 save in transportation facilities, a public school system, and small industries.⁷

Social conditions prevailing in Surry County from 1819 to 1823 were naturally rooted in the economic background. An unknown observer, evidently compiling material for a gazeteer, wrote in 1810 of the county's "far removal from market," of its iron ore, "from which larger profits may be raised," and of its lack of "schools of note, bridges & other public buildings." He confessed further that the inhabitants of Surry were "behind some of their neighbors." On the credit side, however, he noted "a large settlement of Quakers whose habits & good morals are generally known" and called attention to fertile lands on the Yadkin River.⁸ Writing specifically of the period from 1820 to 1829, the Reverend Harden E. Taliaferro, doubtless closely related to John and Charles Taliaferro of the society, declared of the western area of Surry and inferentially of the entire county that a large proportion of the population was wholly uneducated and that "the rest of them had but a rude and imperfect rudimental education." Rifles, shot pouches, butcher knives, and spirits, less stimulating than stunning, played a far more important rôle in their lives than education, which, if secured at all, was to be had in "a log-pole school house."⁹ Furthermore, it was stated that the adult population in Surry was in 1850 perhaps the poorest educated of any county in the United States, with one-third of the males and more than one-half of the females unable to read

⁶ J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Jesse Franklin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI 600; J. G. Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County* (Mt. Airy, N. C., 1935), pp. 89-106; [H. E. Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters* (New York, 1859), p. 17.

⁷ [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 17-19; W. A. Davis and E. F. Goldston, *Soil Survey of Surry County, North Carolina* (United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Series 1932, no. 20, Washington, 1937), *passim*.

⁸ A. R. Newsome, editor, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-11," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 303.

⁹ *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 13, 17-18.

and write. According to the same writer, few inhabitants of Surry owned slaves or had ever traveled outside the county.¹⁰ Census records support this statement in part. In 1830, however, slightly more than 11 per cent of the heads of families owned one or more slaves, while 13.4 per cent of the total population was slave.¹¹

Under such circumstances it might readily be assumed that the membership of the Surry County Agricultural Society centered in one small and better favored neighborhood. Although the majority undoubtedly lived in the eastern sector of the county, there is evidence that in a greater or lesser degree the entire county was represented in the society's membership. According to the list of taxables for 1816, eight members owned property in Captain John Zachary's district, six in Captain Micajah Forkner's, four in Captain William Potter's, three in Captain Solomon Graves', two in Captain Thomas W. Poindexter's, one in Captain Peter Dowel's, one in Captain Joel Underwood's, and four in another district for which no collector was recorded. Two years later fifteen of the members were listed as property owners in Captain Zachary's district, five in Captain William Pierce's, three in Captain Underwood's, two in Captain William Potter's, one in Captain Stephen Potter's, one in Captain Ambrose J. Gregory's, and one in Captain James Hudspeth's.¹² Among the listed taxables in the membership of the Society there was, of course, some overlapping. In 1818, however, they owned land on Ararat, Yadkin, and Fisher's rivers and on several creeks including Bull Run, Forkner's, Tom's, Lovern's, Stewart's, Paul's, and Moore's Fork of Stewart's Creek. According to deed books, various members from 1819

¹⁰ A. H. Guernsey, "Surry County, North Carolina," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXV (July, 1862), 178. Guernsey, whose article was based on census reports and [Taliaferro's] *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, asserted that the latter's pseudonym, "Skitt," veiled the name of one of the first families of Virginia.

¹¹ From figures based on original manuscript returns. Census of 1830, Surry County, N. C., Population Schedule, pp. 83-159 (microfilm copy in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh).

¹² An Alphabetical List of Taxables in Surry County, 1816, 1818, clerk's office, Surry County Courthouse, Dobson, N. C.

to 1830 owned land and lived on these same streams as well as on Deep Creek, Benson's Creek, and Archer's Creek, and at Ward's Gap on Ararat River.¹³ While none of these records furnish irrefutable proof that membership of the society was county-wide, they do indicate more than a neighborhood gathering.

Regardless of the geographical location of its members, the society was undoubtedly organized during the darkest days of the panic of 1818-1819. Although any such organization would naturally be based on a desire to improve agricultural products and thereby increase incomes, the journal itself includes few statements even indirectly indicative of concern over depressed prices. Meshack Franklin's discourse of October 30, 1819, on "the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system," pertained rather to the necessity for improving farming methods. The profit motive was naturally the basis for discussions involving agriculture as opposed to internal commerce, manufacturing rather than exporting raw materials, raising stock in preference to selling grain, and dairying instead of routine farming. Interest in a cash crop perhaps emerged most distinctly in the determination to cultivate tobacco more extensively even at a time when prices were deplorably low, a determination apparently not translated into action.¹⁴ Lack of markets and of transportation facilities, and a self-sufficient economy may well have rendered effects of the panic relatively unimportant in Surry. It is also evident that plans for organizing the society had been brewing before the effects of the panic appeared.

Westward migration has been cited as a ruinous factor for agriculture in Surry from the Revolution to the War of 1812.

¹³ Surry County Deed Books, J, 218-220; O, 453-454; P, 262-263; R, 122, 244, 248; S, 16; U, 143-144; Y, 290, in office of register of deeds, Surry County courthouse, Dobson, N. C. Among the principal Whig families of northwestern Surry during the Revolution were the Franklins, Taliaferros, and McCraws. E. W. Caruthers, *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents: and Sketches of Character, chiefly in the "Old North State"* (second series, Philadelphia, 1856), p. 198. Elizabeth McCraw, wife of the active Whig Jacob McCraw, however, spent her last days in the neighborhood of Mt. Airy (Caruthers, *Sketches*, p. 282) in the northeastern portion of the county. William Easley also lived in the western portion of the county. [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, p. 141. It would appear that the seven members of the society who were listed as "Transient" came from the extreme northwestern portion of the county.

¹⁴ Tobacco prices began to drop in November, 1818, and except briefly in 1820 declined steadily until 1825. J. C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860* (Durham, 1938), pp. 139-156.

In an analysis of census figures by age groups the same writer concludes that, in later years, the predominance of women in the county indicated a heavy migration of males westward.¹⁵ Yet the total population figures listed below show consistent growth and at the same time no great variation in the total number of males and females. Westward migration, therefore, can hardly be cited as a major factor for agricultural decline. It is indeed doubtful that agriculture before 1819 had advanced to a status of sufficient improvement to warrant a statement that it had declined at all.

POPULATION OF SURRY COUNTY ¹⁶

	Whites-Male	Whites-Female	Slaves	Free Negroes	Total
1790	3,293	3,188	698	17	7,196
1800	4,389	4,033	1,005	21	9,448
1810	3,991	4,752	1,469	84	10,296
1820	5,435	5,547	1,365	112	12,459
1830	6,284	6,281	1,945	185	14,695
1840	6,366	6,727	1,778	208	15,079
1850	7,925	8,234	2,000	284	18,443
1860	8,930	9,126	2,682	356	21,094

Part of the increase from 1790 to 1800 must be credited to the annexation of a small strip of land from Wilkes County—the western portion of the area drained by Mitchell and Fisher’s rivers.¹⁷ Westward migration no doubt explains the scant increase in white population from 1800 to 1810. That the slave population fluctuated in more erratic fashion, however, is perhaps in a measure explained by the flourishing slave trade which centered in Surry County.¹⁸

Reference by members of the society to methods of soil im-

¹⁵ Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County*, pp. 166-167, 202.

¹⁶ Based on Census figures. Yadkin County, created from Surry in 1850, was not established as a political unit until 1851. In order to furnish consistent comparisons, the figures for 1860 have been combined for the two counties.

¹⁷ Hollingsworth, in his *History of Surry County*, p. 111, states that this annexation in 1792 confused the historian, Wheeler, causing him to err in stating that Jesse Franklin, governor of North Carolina, 1820-1821, moved from Wilkes to Surry in 1791. The error has been copied. W. R. Edmonds, "Sketch of Jesse Franklin," *University of North Carolina Magazine*, n. s., XXVII (Mar. 1911), 13-14; Hamilton, "Jesse Franklin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 600.

¹⁸ The Jarratt-Glen Papers (Duke University Library) contains ample evidence on this point. Kit Robbins, a notorious slave driver, also carried on his operations nearby. *Raleigh News and Observer*, July 26, 1925.

provement renders that issue clear-cut but by no means dominant. There were Meshack Franklin's disturbance over "the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system," the reading of John Taylor's recommendations for reclaiming exhausted farm lands, Captain John Zachary's account of the restoration of his father's land by stopping washes and filling gullies, the best methods of applying manures, eagerness of members to obtain agricultural literature, and the general conviction that burning wood land was to be avoided because of consequent destruction of soil fertility. Less direct but equally as significant in the concern for soil improvement was Solomon Graves's statement in favor of contour-plowing.

Perhaps more striking than any of these items was the interest of the group in education, in other reforms than agitating the thinking of the nation, in state constitutional reform, and in making the organization function to improve the status of society in general. Numerous are the indications that these men were thinking seriously along many lines. Their concern for internal improvements and domestic manufacture may well have been imbedded in considerations which also explain the not inconsiderable strength of the Whig party in Surry County during later years.

The nature of the various subjects brought before the members leads to a questioning of the motives which caused this group of small farmers ¹⁹ to organize the Surry County Agricultural Society. Rather more strongly than in depressed prices, westward migration, or soil depletion, the answer seems to lie in the stirring of the human mind, perhaps as a belated result of the scientific awakening of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Certainly it would be difficult to explain on any other basis the timing of the initiation of the early agricultural socie-

¹⁹ In the original manuscript returns, Census of 1830, Surry County, N. C., Population Schedule, pp. 83-159, seventeen members of the Society are listed with the following numbers of slaves: Meshack Franklin 40, Matthew Davis 16, Goliheo Moore 13, Mordecai Fleming 13, Charles Taliaferro 11, Micajah Forkner 9, John Whitlock 9, Solomon Graves 9, Dabney Walker 8, Jonathan Roberts 8, John Martin 7, John Davis 6, James Martin 5, Evan Davis 0, Ruel Jackson 0, John Sparger 0, John Zachary 0. In view of the youth of these slaves in 1830, it is doubtful whether any member except Meshack Franklin owned any slaves in 1819.

ties of Europe and the United States.²⁰ Why, then, despite the scientific awakening, should such a society have been organized as early as 1819 in a remote and poverty-stricken area? Perhaps it was in some measure due to the enlarged vision of those who had just returned from the campaigns of the War of 1812. John Whitlock, the first president and a zealous member, had served as a private in the first Surry regiment. Four other founding and active members of the society, James Martin, the first treasurer, Mordecai Fleming, Matthew Davis, and John Martin, had also served as privates in Surry regiments, and William McCraw, the first to be admitted after organization, had been captain of a company in the first Surry regiment.²¹ It was Meshack Franklin, however, perhaps the best educated man of the county and long a member of Congress,²² who seemed to furnish the drive and to bring in outside ideas. It was Franklin who presented the first topics of discussion and suggested the purchase of one dozen copies of the *Pennsylvania Farmer* and four copies of John Taylor's *Arator*. It was Franklin also who first read to the group from his own copy of the *Arator*. But when the volumes arrived, "all were eagerly grasped by the hands of the members." Franklin's ideas indeed fell on ready ground. The common man was rising, and seldom do records of the past contain more graphic illustrations of that ferment than the Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society, which is reproduced below *verbatim et literatim*.

JOURNAL OF THE SURRY COUNTY (N. C.) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY,
SEPT. 25, 1819-AUG. 23, 1823

The Constitution of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c.

We the Subscribers having formed ourselves into a **Social capacity**, which shall be known and called by the name of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge, do mu-

²⁰ See, for example, the lists of early agricultural societies and the dates of their formation in Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, pp. 782-788; A. C. True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication no. 36, Washington, 1929), pp. 6-17.

²¹ Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County*, pp. 214-217.

²² [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 17-18; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), p. 987.

tually agree and pledge our honour to each Other, That We will Submit with due subordination to all such laws and regulations as may from time to time be adopted by the Society for the government thereof.

Subscribers names.²³

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. S. Graves | 19. John Talbert. Removed |
| 2. Hugh Boothe. Absconded | 20. Dabney Walker |
| 3. Mordecai Fleming | 21. John Zachary |
| 4. William Slade | 22. Jonathan Roberts |
| 5. Jacob A. MCraw | 23. Golihew Moore |
| 6. John Martin | 24. Matthew Davis Sen ^r . |
| 7. James Martin | 25. Jas. MCraw |
| 8. John Sparger | 26. Wm. MCraw |
| 9. Ransom Dudley | 27. A. J. Gregory (dead) |
| 10 Thomas Forkner | 28. Evan Davis |
| 11. Alexander Dodson | 29. J. Franklin Transient mem-
ber dead |
| 12. Nathaniel Bryson Remov ^d . | 30. Ruel Jackson (expelled) |
| 13. Jas. W. MCraw. Transient
member | 31. C. Taliaferro |
| 14. Jno. Taliaferro. Removed | 32. William Easley Transient
Member |
| 15. Samuel Gordon | 33. Bartlett Hammock Dead |
| 16. Martin Cloud | 34. Micajah Forkner |
| 17. John Whitlock | 35. John Davis |
| 18. John A. Hughes. Transient M: | 36. Robt. Hammock |

The names of Transient members

1. Meshack Franklin
Benjamin Franklin
Jas. Franklin—(removed.)

We The members of The Agricultural society of Surry county for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c. for the proper government of ourselves and the preservation of our Society have framed and adopted The following Constitution and Rules of order.

Viz.

Article 1st. The Society Shall Consist of the following officers, To Wit, A president, Secretary and Treasurer who Shall be chosen by ballot and hold their offices during the term of twelve months.

²³ It would appear that the Franklin family and its connections constituted a large block of the Society's membership. The Franklins and Taliaferros were connected by marriage; William Slade and Solomon Graves each married a daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin; James Franklin was evidently his son; and Benjamin Franklin, the nephew of Meshack and Jesse Franklin, also married a daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin. E. J. and H. G. Cleveland, *The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families* (3 vols., Hartford, 1899), III, 2059, 2079, 2107-2110.

Article 2:nd As Soon as the president is chosen he Shall take the chair and require Order, which he Shall preserve while in Office.

Section 1: It Shall be his duty to Call an extra meeting of the members in Cases of emergency.

Section 2nd. It Shall be his duty likewise when any person is admitted a member of the Society to address him extempore, on the propriety of good Order, and regularity. He Shall rise to put a question, but may State it Sitting.

Section 3rd. He Shall vote only in Cases of a tie, then he shall give a Casting Vote.

Article 3.rd It Shall be the duty of the Secretary as soon as the President is Seated and Order Observed to Call Over the names of the members. And at the Close of the meeting Call Over their names again, and mark down the Absentees; whom he shall report to the Society at the next meeting.

Section 1. It Shall be his duty to preserve the papers and to procure a book at the expense of the Society in which he shall transcribe the proceedings thereof in a legible manner.

Article 4:th The Society shall appoint monthly a Committee of the members to Select the queries to be discussed at the next meeting.

Article 5th. No person Shall be admitted a member of this Society Without being regularly proposed, and meeting the Concurrence of two thirds of the members present.—When thus admitted, the President Shall nominate two members of the Society to introduce him and Conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he Shall Subscribe his name: The President Shall then address him extempore, in appropriate terms; from thence he Shall be Conducted to a Seat.

Article 6th. No member of this Society to be expelled without the Concurrence of three fourths of the members present.

Article 7th. When a member is accused of a misdemeanor he Shall be regularly impeached, and be intitled to a fair and impartial trial, which Shall be Conducted in the following manner Viz. The articles of impeachment Shall be handed to the Secretary, who shall inform the President that Such articles are upon his table: upon which information the President shall request the accused to retire: at the Succeeding meeting of the Society the accused shall have notice to attend the Society for the purpose of his trial.

Section 1: Every member impeached as by this Constitution directed shall have the liberty of Speaking at least twice in his own defense.

Article 8th. The Concurrence of two thirds of the members present Shall be necessary to alter any Article of this Constitution: But a Majority Shall have power to adopt or alter any rules or regulations of this Society. —

Article 9th. A majority of the members Shall Constitute a quorum

to do business: but a manority [*sic*] may meet from time to time and take an account of absent members.

Rules of Order for the government of the agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

1. As Soon as the President is seated and Order Observed The Secretary Shall Call Over The Names of The Members and mark down the absentees.

2. The Secretary Shall at each meeting of The Society read to the house the proceedings of the preceding meeting.

3. A Member Shall rise from his Seat and address himself respectfully to the president before he shall be allowed to Speak.

4: No member shall be allowed to speak more than Three times on the same subject Without permission of The Society.

5. If any two members Shall rise at the Same time, it Shall be determined by the president who shall Speak first.

6. No one Shall pass between the person speaking and the president.

7. All laughing at the performance of the speakers is to be entirely exploded, neither Shall any be permitted to Speak above a whisper; except in his public address.

8. No member Shall leave the house without permission of The president.

9. No motion shall be put to the house without first being Seconded and when Seconded it Shall be determined by the majority of yeas or nays.

10. In voting for officers of the The Society each member shall deliver his ticket to the Secretary, who shall after all the members have Come forward, proceed to Count out the tickets and make a report who are elected to the Several offices for which they were nominated.

11. When a member recommends any person wishing to become a member of the Society, he Shall Specify in his recommendation the advantages of Such a person becoming a member.

12. When the president or Secretary is absent at any meeting of the Society, it Shall be the duty of the Society to appoint others protempore.

13. Every regular member of the Society who is not present when the House is formed and does [not] answer to his name Shall render reasons for being absent at the next meeting of the Society.

14. If any member Shall behave disorderly, while in The Society, it Shall be in The power of The Society to punish him according to the nature of the offence, by fine Suspension or expulsion: Decency of Speech Shall be Observed, and all personal reflections shall be Carefully avoided.

15. At every meeting of the Society, each member Shall produce in writing a query on Some Subject, which Shall be handed to the Sec-

retary, from which, one or more Shall be Chosen by the Committee of examination of querries, to be discussed at the next meeting.

16. Each member of the Society shall meet at Forkner's Meeting House at twelve o'clock on the fourth Saturday in October next, fourth Saturday in every month thereafter, in Order to proceed to business.

17. The time of taking the Votes of the Society on any question Shall be left to the discretion of the majority of the-members present.

Journal of the proceedings of The Agricultural Society, for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c—

At a meeting of the members of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c begun and held at Forkners meeting-house on the 25th. day of September A.D. 1819. a majority being present.

On motion of Mr. M: Franklin. John Whitlock Esq a member of The Society, was called upon to preside at this meeting as chairman. and Mr. S. Graves to act as Secretary. pro. tem.

Being thus organized, Mr. S. Graves who had been previously appointed for That purpose, presented to The house a Constitution, and certain rules of order for the government of the Society, which with some amendmets and alterations were adopted. Whereupon The house proceeded to the election of the several officers of the Society according to the provisions of the Constitution.

On motion of Mr. S. Graves John Whitlock Esqr. was unanimously Chosen as President of The Society.

On motion of Mr. M: Franklin Mr. W. Slade was duly elected Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Jas. MCraw, Mr. Jas. Martin was duly elected Treasurer of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Jas. MCraw Mr. M: Fleming and Mr. S. Graves were chosen as a committee to select suitable queries to be discussed at each Succeeding Meeting of the Society.

On motion of Mr. M. Franklin The following queries were made choice of by The Society to be discussed at The next meeting Viz.

What season of the Year is most advantageous for the fallowing of our lands for a Corn Crop; and which the most economical animal for such purpose.

The house then adjourned to Convene again on the last Saturday in October following at Forkners meeting house.

John Whitlock chairman pro. tem.

S. Graves Sec^{ry}. pro. tem.

Forkner's meeting-house October 30th. 1819.

This being the day and place, for the meeting of the agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

The President being seated the Secy. proceeded to Call over the names of the members: and mark down the absentees. (To Wit). John Sparger, Nath^l. Bryson, Jas. W. MCraw, Jno. Taliferrio, Sam^l Gordon, Martin Cloud, Jn^o. A. Hughs, Dabney Walker and Jas. MCraw.

As Mr. Franklin had proposed the querries for discussion at this meeting, he readily arose and gave much light on their great importance; explicitly depicting the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system: and urging the necessity of Our immediately endeavoring to alter Our Course: Shewing the inestimable advantages of fallowing Our lands earlier than we have hitherto done: thinking the month of Nov^r. the proper time for doing it. And mentioning the Horse, the Ox and the mule as animals of drudgery;—Seemed rather to think that the Ox would be the most economical animal to be used among us in fallowing.—Mr. Davis, Mr. Boothe and Mr. Graves all Spoke in opposition to Mr. Franklin: each thinking it would be better to fallow earlier than the time he mentioned; and giving the preference decidedly in favor of the horse for Such purpose.

Mr. Davis moved that the Sense of the house be taken on the querries. Mr. Franklin moved that the house first decide the time of fallowing, nominating the month of November.—decided in the negative.—Mr. Boothe nominated the month of September as the most proper time. Carried 8 to 7:

Mr. Franklin moved that the House decide which is the most economical animal for fallowing, the mule, Ox or Horse: the preference was given in favor of the ox.

Mr. Graves recommended W^m. MCraw Esq^r. as a person Worthy of being admitted a member of this Society: and requested that the sense of the House decide whether he be in or not: Which unanimously admitted him as a brother of their body: The president nominated Mr. Franklin and Mr. Boothe to conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he subscribed his name.

Mr. Franklin moved that the Secretary be instructed to procure a dozen Copies of the "Pennsylvania Farmer." and four "Taylor's araters" for the use of the Society. And that each member of the Society pay to The Treasurer at next meeting fifty Cents, Out of which he pay to the Secretary Such Sum as may be ascertained he has necessarily expended for the use of the Society.

Mr. Graves recommended Cap^t. A. J. Grigory & Mr. Evan Davis as persons whom he tho^t. might become useful members of the Society: and moved that the Sense of the House decide whether they be admitted or not: which was unanimous in the affirmative. The president nominated Mr. Franklin and Mr. Boothe to Conduct them to the Secy^{'s} table, where they Subscribed their names.

Mr. Franklin again resumed his motion "that the Secy be instructed

to procure a dozen Copies of the Pennsylvania Farmer and four Taylor's araters: And that each member of the Society pay to the Treasurer at next meeting fifty Cents Out of which he pay to the Secretary such sum as may be ascertained he has necessarily expended for the use of the Society.—Carried in the affirmative.

The Secretary was requested to Call Over the names of the members and receive their querries. Which was done and the querries delivered to the examining Committee appointed for that purpose: Who chose the following Viz. 1. Which the most destructive to the human family, the Sword or Spirituous liquors. 2. Which tends most to the Wealth and true interest of a Country, agriculture or internal Commerce. 3rd. which is the most happy the illiterate or learned.— Mr. Franklin moved that the Committee be instructed by the House to select Some, one, two or more querries for discussion at the Same time: which was Carried, and the Committee Chose these querries in addition Viz. 1 Which is the most proper time to plant our Corn. 2. Which is the best way to reclaim exhausted farm lands.

Mr. Franklin nominated W^m. MCraw Esqr. and Mr. Ja^s. Martin as two of the Committee to examine at next meeting the querries for discussion the the Succeeding meeting.—W^m. Slade nominated Mr. Moore as the Other one of the Committee: Who were all three unanimously Chosen.

The President Suggested to the house the propriety of adjourning to Some other place where the benefit of fire might be enjoyed at the next meeting. Mr. Boothe's School-house was named as a suitable place, provided it underwent by that time the repairs that were intended to be bestowed upon it. Cap^t. Zachary tho^t. it probable that it would by that time undergo those repairs, and very kindly tendered the use of his house. The question was then taken "Shall the next meeting be at Cap^t. Zacharys or at this place." decided in favor of Cap^t. Zachary's.

The House then adjourned, to meet at Cap^t. Zachary's on the fourth Saturday in next month.

John Whitlock Presd^t.
W. Slade Secy.

Cap^t. Zachary's: November 27th. 1819.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

The President being Seated the Secretary proceeded to call over the names of the members and mark down the absentees (To Wit.) S. Graves, Jacob, A. MCraw, Jn^o. Sparger, Ja^s. W. MCraw, John Tali-ferrio, Sam^l. Gordan, Jn^o. A. Hughes, Jn^o. Talbert, Dabney Walker, Jon^a. Roberts, Ja^s. MCraw, Evan Davis.

M. Franklin Esqr. Courteously addressed the president, "Shall those

queries be taken and discussed in the Order they Stand, Or Shall any person take up any of them he chooses and deliver his ideas upon it.

W^m. MCraw Esq^r. moved that they be taken up in Order: which was agreed to.—The 1st. query was then read by the Secretary “which is most destructive to the human family the Sword or Spirituous liquors.”—It seemed that all present felt a delicacy in taking up this important question: and it was moved that it be postponed for discussion at next meeting.—which was agreed to.

The Secretary read the 2nd query “which tends most to the Wealth and true interest of a Country agriculture or internal Commerce.”

M. Franklin Esq^r. requested that the person who proposed this query Should take it up if he was present; Said he felt much interested in it, but was not prepared to express his mind upon it: not having given it deliberation.

Mr. Fleming requested that Maj^r. Franklin be permitted to deliver any light he may be in poss[ess]ion of, on any question that may be discussed to day.

Mr. Boothe moved that the proposition be amended, by striking out the Word, “permitted” and inserting “requested.”

Maj^r. Franklin said he was well pleased with so laudable an institution but begged to remain silent until near the Close of the meeting: Wishing to hear the Constitution read before he assumed the rights of a member, lest he might be entering too prematurely into business.

M. Franklin Esq^r. took up the query before the house, saying it was almost an inseperable one, but that agriculture had the preemin[en]ce; as without it there could not possibly be any Commerce.

Mr. Boothe replied to M^r. F. thinking the query very nearly allied to itself, but that Commerce was superlatively preemine[n]t in aggrandising a nation.

Mr. Franklin Said before he gave his vote upon the Subject he wished to hear it farther explained.—M^r. Boothe moved that the Sense of the House be taken: Which was Sanctioned; He then withdrew the motion and requested that the query be postponed for farther discussion at next meeting—which was agreed to.

The Sec^y. read the 3rd. query “Which one the most happy the illiterate or the learned.”—M^r. Franklin Said this was another query that he had not given deliberation; but wished to hear it discussed by those who had.

Mr. Boothe Said he had found himself always unhappy for the want of learning, therefore he Concluded the learned were Certainly most happy.

M^r. Franklin Said he saw no way of Coming to a direct line on this Subject, Saying happiness was what all were eagerly in pursuit of,

and none ever acknowledged to have found it.—but he tho't the learned most happy.

W^m. MCraw Esq^r. tho't it impossible to decide Correctly on this Subject, Saying none Could tell who was most happy but the All Wise disposer of events.

Mr. Boothe said we are americans enjoying learning & happiness in a greater degree than Other nation.

Mr. MCraw Said he tho't. the gen^t. had left the question in extolling the advantages of an education. He again Said he tho't. none Could decide Correctly but the All Wise disposer of Events.

Mr. Franklin approbated Mr. Boothe's ideas in thinking ours a happy nation; But tho't. it would stagger the gentleman to produce evidence to Show that we are more Happy than the subjects of despots.

Mr. Boothe said there was groaning under despotic governments and repining under Ours. therefore ours is the most happy.

Mr. Franklin referred to the illustrious "Isaac Newton" and Said he or any other great philosopher would have Said to the peasant you are more happy than I am.

Mr. Boothe mentioned several great philosophers whom he tho't. were more happy than those who were entirely destitute of information.

W^m. MCraw Esq^r. moved that the house decide the question. It was taken and determined in favor of the learned by a unanimous vote.

The Secy. read the next query, "Which is the most proper time to plant Our Corn.—Mr. Franklin Said from his practical Knowledge on the Subject, he tho't. it best to plant high dry lands the first week in april.

Mr. Davis said he recollected We determined on fallowing our lands in the fall, and he tho't. it would be good policy to plough it again in the Spring, as we would thereby Kill One growth of Weeds; then let us plant our Corn about the first week in May.

W^m. MCraw Esq^r. Said from his experience he tho't. it best to plant the last week in april.—Mr. Franklin Said take the question.—there were divers opinions as to the manner of Stating it.—Mr. Jn^o. Martin moved that we State it thus, "Is it best to plant Our Corn the first week in april or the last week in april and first week in May." The motion was Sanctioned and the question taken. decided in favor of the latter time.—The Secy. read the next query, "Which is the best way to reclaim exhausted farm lands".

Mr. Franklin begged leave to read a few [of] Co^l. Taylor's chapter's on this very important Subject, Saying it expressed his ideas better than he Could possibly deliver them.—leave was granted and he proceeded to read the essay in which Co^l. Taylor recommends tending land One year in Corn, the next year in Small grain and then giving

it two years rest. Mr. Franklin approbated this system in the most encomiastic terms.

Mr. Fleming tho^t. the ideas of Co^l. Taylor were good, but tho^t. this would be a better System of farming, to Wit, Sow Oats one year, the Second Rye and the third year plant Corn. Which with proper managem^t. would improve our lands without lying out of the use of them at all and the System might be improved by Sowing Clover With Our Small grain, whereby we might reap a double Crop, if we sow proper to Save the Clover, if not, it would add So much the more towards fertilizing the Soil.

Cap^t. Zachary mentioned his Father's land that was thirty years ago washed into gullies as deep as the Shapes of the hills would admit of, and thay by proper management in Stopping the Washes & filling up the gullies it was so reclaimed that it produced well.

On motion the question was taken, "Which method would best reclaim our lands Co^l Taylor's or Mr. Fleming. decided in favor of Co^l. Taylor's. i e. One year in Corn, one year in Small grain and two year's rest.—Mr. Fleming recommended Maj^r. Franklin as person whom he tho^t. worthy of being admitted a member of our body; who was [admitted?] by a unanimous vote. The president nominated Mr. Fleming and Mr. Boothe to Conduct him to the Secy's. table, where he subscribed his name.

The Secy. was requested to Call Over the names of the members and receive their querries: which was done & the querries delivered to the examin[in]g Committee appointed for that purpose, who chose the following, in addition to those Continued to day. Viz. 1st. "What is the best mode of procuring & applying manures." 2nd. What is the proper time to Sow Our wheat & what must be the order of the ground." 3rd. "Which is the best plough to be used in fallowing our lands and tending Our Crops."

W^m. Slade nominated M Franklin Esq^e. as one of the Committee to Select at next meeting the querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. Cap^t. Zachary nominated W^m. MCraw Esq^e. as another one. W^m. MCraw nominated Tho. Forkner as the third one. Who were all unanimously Chosen.

W^m. Slade moved that we adjourn to meet again at this place the fourth Succeeding Saturday at 10.O.Clock. Which was Sanctioned, and the house adjourned accordingly.

Jn^o. Whitlock pres^{dt},

W. Slade. Secy

Cap^t. Zachary's 25th. December 1819.

This being the day in Course for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c. The president

being absent Mr. Boothe nominated W^m. MCraw Esq^e. to preside as president-protempore, who readily assumed the Chair.

The Secretary Called the names of the members, and it was ascertained that there were fourteen regular members present & fourteen absent: there being neither majority nor minority, doubts were entertained whether we Could go legally into business or not: but whilst Contending upon legality or illegality of procedure two other members came in, which gave a majority:—It being a day of festivity and late in the evening it was moved “that the subjects for discussion be laid Over untill next meeting.” agreed to.—Matthew Davis, Golihew Moore and Mⁿ. Boothe were appointed a temporary Committee to try at next meeting all the absentees of the preceding meeting.

Mr. Boothe recommended Doct^r Bn^ja. Franklin ²⁴ as a person whom he tho^t. worthy of being admitted a member of our Society: said the Doctors Celebrity was such that no incomiums he Could give would enhance his character, therefore he deemed them useless and hoped he would be rec^d.—the question was taken & he [was] rec^d. by a general Vote; the president nominated Mr. Boothe & Mr. Davis to Conduct him to the table, where he Subscribed his name as a transient member.

Cap^t. Zachary recommended Ruel Jackson as a young man who had turned his attention much to farming and tho^t. him Worthy of being admitted a member of Our body: and requested that the house decide whether he be rec^d. or not.—the vote taken, and he [was] rec^d.

W^m. Slade recommended W^m. Easley as a Steady respectable Citizen well experienced in farming, and tho^t. he would be able to give us Some useful lessons on that Subject.—the House Concurred with the recommendation, and rec^d. him with Cordiality.—the president nominated Tho. Forkner and M. Fleming to Conduct him to the table, where his name was entered as a regular member.

W^m. Slade recomended James Franklin as a young man of fair Standing in Society and tho^t. he would make a very useful member of our body.—M. Fleming recomended Ch^s. Taliferro Esq^r. Bartlett Hammock & Maj^r. Forkner as Gen^t. farmers of respectability, whom he tho^t. worthy of being admitted members of Our Society.—The House Concured with the recommendations, and the president nominated Mr. Moore & Mr. Fleming to Conduct the Gen^t. to the Secretary’s Table, where each of their names were entered as regular members, except Ja^s. Franklin’s whose was entered on the list of transient members.

²⁴ Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the son of Jeremiah Franklin, the eldest brother of Meshack and Jesse Franklin. Jeremiah Franklin did not move from Virginia to North Carolina until much later than his parents and brothers, and his son, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, lived in Buckingham County, Virginia, until his marriage to his first cousin, Elizabeth Franklin, the daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin. Supposedly Dr. Benjamin Franklin moved to Tennessee. Cleveland, *The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleveland Families*, III, 2059-2079-2107. According to this journal, however, he lived in Surry County at least from December 25, 1819, until March 24, 1821.

W^m. Slade recomended Ch^s. Taliferrio Esq^r. as one of the Committee to select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. Martin Cloud nominated Maj^r. Forkner as another one.—James Franklin nominated G. Moore as the third One.—The House Concured with the nominations.

The Secretary moved that the members bring forward their querries: M Fleming objected to Our receiving any, Saying it was useless to Select any in addition to those Continued to day. The question was taken, "Shall any other querries be chosen to day for discussion at next meeting, in addition to those that now Stand." decided in the negative.—

The Secretary made Known to the Society that in Obedience to their instructions he had procured four "Taylor araters for the use of this Society, & that he had not yet met with an opportunity of getting the dozen Copies of The "Pennsylvania Farmer," that were Ordered, but that he had procured the fourth volume of the Phil^a. agricultural Society: which was at the option of Our Society.—all were eagerly grasped by the hands of the members.

A motion was made that we adjourn, to meet again at this place the fourth succeeding Saturday at 10. O. Clock.

Capt. Zachary was questioned to know if we might yet indulge ourselves in his hospitality.—He frankly Said his house was at the will of the society.—the House then adjourned agreeable to the motion made.

W^m. MCraw president protempore

W. Slade. Secy.

Capt. Zachary's 22nd. Jany. 1820.

This being the day in Course for the meeting of the agricultural Society, the first Order of the day, was the trial by Committee, of the absentees of the preceding meetings:—Goliheew Moore one the Committee being absent, Charles Taliferrio Esq^r. was appointed to Supply the Vacancy.—The Secretary furnished the Committee with a list of the absentees.

The first query for discussion, "which is most destructive to the human family Spirituous liquors or the Sword."—It was stricken from the list without discussion.—some of the Gentlemen who were waiting on the examining Committee²⁵ were not well pleased with the manner in which the query had been disposed of, and moved that it be taken up again.—Agreed to—It underwent Considerable discus-

²⁵ Charles Taliaferro, from the Fisher's River section and a member of this examining committee, was an ardent supporter of the temperance movement, although the movement first reached Fisher's River and perhaps the entire county through the instrumentality of Solomon Graves, a member of the society, who lived in the vicinity of Mt. Airy. The Reverend H. E. Taliaferro later declared that when he first heard of temperance societies in Surry they were called "temple societies." *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 44-49, 109, 109n.

sion; and was decided that spirituous liquors is most destructive. The 2nd query "Which tends most to the wealth and true interest of a Country agriculture or internal Commerce. decided in favor of agriculture.

James MCraw moved that the Other three Standing queries be postponed for discussion at next meeting.—agreed to.—

The Treasurer made known to the Society that some of the members had not yet paid the mite required of them, and that he was ready to wait upon those who might wish to do so: requesting those who were not now ready to pay at next meeting.

Majr. Franklin Suggested the propriety of establishing Some rule for the distribution of the books belonging to the Society.—The Secretary Said he was willing to trust the books he had procured in the hands of the members untill next meeting.—The Committee for trying absentees made report inpart "that the excuses given by James MCraw, John Sparger, Ransom Dudley and Jn^o. Talbert were sufficient for their non-attendance at the preceding meeting.—leave was refused the Committee to set again, and they were considered as exempted. The question was taken "Shall absentees be hereafter tried by a Select Committee or by the house."—decided that they be tried by the House.—Charles Taliferrio Esqr. Jn^o. Martin and James MCraw were appointed a Committee to Select at next meeting queries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.

The house adjourned to meet at Perkins' the fourth succeeding Saturday at 11 O.Clock.

Jn^o. Whitlock. Presdt,
W. Slade Secretary

Perkins' 19th. Feby 1820

This being the day, and place, for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, the president being Seated, the Secretary proceeded to call over the names of the members; and it was ascertained that a large majority were present. Mr. Graves moved that the absentees be tried, before we go into the discussion of querries.—agreed.—The absentees of the Several preceding meetings who were present at this meeting, were all heard and excused.

Charles Taliferrio Esqr. said he thot. it would be proper to adopt some rule applicable to those Subscribers who had never attended any of Our meetings. Several gentlemen Spoke upon this Subject, and it was agreed that the Secretary issue notices to those absentees to appear at next meeting, & make Known whether they Consider themselves members of the Society or not.

The Secretary, read the first query for discussion, "What is the best mode of procuring and applying manures."—Mr. Boothe, recom-

mended Sowing and ploughing in clover and Buck wheat.—W^m. MCraw Esq^r. recommended gathering the Stalks from our farms, placing them in farm yards for the benefit of our Stock, in food and lodging out of the mud, whilst by trampling they would ferment and form an excellent manure: in addition to the offal of Corn Mr. MCraw Suggested the advantage of procuring and applying leaves in the same way.—And as to the manner of applying the manure he tho^t. when it became Sufficiently rotten it should be hauled to the field and ploughed in directly it was Scattered, giving thereby no chance for the evaporation of its strength, by the exhalation of the Sun, Winds, rain &c.

Mr. John Martin advocated the plan recommended by Mr. Boothe, Mr. MCraw again eulogised his plan.—the question was taken”, and decided in favor of Mr. MCraw’s plan.

The Secretary read the next query, “What is the proper time to Sow Our Wheat, and what must be the Order of the ground.”

W^m. MCraw Said he tho^t. it most proper to fallow the land in Sept. sow the wheat about first of October, and harrow it in.—Doct^r. Franklin tho^t. the application of a heavy roller over the land would be preferable to harrowing.—It was decided in favor of the Doctor’s plan.

The next and last query was then read by the Secretary, “Which is the best plough to be used in fallowing our lands and tending our Crops.”

W^m.MCraw said from his little experience with the dagon he preferred it to any plough he had ever Seen used in fallowing. Mr. Roberts advocated the Shovel & bull-tongue ploughs; saying they were more Convenient and he tho^t. would answer a better purpose in Stony, rooty, or hilly ground; he tho^t. the dagon would on hilly ground do no good turning it over, as it would Certainly fall back in the furrow.—Mr. Graves Suggested the advantage of ploughing hilly land always on a level, by the assistance of what is termed “a Water level. but Said perhaps in many instances the ploughs mentioned by his friend Mr. Roberts, might be useful, particularly in listing our land.—Doct^r. Franklin & Mr. Boothe Spoke in favor of the dagon.— to which the preference was given.

On motion Mr. Thomas Forkner, W^m. MCraw Esq^r. and Mr. Golihew Moore were appointed a Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.—The Committee appointed last meeting for the purpose, chose those querries for discussion at next meeting. To Wit, 1st. “Would a Convention for amending this States Constitution be best or not. 2nd. Which is the proper Steps to be taken to cherish this Society and lead to its further improvement. 3rd. Which is the best way to clear new ground, Grub or not Grub it.

The Treasurer being absent the Secretary rec^d. the Contributions

of several members, with a list of their respective names and the amount paid by each.

The house adjourned to meet again at Perkins' the fourth Saturday in March next

Jn^o. Whitlock President

W. Slade Secretary

Perkins' 25th. March 1820.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society; a majority of the members were present and proceeded to business.

The absentees of the last meeting who were present at this were heard and excused.—The Secretary made Known to the house that in obedience to orders he had issued notice to John A. Hugh[e]s to attend this meeting: Several Gentlemen recommended expelling him. — Mr. James MCraw moved that the Secretary issue him a Second notice, that unless he appeared at next meeting he would be expelled. — agreed to. —

Mr. Graves moved that the 9th article of the Constitution be amended by Saying Some Specify^d. number of the members Shall have power to do business, instead of a majority. — It was taken in question and decided that in future any ten members Shall have the power of doing business. The Order of the day was taken up by the Secretary's reading the first query Standing for discussion. "Would a Convention for altering this States Constitution be best or not." — Mr. Boothe the founder of this query spoke in its favor, by Saying there was not a fair representation in the Gen^l. assembly.

Charles Taleferrio Esqr. Said he was ready to admit there was defects in the Constitution, but it was a Subject of such momentous importance he felt afraid to have it ripped up.

M. Franklin Esqr. Said he approached the Subject with awe, but would vote for it. — Mr. Graves Spoke lengthily on it, with much zeal, pointing out many defects. 1st. the Constitution Contained no provision for an amendment. 2nd. it Said nothing about the age of a person in the legislature or the Judges of our Courts. — nor made no provision for removing Judges from the bench. 3rd. the election of the Executive Should be vested in the people instead of the Gen^l. Assembly. 4th. he tho^t. it would answer equally as well or better for our Gen^l. assembly to meet biennially instead of annually: whereby we might save one half the expence, which might fairly be estimated at forty thousand dollars a year: this Saving applied to internal improvement would far more promote the interest of the State.

5th. He tho^t. it would be better to have fewer members in the legislature. — The question was taken and decided in favor of a Convention.

The Secretary read the 2nd. query "Which is the proper Steps to be taken to cherish this society and lead to its further improvement."

M. Franklin Esq^r. said this was a very nice question, and he tho^t the further improvement of the Society depended on the punctual attendance of the members, and that all pay their mites Cheerfully, deal freely with each other expressing opinion, &c.

Mr. Boothe recommended offering premiums to those who might raise best Crops. — Mr. Franklin readily Concurr^d with the gentleman Charles Tarferrio Esq^r. said the man who had best land would Certainly get the prize. — Mr. Franklin tho^t. not, that good Culture was also necessary, and ought to be more aimed at than the Selection of the best Spot of ground.

The propriety of offering premiums for the best Crops of Corn and Small grain to the acre and, the best hog or Cow raised, *the* means for defraying premiums &c. Were under Consideration. — C. Taliferreo Esq^e. moved that the question be postponed for further discussion at next meeting. — agreed to.

The Secretary read the next and last query, "Which is the best way to clear new ground, grub or not grub it."

Mr. Boothe said for his part he never Considered that ground was Cleared at all if it was not grubb^d. — Cap^t. Zachary was for not Grubbing: Mr. Roberts prefered grubbing well: and Said if it was not grubbed when you Cleared the land you might be always grubbing & shrubbing. — Mr. Graves readily concur^d. with Mr. Roberts. — Cap^t. Zachary Said those gentlemen were not acquainted with the right manner of Shrubbing, they would Cut the Sprouts off against the Stump whereby many more would soon be produced: his method was to Cut the bark off with the Sprouts.

C. Taleferreo Esq^r. recommended grubbing Clean in the Summer months and if possible Cut the timber at the Same time and let it remain 12 or 18 months on the ground, which will mellow and enrichen it more than many have an idea of: — and Shrubs never put up after it. Mr. Franklin Said he was well pleased with this body discussion between practical men, he tho^t. mellowing with the timber upon the ground, yielded more manure than the roots left in it, Said Clear in the Summer months.

Mr. Davis said he Cleared a piece of ground once without grubbing & spent much labor shrubbing it for 4 or 5 years,—at last grubbed it & found that it produced much better afterwards, than it ever had before. — It was decided in favor of Grubbing.

W^m. MCraw Esq^e. one of the examining Committee appointed last meeting being absent Meshack Franklin Esq^r. was chosen to officiate in his Stead.

The Secretary rec^d. the querries of the members and delivered them

to the examining Committee appointed for the purpose of Choosing querries for discussion at next meeting: Who chose the following Viz. 1st. "In preserving Wheat from the Weavel is it best to hand Stack or Shock it." 2nd. What is the best method of preparing meadow land, & what the best Seed to Sow on it." 3rd. "Which is the best grain to Sow on exhausted lands wheat or Rye."

4th. Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre.

Ch^s. Taleferrio Esq^r. nominated Co^l. Graves, M. Fleming and Matthew Davis as the Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting: who were all three chosen without discussion.

The house adjourned, to meet at Forkner's meeting-house the 4th. Saturday in next month.

John Whitlock, President
W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 29th. April 1820.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, the president took his Seat; and the Secretary after calling the names of the members made Known that only nine members were present, the house Consequently adjourned to meet again at this place the fourth Saturday in May next

John Whitlock Presd^t.
W. Slade Sec^y

[Forkner's Meeting House]

The Society met according to adjournment, Saturday, The 27th. of May 1820.

The Secretary of the Society being absent, Upon Motion of Captain Zachary, M^r. S. Graves was appointed Sec^y. pro. tempore. The following Members were absent. Viz. W^m. Slade, H. Booth, A. MCraw, Jno. Martin, Jas Martin, Jno. Sparger, Tho. Forkner, N. Bryson, Jas. MCraw, Sam^l. Gordon Martin Cloud, Jno. Talbert, Dabney Walker, G. Moore, A. Grigory, Chas. Taliaferro, W^m Easley & M. Forkner.

Mr. Jno A. Hughes who had been notified by the Secretary in pursuance to the order of the Society, to appear and render reasons for his absence at Several previous meetings of the Society, appeared at this meeting and rendered such reasons for his nonattendance heretofore as were satisfactory and he was Therefore excused — he also stated to the Society his wish to be considered a transient Member of the Society which the Society taking under Consideration it was resolved That he be enroll^d, as a transient member of this Society.

The following Members Viz. Alex^r. Dotson, Jonathan Roberts, S.

Graves, Ransom Dudley, Capt. J. Zachary, Jas. W. MCraw, B. Hammock, and Evan Davis were reported to the house as absentees, and being Severally Call^d. upon, rendered reasons for their nonattendance, which were sustain^d and they excused — On the recommendation of Mr. S. Graves, Mr. Jno. Davis was unanimously admitted as a regular member of this Society.

On motion of W^m. MCraw Esq. The several querries which stood for discussion at this meeting of The Society, were postponed to the next meeting.

On Motion of Mr. S. Graves it was resolved by the Society That The Article of the rules of order for the Government of this Society, Requiring That each member of the Society shall produce in writing a query on Some Subject, be Suspended so far respects the present meeting.

On motion of Mr. M: Fleming the committee for the examination of queries, were re-appointed to make choice of Suitable queries for discussion at the next meeting—

The house then adjourned to meet again at Forkner's meeting house at the hour of twelve o'clock on the 4th. Saturday in June next:—

Jno. Whitlock president

S. Graves Sec^y.

pro. tem.

Forkner's Meeting-house 24th. June 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business by hearing the excuses of absentees for their non-attendance at Several preceding meetings: all who were present were heard and excused.

The 1st. query Standing for discussion was read by the Secretary, "Which is the proper steps to be taken to cherish this Society and lead to its further improvement."

W^m. MCraw Esq^r., Charles Taleferrio Esq^r. and Co^l. Graves Spoke upon this noble unlimited query, each warmly urging the necessity of our Walking uprightly; With a zeal for the improvement of ourselves & Others, acting always friendly to each Other: and Keeping an eye to the respectability of persons whom we admit as members of our body. This Course was unanimously agreed to by the house.

The next query, "In preserving wheat from the Weavel is it best to hand-Stack or Shock it."

Matthew Davis and C. Taleferrio Esq^r. recommended Shocking, which was agreed to.

The 3rd. query, "What is the best method of preparing meadow land, and what the best Seed to Sow on it."

C. Taleferrio Esq^r. Said he would Clear the land in July or August, Cut the Stumps higher than in Common Clearing; break it not deeper than barely to level it well. and Sow it in Timothy about the Common time of Sowing wheat. —Co^l. Graves regretted that the query had not inquired what quality of land was best for meadows.—Charles Taleferrio Esq^e. tho^t. black Stiff Pink Clay soil best. —Co^l. Graves Said the Gnt. of the hollow Could not have meadows of this Sort, as this is a Sandy Soil; But perhaps there might be a grass found that would Suit this soil. — Mr. Mordecai Fleming Said his Corn Crib was the best meadow. — C. Taleferrio Esq^e. Said one acre of good timothy was worth at least as much as three acreas of Corn. — Mr. John Martin tho^t. the Egyptian Oats and Clover might be used to advantage on Our Gray Soil. C. Taleferrio tho^t. the herds Grass would answer better, where the land was very wet and marshy. — It was decided that it is not advisable to bunk the land farther than to level it, and that Timothy is the best Seed.

The 4th. query, "Which is the best grain to Sow on exhausted land, wheat or Rye." — W^m. MCraw Esq^e. recommended Rye as best. — Matthew Davis prefered wheat. Charles Taleferrio Esq^e. tho^t. wheat Straw was best food for Cattle, agreeable to quantity, but that Rye affords most Straw & is Consequently better for the improvement of land.

Mr. John Martin & Mr. Thomas Forkner, Said they had made experiments by Sowing wheat & Rye upon land of equal quality, and found that wheat yielded Considerably most, and that the Straw was far preferable for manure.—It was decided that wheat is best.

The next & last query, "Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre."

On motion of C. Taleferrio Esq^e. this query was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

Mr. Thomas Forkner nominated Mr. John Martin, Mr. James MCraw and Mr. James W. MCraw as the Committee to Select at next meeting queries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting: all three were chosen without a division.

The Committee appointed for the purpose Selected the following querries for discussion at next meeting. Viz.

1st. "Is it best to plough land in wet weather, or wait untill dry weather.

2nd. "Whether will one acre of land be of more worth to the farmer in grass than one of the Same Strength in Corn, for one year."

3rd. "Which is the most useful agricultural Knowledge, or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences."

4th. "Whether would it be best for each farmer to manufacture his own raw materials, or export and exchange them for those already manufactured."

On motion of C. Taleferrio Esq^e, Co^l. Graves, W^m. MCraw Esq^e. and Mr. Mordecai Fleming, were appointed a Committee to Settle With the Secretary and Treasurer at next meeting, and make report to the house.

Mr. Jn^o. Martin moved that the Society Convene at Perkins' on the 4th. of July in uniform, for the Celebration of that day: which was negatived.

The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in July.

Jn^o. Whitlock President
W. Slade Sec^y,

Forkner's meeting-house 22nd. July 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment: and proceeded to business by hearing the excuses of Several members who were marked as absentees as Some preceding meetings.—Mr. Hugh Boothe was fined for his nonattendance at April and May Meetings, 12½ Cents for each day.

Mr. Jacob A. MCraw was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at May meeting. —Mr. Martin Cloud was fined for nonattendance at April & June meetings, 12½c for each day. — Mr. James Martin was fined 12½c for nonattendance at December meeting. — Maj^r. Forkner was fined 12½c for nonattendance in April.

The Committee appointed last meeting to Settle with the Treasurer and Secretary, made the following report: "The Committee appointed by the Society to Settle with the Treasurer and Secretary have performed the duty assigned them and beg leave to report: that it appears from the books of the Treasurer receipts up to the present date to the amount of

have been made in his office.	\$11.25
Credit to which he is intituled to the Amount of \$8.50	8.50
	\$2.75

as pr. Vouchers exhibited

Bal. remaining in Treasurers hands

\$2.75

Mordecai Fleming
S. Graves

The Secretary read the first query Standing for discussion, "Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre." — after considerable discussion it was decided that we will give a premium of five dollars to any member of the Society or other Citizen of the County who Shall raise the greatest Crop of Corn from an acre in the year 1821.

On motion of C. Taliferrio Esq^e. the other Standing queries were postponed for discussion at next meeting.

On motion of Co^l. Graves it was resolved that the article of rules of order for the government of this Society requiring that each member Shall produce in writing a query on Some Subject, be Suspended So far as respects the present meeting.

The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in August next.

John Whitlock President
W Slade. Secretary

Forkner's meeting-house 26th. August 1820

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business by first hearing the excuses of absentees: Mr. Goliheew Moore was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. — Mr. Evan Davis was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. — Mr. Rewel Jackson was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. — Mr. Alex^r. Dobson was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at July meeting.

Certain articles of impeachment against Mr. Rewel Jackson handed in by Mr. Boothe being under Consideration; the Society decided that they have not Cognisance of the facts therein alledged.

The Secretary read the first query Standing for discussion. "Is it best to plough land in wet weather or wait until dry weather." — Mr. Matthew Davis Said in wet Spells he always plough^d, between Showers: but when ever it appeared that the wet Spell had broken he waited until the ground got dry before he plough^d. it more. — Charles Taleferrio Esq^e. and Mr. Jonathan Roberts tho^t. it best not to plough any when the ground is very wet, which was the opinion of the house.

On motion of Mr. Mordecai Fleming the other standing querries were postpon^d, for discussion at next meeting. — And the house resolved that the article of rules of order for the government of the Society, requiring each member to hand in a query on Some Subject be Suspended So far as respects the present meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in September next.

John Whitlock President
W. Slade. Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house 23rd Sept. 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order. — A. J Grigory was fined 12½c for nonattendance at May meeting & the Same for July meeting. — Jon^a. Roberts was fined 12½c for nonattendance at June meeting. & Jn^o. Davis 12½c for July.

On motion of Mr. Mordecai Fleming the house decided that this

Society Shall take Cognisance of offences done out of Society as well as in it.

On motion of William MCraw the house agreed to wait on Ruel Jackson until next meeting

On motion of Mr. Mordecai Fleming all previous querries was postponed for discussion at next meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place the fourth Saturday in October next.

Jn^o. Whitlock President

William MCraw Sec^y. pro. tem

Forkner's Meeting-house 28th. October 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment. — The officers having Served the time for which they were elected and the former President being absent Dr. Benja^a. Franklin was Chosen President pro. tem. and W^m. Slade Secretary pro. tem. — Being thus organised the Society proceeded to elect officers for the next twelve months Jn^o. Whitlock Esq^e. was unanimously elected President again, and W^m. Slade Secretary.—Mr. Mordecai Fleming was elected Treasurer. —

On motion of Mr. Alex^r. Dobson Ruel Jackson was expelled from this Society, for ungentlemanly Conduct towards his neighbour Mr. James Roberts.

The Secretary read the 1st. query. "Whether will one acre of land be of more worth to the farmer in grass than one acre in Corn for One year." — Mr. Mordecai Fleming Said he was but little acquainted with the value of grass, therefore wished to hear Some gentleman better prepared to Speak upon it than himself.—Charles Taleferrio Esq^r. Spoke much in favor of Grass: Saying when your meadow is once prepared it requires no more labor in Several years, except barely the Saving of the grass: and he tho^t. its production worth three acres of land tended in Corn, which required much labor. — Meshack Franklin Esq^r. and Mr. Boothe also Spoke in favor of grass; thinking its Cultivation Cheaper and its Value much greater.

The house Concurred with those gentlemen by a large majority.— 2nd. query "which is most useful agricultural Knowledge or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences.

On motion of Ch^s. Taleferrio Esq^e. this question was postponed for discussion at next meeting. — 3rd. and last query, "Whether would it be best for each farmer to manufacture his own raw materials or export and exchange them for those already manufactured." — the house decided that it is expedient for us to manufacture our own materials as far as practicable.

On motion of Mr. Fleming, Mr. Alex^r. Dobson & Mr. Boothe were appointed a Committee to Settle at next meeting with the former treasurer. — Ch^s. Taleferreo Esq^r., Mr. Dobson and Mr. Boothe were

appointed by the president a Committee to Select new queries for discussion at next meeting. — “Who Selected the following. Viz. 1st. “Whether is a Stock farm or a grain farm the most advantageous for this Section, (Surry County N^o. C.) 2nd. “Which is the most advantageous Stock for the farmer to raise Cattle or hogs.” —3rd. “Which is the best way for the farmer to dispose of his grain, raise Stock or Sell it.”

The house adjourned to meet at Mr. Mordecai Flemings on the fourth Saturday in November next.

Benja. Franklin President pro. tem.

W. Slade Sec^y. pro. tem.

Mordecai Fleming's 25th. November 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order: — Mr. G. Moore was fined 12½c for non-attendance at September meeting. — The House rec^d. from Meshack Franklin Esq^e. reports from the Massachusetts and Maryland agricultural Societies: — the Secretary read them to the Society, who were all much pleased to hear of the exhibition of Such fine domestic animals and the liberal premiums given to the owners of the best of them.

The Secretary read the 1st query “Which is the most useful agricultural Knowledge or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences.” — On motion of Charles Taliaferro Esq^e. this question was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 2nd. query was read “Whether is a Stock farm or a grain farm the most advantageous for this Section, Surry County N^o. Carolina.” — on motion of Charles Taliaferro Esq^e. this question was also postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 3rd. query read, “Which is the best Stock for the farmer to raise Cattle or Hogs.” — Mr. Boothe Spoke much in favor of Cattle. — Charles Taliaferro Esq^e. preferred the hogs: thinking them far the most prolific and their growth much the quickest. — The House gave the preference to Cattle, by a large majority.

The Secretary read the 4th. and last query, “Which the best way for the farmer to dispose of his grain, raise Stock or Sell it.” — C. Taliaferro Esq^e. Said it depended upon the price of it.—He tho^t. it was best to Sell it when it was \$1. pr Bushel. & when it was Worth only 50 cents it would be better to feed it to Stock. — Mr. Boothe Said every bushel of grain fed to stock was worth \$1. and tho^t. it would in 3 years double itself which would be much better than Selling the grain and putting the money to interest. — The House decided that it is best to feed it to Stock. —

It was thought by the Society that the queries which had been postponed would be Sufficient for discussion at next meeting. — The

House resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member to hand in a query at every meeting be Suspended, So far as respects the present meeting. — Mr. Davis, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Mordecai Fleming were appointed a Committee to select at next meeting queries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.

The Committee appointed last meeting to Settle with the former treasurer were unable to do So, as he was not present. — The Committee were reappointed to Settle With him at next meeting. — The Society resolved that all those who have been fined pay the Same to the Treasurer at next meeting. — The House adjourned to meet again at M. Flemings on the 4th. Saturday in December next.

Jn^o. Whitlock. President

W. Slade Secretary.

At a stated meeting of the agricultural Society of Surry began and held at M Flemings on Saturday The 23rd. day of Dec^r. 1820. Mr. J. A. McCraw was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at Sept Stated meeting Jonathan Roberts was fined 12½ Cents for non attendance at Sept Stated meeting. The first Query which was postponed at our last meeting. Which is the most useful a Knowledge of the learned arts and sciences or a Knowledge of agriculture, which was discussed and decided in favor of agricultural Knowledge. The Second Query which was postponed at our last stated meeting. Which is the most profitable a stock farm or a grain farm in this Section of the Country Viz Surry County N Carolina was discussed and decided in favor of a stock farm.

The same committee was appointed to settle with the treasurer at our next stated meeting.

Mr. Mathew Davis Mordeca Fleming and Benj. Franklin was appointed to select Queres to be discussed at our next meeting and have selected the following Viz.

1 Whether is a dairy establishment worth one thousand dollars most profitable or a capital of one thousand invested in a farm.

2nd. Would not the inhabitants of Surry County be benefited by a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant

3^d Whether is it best to lay out the money arising in fines for good books or give it in premiums

4th. Which is the most proper time to apply Our stable manure for a Corn Crop.

Squire Taliaferro Jn^o. Martin & Jacob A McCraw were appointed a committee to select queries at our next stated meeting. The resolution of the society at Nov. stated meeting requiring those Who have fines against them to come forward and pay them at this meeting be postponed until our next stated meeting. No other Business before

the house they adjourned to meet at this place on the fourth Saturday in January next

J Whitlock Prest

Benj Franklin S T.

Mordecai Fleming's 27th. Jan^y. 1821

The society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order: after hearing the excuses of Several absentees; the Sec^y. read the 1st. query, "Whether is a dairy establishment worth \$1000. most profitable or a capital of that amount invested in a farm." — On motion of Co^l. Graves this query was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 2nd. query, Was read, "Would not the inhabitants of Surry be benefited by a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant" — Dr. Franklin and Ch^s. Taliaferreo Esq^e. warmly advocated this query. — Co^l. Graves questioned the policy; tho Said he intended to raise Some this year. M^r. Boothe positively objected to it: Saying it would be better to keep our attention to raising Cattle and fostering domestic manufactures instead of raising tob^o. to buy foreign goods. — The question was taken and decided in favour of a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant.

3rd query was read, "Whether would it be best to lay out the money arising from fines for good books or give it in premiums.—On motion of M^r. Boothe this query was postponed until next meeting.

4th. query was read, "Which is the most proper time to apply our Stable manures for a Corn Crop." On motion of M^r. Boothe this query was also postponed until next meeting.—The Committee appointed to Settle with the former Treasurer being unprepared to make report, were Continued until next meeting. — The house resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member to hand in a query on Some Subject be Suspended So far as applies to this meeting. — The resolution requiring those who have fines against them to make payment was postponed until next meeting.

The house adjourn^d, to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in Feb^y. next.

Jno. Whitlock President

W. Slade Sec^y.

Mordecai Flemings 24th. Feb^y. 1821.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order. — The president begging leave of absence M. Davis was elected pro tem. M^r. Jon^a. Roberts was fined 12½c for nonattendance at Jan^y. meeting.—M^r. Jn^o. Davis was fined 12½c for

nonattendance at Nov^r meeting. Mr. Evan Davis was fined 12½c for nonattendance at Jan^v. meeting.

Mr. Mordecai Fleming moved that the last Stated query be taken up first, as the person who laid it in wished to leave the House before we could reach it in regular Order. — agreed to—The Secretary read the query, “Which is the most proper time to apply our Stable manures.” Several gentlemen Spoke upon this Subject, Some Saying Scatter your manure in the fall season, others Saying Scatter it in the month of February and plough it in immediately. — It was decided that February is the most proper time. — The next query in order was read, “Whether is a dairy establishment worth \$1000 most profitable, or a Capital of that amount invested in a farm.—On motion this query was Continued. — The next and last query was read, “Whether would it be best to lay out the money arising from fines in good Books or give it for premiums. It was decided in favour of giving the money for Books. —

The Committee appointed to Settle with the former treasurer having performed the duty assigned them made the following report.—“We your Committee appointed to Settle with Mr. James Martin former Treasurer having done So, Beg leave to report that we found due the Society upon his Books a balance of three dollars and twenty-five Cents, which amount with the Books we tender to our present treasurer Mr. Mordecai Fleming.

Hugh Boothe
Alex^r. Dodson

Charles Taliaferro Esq^e. one of the Committee appointed for the examination of querries having obtained leave of absence Co^l. Graves was nominated to officiate in his stead.

The Committee Selected the following querries for discussion at next meeting Viz. 1st. Would it be best to fire the woods or keep the fire entirely from them.—2nd. Which is the best way to clear land, to Cut the timber or dead it.—

3rd. Whether it would be the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricultural Society.—

4th. Is it best to plant our corn in the usual Check Style or drill it.

The House adjourned to meet at Forkner’s meeting house the 4th. Saturday in March next.

Matthew Davis Prest. pro-tem
W. Slade Sec^v.

Forkner’s Meeting-House 24th. March 1821.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order, Ransom Dudley was excused for nonattendance at February meeting, and fined 25 Cents for his Several other failures.

Mr. Matthew Davis recommended Mr. Robert Hammock as a gentleman whom he tho^t. worthy of being admitted a member of our Society. — He was received by a unanimous Vote, and the President nominated Doctor Franklin and Ransom Dudley to Conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he Subscribed his name as a regular member.

The first query Standing for discussion was read by the Secretary, "Whether is a dairy establishment worth \$1000 or a Capital of that amount invested in a farm". M. Franklin and Mr. Boothe warmly advocated the dairy establishment. — Co^l. Graves Spoke at Considerable length on the opposite Side. — It was decided in favor of investing the Capital in a farm. — The Secretary read the next query, — "Is it best to fire the woods or keep the fire entirely from them." — Several gentlemen remonstrated against the practice of firing the woods, as being destructive to the fertility of the Soil, the timber, and the range for Stock. — The House decided by a unanimous vote that it would be best to abolish the practice.

The Secretary read the next query, "Which is the best way to clear land, to Cut the timber or dead it." It was decided that it is best to cut the timber.

On motion of M. Franklin Esq^e. the other two Standing queries were postponed for discussion at next meeting: — and it was resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member of the Society to hand in a query on Some Subject, be Suspended So far as applies to the present meeting. — The House adjourned to meet at this place the 4th. Saturday in April next. —

Jn^o. Whitlock President

W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house 28th. April 1821.

This being the stated day for the meeting of the Society—Jn^o. Whitlock Esq^e. the president being absent Matthew Davis was appointed President pro. tem.

Mr. James MCraw was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at March meeting. — Mr. James W. MCraw was fined 37½ cents for his Several failures up to this time: and beg^d. to be Considered as a Transient member in future. — agreed to. — Mr. Jn^o. Davis was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at March meeting.

The Secretary read to the house the first query Standing for discussion, "Whether it would be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society. — On motion of Doctor Franklin this query was postponed until next meeting. —

The Secretary read the next query, "Is it best to plant our corn in the usual check Style or drill it". — decided on favour of drilling.

Mr. James MCraw moved that we alter the clause of our constitution

requiring us to meet monthly, and adopt our meeting quarterly. — as there was Some question of the propriety he amended the proposition by Saying let it Stand for discussion at next meeting. agreed to. — Mr. Boothe moved that no other querry be chosen & that clause of the constitution requiring us to hand in querries be Suspended So far as applies to the present meeting. agreed to — The House adjourned to meet at this place again on the fourth Saturday in May next.

Matthew Davis president. pro. tem
W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 23rd. June 1821.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the agricultural Society, — after Calling the names of the members the Secretary ascertain^d, that there was not a quorum present. — the house adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in July next. —

W. Slade Sec^y.

Forkner's Meeting-House 28th July 1821.

The society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order: — the President being absent Mr. Matthew Davis was appointed President pro. tem.—Mr. Ransom Dudley was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at June Meeting. — Mr. Golihew Moore was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at Jan. meeting and excused for his Several other failures.

The Secretary read the 1st. querry, "Whether would it be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society." Meshack Franklin Esq^e. moved that it be postponed for discussion at next meeting. — agreed to. —

The proposition for altering the Clause of our Constitution requiring us, "to meet monthly and adopt our meetings quarterly" was taken up, and agreed to. — M. Franklin Franklin [*sic*] Esq^e a transient member expressed considerable anxiety for the prosperity of our Society and agreed to Subject himself to fines as tho he was a regular member.

Mr. Jacob A. MCraw, Meshack Franklin Esq^e. and Mr. G. Moore were appointed a Committee to Select querries for discussion at next meeting, who choose the following. 1st. Is it best to fatten hogs in close pens or lots, and what the best method of feeding them."

2nd. "Do the Society think proper to award a premium of five dollars to any member of its body who Shall raise the next Season, the greatest quantity of Cured hay from an acre of ground: timothy, clover or herds-grass."

3rd. Which the best method of preserving Cabbages through the winter."

4th. Is it best to pasture our Stubble land or Keep Stock entirely from it." — Capt. Zachary, Mr. Davis and Mr. Moore were appointed a committee to Select querries at next meeting for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in October next.

Matthew Davis pres^{dt}. pro. tem
W. Slade Secretary

Forkners-Meeting-house 27th. October 1821

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order. — after hearing the excuses of Several members for nonattendance the Secretary read the 1st. question, "Whether would it be to the Interest of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricultural Society." — On motion of Mr. Boothe it was postponed for discussion at next meeting: — and agreed that Co^l. Graves Should inquire to Know upon what terms we would be received by the Raleigh Society. — On motion of Mr. Boothe the Other Standing querries were postponed for discussion at next meeting. — The Society resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring the members to hand in querries monthly be Suspended so far as applies to the present meeting. — The House adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in January next.

Jn^o. Whitlock President
W. Slade Secretary

Forkners Meeting-House Jan^y. 1822

This being the day appointed for the meeting of the agricultural Society the Secretary proceeded to Call the names of the members and upon ascertaining there was not a quorum present the House adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in April next.

Jn^o. Whitlock President
William Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 24th. May 1823

The Agricultural Society of Surry County being desirous to assume its former regular course of proceedings, met this day for the purpose of forming arrangements to partake of the appropriation of the State of North Carolina for the promotion of Agriculture. But upon finding there was not a quorum present the House adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in August next.

William Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house August 23rd. 1823

The Agricultural Society met agreeable to adjournment and proceeded to reelect John Whitlock Esq. their President for the next year — and W^m Slade their Secretary. — Mr. Fleming the former treasurer moved that Mr. Goliheew Moore be appointed treasurer for the next year; who was unanimously elected. The former treasurer moved that there be a Committee appointed to Settle with him at next meeting. W^m. MCraw Esq. — Gen^l. S. Graves & Mr. Moore or a majority of them were appointed a Committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Jacob A MCraw all the other business of the day was postponed to next meeting — The House adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in September next.

John Whitlock President
William Slade Sec^y.

[From a loose sheet inserted in the journal]

Querries for discussion 4th. Saturday in Sept 1823.

query 1st. — Whether would it be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricul^l. Society.

2nd. Is it best to fatten hogs in close pens or lots.

3rd. Do the Society think proper to award a premium of \$5. to any member of its body who shall raise next year the greatest quantity of Cured Hay from an acre of ground, Timothy, Clover, or heards grass

4th. Which is the best method of preserving Cabbages thro' the winter.

5th. Is it best to pasture upon our Stubble land or Keep Stock entirely from it.

On Motion of S. Graves the Committee appointed to settle with the former Treasurer have untill next meeting to make their report — to meet again the 4th Saturday of November

[From another loose sheet inserted in the journal]

Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society.

2nd Is it be best to fatten Hogs in close pens or Lots —

3rd. The Society

On motion of W^m. MCraw Esq^e.

S. Graves was appointed Secretary

pro. tem.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Indian in North Carolina. By Douglas L. Rights. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947. Pp. xx, 296. \$5.00.)

Proverbially has the Southeast long been known for its fertility in material resources, and now in the last few years some of its highly capable literary scouts have turned with gusto to the tapping of its hitherto little-realized resources in folk values. The output has been a number of books of an ethnohistorical caliber produced by skilled non-professionals. Southern historians have indeed never been idle in respect to developing the fertile prospects of themes in their factual and romantic background. Nor has the field of folk dialect been neglected. Abundant publications have appeared in these realms in the last few years. As Harry B. Williams observed recently in *The Southern Packet* concerning the resource-use program of the South, the new knowledge "must be developed by study and research then made available to the people in a way they can understand and use it."

The book on the Indians of Carolina by Mr. Rights fulfills these demands. He has made a worthy contribution to southeastern Indian history and its interpretation of military policies in the colonial period of the area. The book ranks as an equally important and authoritative secondary source on Indian and European contact relations as Dr. C. J. Milling's *Red Carolinians* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1940). In general scope the two studies supplement each other, especially in treatment of the decline of the smaller tribes of the Carolinian coast, the Tuscarora, the Catawba, and the Cherokee of the mountains. Ethnologists and ethnographers carrying on research in their special line of pursuit in the Southeast—and most of them happen to be of the northern breed—will find in such books as these the kind of popularization of important knowledge which their southern colleagues in research can do with better grace than most others.

Mr. Rights arranges his sections in short essay topics which

introduce the Spaniards and the English as settlers and contestants for control of the territory. He traces out the causes of the subsequent extinction of the coastal tribes. His essays are realistically and graphically handled. They make good reading. He shares some of his own views on historic events with the reader, among them his inclination to credit the good evidence that the Hatteras Indians of the sandbanks in the neighborhood of Cape Lookout were no others than the friendly Croatan, that they "afforded a refuge for the Lost Colony, and that the survivors of the Colony were incorporated into their tribe p.31.)" A short section on the Hatteras Indians (pp. 31-33) adduces his reasons for that conviction, and he further reasons that the "possibility that members of the tribe (Hatteras) migrated to Robeson County, where several thousand so-called Croatan Indians now reside, seems very remote."

Chapter XVIII, in which is a broadly generalized summary of the native life-mode of former and present-day Carolinian tribes as a whole, offers the lay reader a composite profile or major features of material and non-material properties of the Indians. It does not pretend to be an ethnographical summary. Chapters XIX and XX summarize in topical form, abundantly illustrated in plates, the classes of archaeological material, arranged according to form and supposed use, recovered from sites in North Carolina by Mr. Rights and a large group of associates whose aid he generously acknowledges. His influence earned through long experience in the development of archaeological interest in the state has been extensive as one of the organizers of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and as the society's first president. The increasing company of students throughout the country whose attention is being drawn to the ethnology of the Southeast will undoubtedly discern the shortcomings of brevity and casuality in the presentation of his tribal sketches. There is a noticeable dose of excusable favorable sentiment for the "well-shaped, clean-made people," "who never stooped" and among whom "deformity of any kind was very rare" (quoting earlier writers). This is naturally to be expected from one who dedicates his book to his Indian friends, as a counter-dose to many in the author's regional environment who neither befriend or

find virtues in their humble-living tawny-skinned compatriots. Mr. Rights has the gift of lightening his treatment of informational topics at times with parenthetical touches of well placed humor.

As a judiciously selected compilation of historical source material on the aborigines of North Carolina the book is indeed all that its title implies to the general reader, whether his approach to the subject lies in broad horizons or in more specific aspects of colonial, military, trade, or mission history. Enough ethnography and archaeology have been incorporated into the text to induce the studious reader to use the bibliographies provided at the ends of the chapter sections in pursuit of more specific lines of reading pertinent to early and later life of the Carolina Indians. Several maps, abundant illustrations showing country, artifacts, and people (including reproductions in half-tone of White's drawings of 1587), and an ample index enhance its value as a reference book for the public and private library shelf.

F. G. Speck.

The University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.

A History of Printing in North Carolina. A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946, Including a Brief Account of the Connecting Period. By George Washington Paschal, with an introduction by Hon. Josephus Daniels. (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1946. Pp. xvii, 313.)

This large and well printed volume, by the distinguished historian of Wake Forest College and of the Baptist Church in North Carolina, contains a great deal of data, not a little of it in the category of "forgotten lore," about North Carolina printing and printers, journalism, books, libraries, and in particular the printing and publishing establishment of Edwards & Broughton in Raleigh. Professor George Washington Paschal, for many years head of the classics department at Wake Forest College, has taken a pioneer step in issuing the volume and incidentally has called attention to the almost entirely uncultivated field of North Carolina journalism. Perhaps the most impressive feature of the "Bibliography" (pp. 295-298) is the appear-

ance of but one title of a printed work dealing with journalism: W. W. Holden's *History of Journalism in North Carolina*, an address delivered before the North Carolina Press Association in 1881. Histories of famous newspapers and biographies of editors and journalists are now the fashion; and conspicuous among recent books of this character are the history of the *Baltimore Sun*, the biography of the late Adolph S. Ochs, *An Honorable Titan*, by Gerald W. Johnson, who also contributed to the first-mentioned work, and the autobiography of the late William Allen White. Professor Paschal gives one other title bearing on this subject, a manuscript history of the *Biblical Recorder* by H. M. Stroupe. I recall a brief manuscript history of newspapers in Salisbury by a student, at Duke University; but no other account of the sort, so far as I now recall, has come to my attention. The monumental autobiography of the author of the foreword of the present volume throws a great deal of light on the history of the several newspapers with which he has been connected, and in particular the *News and Observer*. Much useful information about newspapers and journalism, together with an extended bibliography of North Carolina newspapers and periodicals, is contained in Guion Griffis Johnson's valuable work, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1937), which is conspicuous in itself and also for its absence from Professor Paschal's "Bibliography."

A careful reading of the title of the book under review, together with the descriptive clarifying sentence, reveals that it does indicate the nature of the contents. But the distribution of stress, by means of position and type, is seriously misleading. Chapter I, covering slightly more than 26 pages, brings the study of printers and printing in North Carolina down to 1800. Chapter II, a brief sketch of printers, presses, and newspapers, down to 1870, covers only 22 pages. The entire remainder of the volume, 249 pages or roughly five-sixths of the volume, is devoted almost exclusively to the history of the firm of Edwards & Broughton, covering a period of 75 years and the biographies of Cornelius Bryant Edwards, Needham Bryant Broughton, Charles Lee Smith, William Oliver Smith, and Charles Lee Smith,

Jr. These observations regarding title and allocation of space in no way minimize the utility and value of that part of the work covering pages 50 to 298 inclusive. Of unusual significance is the hitherto unprinted sketch of Dr. Charles Lee Smith by the late Dr. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, written in 1916—one of the many unpublished sketches collected by the late Charles L. Van Noppen for the uncompleted *Biographical History of North Carolina*, of which only eight volumes were published. Of the many interesting features of the highly successful career of this able business executive, educator, author, and bibliophile, two only will here be singled out: the writing of *The History of Education in North Carolina* (1888), the first systematic work on this subject—and the first to make use of the then recently published *Colonial Records of North Carolina*—a very serviceable reference work for almost sixty years; and the magnificent collection of works of English literature gathered by Dr. Smith throughout many years and designed eventually for the library of Wake Forest College.

In conclusion, several features of the work under review deserve citation. The late Dr. S. B. Weeks discovered and listed a total of 139 North Carolina imprints; and the late Douglas C. McMurtrie listed 290 titles of “undoubted authenticity” to which he added 39 “doubtful titles.” As the result of his wide-ranging researches Professor Paschal has added 14 new titles—a very genuine bibliographical contribution. Appendix II is another valuable addition, in compact form, to the bibliography of North Carolina, being a partial list of books and pamphlets produced by the Edwards & Broughton Company.

Archibald Henderson.

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

Books from Chapel Hill; A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945. (The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xxv, 206. \$1.25.)

One of the most significant books to be published this year is a little volume entitled *Books from Chapel Hill*. It is significant because it tells the story of how a university press, founded prin-

cipally upon the determination of a group of North Carolina scholars to set up a scholarly publishing program, has grown and developed in a twenty-four-year period into a great institution in itself. It is a record of an achievement unparalleled in the South and perhaps in the entire country. The list of books published totals approximately 500 titles, most of which deal with the South and many of which would never have been published had there not been a University of North Carolina Press. The solid worth of its publications has become so well established that the label "Books from Chapel Hill" is readily accepted as representing the finest, both in quality of content and workmanship, wherever sound scholarship is recognized.

Each of the two men most responsible for the success of the North Carolina Press, Louis R. Wilson and W. T. Couch, contributes a historical sketch of publishing at the university. In a foreword, Dr. Wilson outlines the three stages of publishing at North Carolina, devoting most of his discussion to the two earlier periods and leaving the more recent period constituting the activities of the press to Mr. Couch. This volume, which is devoted to the latter period, was published as one of the University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications.

The University Press of North Carolina was organized as a non-stock corporation in 1922 by ten members of the faculty and three members of the board of trustees of the University. These were Alfred M. Scales, Zeb V. Walzer, and Leslie Weil from the trustees; and H. W. Chase, W. C. Coker, Louis Graves, Edwin Greenlaw, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, L. P. McGehee, Howard W. Odum, Chester D. Snell, Nathan W. Walker, and Louis R. Wilson from the faculty. Dr. Wilson was named director, serving until 1932. He was succeeded by Mr. Couch, whose association with the press, begun in 1925, was continued until 1945, when he resigned to become head of the University of Chicago Press. While much credit should go to Dr. Wilson for building the press upon a sound foundation, it was under Mr. Couch's able direction that the organization attained its greatest success.

In his analysis of the press's activities covering the years 1923-1945, Mr. Couch touches upon the uncertain beginning of the

publishing program, briefly discusses policy, and then gives a table summarizing the total income of the press from all sources for the publication of books during the period 1923-1945. In another table Mr. Couch presents information regarding the periodicals, a venture separate from the book-publishing program, which he credits with having played an important part in the development of scholarly publishing in the university.

In presenting a brief but penetrating analysis of the South's problems, Mr. Couch writes: "Money is not the limiting factor in the South. The limiting factors are lack of public interest, and a woeful ignorance among educators of what education can be and ought to be, and a tendency to parrot the most recent ideas as if there had been no real thinking and important experience on this subject before the present generation. . . The real question in the South is not that of money but whether Southern people can respond to opportunities, whether they possess capacities that can be developed rapidly, whether human and physical resources here are being left idle or lost, whether the South is contributing all that it can to civilization, whether it is working and thinking and enjoying living as fully as its native powers will permit. Of all man's concerns in this life, none is more important than scholarship. . . . Scholarly publishing and higher learning are interdependent. It is impossible to have one without the other."

This little volume is the answer to the question: "Why not leave publishing to well established commercial publishers?" The range and nature of the subjects covered in this catalogue show unmistakably the broad understanding of what a scholarly publishing program should be and what can be accomplished when intelligent direction is combined with great courage and leadership. The University of North Carolina has been a pioneer in southern education, and its press very definitely reflects the university's success.

Marcus M. Wilkerson.

Louisiana State University Press,
Baton Rouge, La.

Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat. By Josephus Daniels. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xix, 547. \$5.00.)

Officially, Josephus Daniels was ambassador of the United States to Mexico from March, 1933, until his successor arrived in Mexico in February, 1942; but he did not present his credentials to the president of Mexico until April 24, 1933, and he took formal leave of the Mexican government on November 7, 1941. It seems necessary to be meticulous about these dates because the title-page and the first sentence in the "Foreword" appear to indicate that he actually *served* as United States Ambassador in Mexico from 1933 to 1942, inclusive, and because the "global" adjustment of long-standing problems in United States-Mexican relations was reached on November 19, 1941, twelve days after his farewell banquet, the treaties which settled the disputes having been negotiated in Washington, not in Mexico City.

In thus calling attention to the time of the ambassador's arrival and departure and the date of the treaties, this reviewer has no desire to minimize Mr. Daniels's achievements in the diplomatic service of his country. The ambassador won the friendship and confidence of the Mexicans from the start; and in spite of the fact that the final settlement of the stubborn issues that had vexed the two governments for thirty years was not effected until shortly after his departure from Mexico, his contributions were no doubt important, as likewise were those of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, and even those of the Axis powers, for it will be recalled that the United States was already practically at war when the Mexican treaties were signed and that the raid on Pearl Harbor occurred on December 7, only eighteen days after the signatures were affixed.

The weight given to the work of this "Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat" will depend, of course, upon the point of view. Some will feel that Mr. Daniels and his government ceded too much—accepted the short end of the bargain and flashed the green light for Latin-American "radicals" from the Rio Grande to Patagonia. Others, agreeing with the governments concerned and with the ambassador, will pronounce his mission a success, since Mexico's friendship was retained while the United States collected over seventy

million dollars for injuries to its citizens and their properties, and since Mexico's tranquillity was promoted, so that her mood and condition were such that she became a helpful ally in World War II rather than a sullen and suspected neutral as in World War I.

The value of this volume does not depend, however, upon the reader's estimate of the ambassador's achievements in the purely diplomatic field, to which not more than a tenth of its 566 pages is given. The major part of the book is devoted to an intimate portrayal of Mexican life and politics during this critical period, to accounts of interviews with numerous visitors, to stories which amused an old-time Southerner, and to swift glimpses into Mexico's past. By no means the least of its merits is its wealth of illustrations, more than a hundred in all. The recollections of this North Carolina journalist, the William Allen White of that section of the country, seem destined to occupy an important place among the memoirs of diplomats (Poinsett, Foster, and others) who have served the United States in Mexico. Whether he agrees with the "Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat" or not—and undoubtedly many will applaud his views—the reader who takes up this most vivid and absorbing volume is likely to finish it and lay it aside with the feeling that here is a book and here is a man! Its author was seventy-one years old when he began his Mexican mission and eighty-five when he published this account—and was still cheerful and genial despite the loss of his able and most attractive wife, who died in 1943, at the age of seventy-four, after graciously assisting him at the embassy in Mexico City for nearly nine years and after their golden wedding anniversary had been celebrated.

J. Fred Rippy.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

The Story of Henderson County. By Sadie Smathers Patton. (Asheville: The Miller Printing Company. 1947, Pp. xx, 200.)

This account of people, events, and institutions of Henderson County, North Carolina, will be welcomed by the citizens of that county as well as by the people of the surrounding area. Its appeal will be more especially to those whose ancestors are men-

tioned in the book as having had a part in the development of that section.

The author explains that much of the knowledge which made the writing of the book possible is a "heritage from ancestors who were among the pioneer settlers." Long years of patient investigation of tradition, customs, and "tales told around firesides" furnished much of the information when written records were silent or lost.

Under chapter headings of "Henderson County—its Creation," "Days of Cherokee Occupation," "First White Settler Crosses the Blue Ridge," "Other Pioneers," "Pioneers Begin to Develop the Frontier," "From Trading Paths to Roads," "A New County is Created," "First Twenty-Five Years," "Schools," "Churches," "Flat Rock—The Little Charleston-of-the-Mountains," "Railroads," "New Growth," "Hendersonville," "Period Between Pioneer Days and Modern Times," and "A New Era," the author discusses the pioneers of the section before the county was officially organized to about the time of the First World War. There are scattered references, however, to people and events of a later date.

This book is not a history in the generally accepted sense. The sequence of events is loosely organized and the genealogical sketches often make dry reading. Despite the fact that the book was not written by a trained historian, the story does preserve tales, tradition, and history which might otherwise have been lost. If Mrs. Patton had done nothing more than to preserve these traditions—and she does not claim to have written a definitive history—she has rendered a valuable service. Unfortunately for the reader, the author does not always distinguish between tradition and fact, for there are few footnotes. More to be regretted, the book lacks a bibliography. There are errors of fact. For example, North Carolina did not abolish all religious tests for holding office in 1835 (p. 104), and Henderson County was not a part of the forty-fourth senatorial district (p. 121).

The volume is attractively printed and its appearance is enhanced by about twenty pictures, including that of Judge Leon-

ard Henderson, for whom the county was named. There is an adequate index.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone, N. C.

Benjamin F. Perry: *South Carolina Unionist*. By Lillian Adele Kibler. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii, 562. Illustrations and index. \$4.50.)

Miss Kibler has written one of the most thorough studies of South Carolina history that has ever been produced. She describes the origin, development, and consequences of the most fateful event in the state's annals. This was secession. The agitations which led to the great break with the United States are described in illuminating detail. The break itself occupies a central chapter. It is followed by the presentation of the tragic consequences: war with its physical slaughter and Reconstruction with its affront to the South Carolina pride and prejudice of race and custom. The subject is presented from the viewpoint of one of the few active participants in South Carolina politics whose footsteps can be adequately traced through literary remains. The letters, it seems, of most of the others perished in the ruins or were hidden or destroyed by shy or careless descendants. This is not true of Benjamin F. Perry. He and his kin carefully preserved his papers, and Perry himself, addicted to writing as well as to talking, allowed his bounding egotism to lead to the publication of several volumes of reminiscences. Miss Kibler, with the active cooperation of Perry's descendants, has fully exploited the Perry manuscripts and has accumulated much collaborative evidence found in contemporary newspapers and public documents and in the private papers of numerous public characters. She presents her findings in a style both lucid and cultivated.

The value of the book is largely based on the fact that it presents South Carolina history from the viewpoint of an interesting but heretofore obscure minority. The Calhoun school of nullificationists, secessionists, and Confederate warriors has been

adequately recognized by both historians and romancers; so has the struggle of the South Carolina Negro out of slavery into the demand for political and social enfranchisement. This is not true of the small band of South Carolinians, mostly from the mountain fringe of their state, who joined larger groups of Unionists in other Southern states in the struggle against the tragic destiny nurtured by Calhoun. Perry was the chief of this group. Miss Kibler, with almost daughterly reverence, gives him full opportunity to speak; and he does speak with an emphasis as full and as passionate as that of any South Carolinian of the opposite opinion. He speaks as a lawyer, legislator, political canvasser, journalist, and constitutional pundit; he even speaks through the gun of the duelist. For many years he was the leading citizen of Greenville, a foothills town on the opposite side of the state from Charleston. Miss Kibler's most attractive chapters prove that the social life of this small place had charms comparable to those of the famous South Carolina city by the sea.

The worth of this book is further enhanced by the fact that its subject was as much bound by the convictions of the South Carolina patriot as was John C. Calhoun, Robert Barnwell Rhett, or Ben Tillman. Perry believed in slavery, hated abolitionists, was as vain and patriotic as the most extreme secessionist, and paid fealty to the code of the southern gentleman by appearing on the field of honor. He did not disagree with the majority over the worth of South Carolina's peculiar institutions but merely with this majority's methods of preserving them. For this reason he was never outlawed by the secessionists. He rewarded this seeming tolerance by espousing the cause of the Confederacy once the die was cast in favor of separating from the Union and by a stubborn championship of white supremacy against the aspirations of former slaves after the Civil War. His most notable service was that of provisional governor under President Johnson's plan of Reconstruction.

Perhaps it is too much to expect a South Carolina lady in the confidence of the Perry family to write a biography that is both personal and critical. This Miss Kibler does not do, but this

she should have done to make her book memorable. By a liberal use of the ample records at her disposal she sets the records straight without effective re-creation and appraisal of her man and his environment. Hidden between her lines is an egotist who, despite his learning, courage, and sterling virtues, made mistakes. She prefers an impersonal chronicle to a full revelation of this person. For the most part she accepts South Carolina at its own valuation. It does not occur to her, for example, that the outcome of Reconstruction might have been different from what it was. The fact that her viewpoint is that of the South Carolina up-country rather than that of the South Carolina low-country does not, as Professor Allan Nevins claims in the foreword, serve as a liberalizing force. It leads her into a few imprudent statements as when she claims that the low-country was more prejudiced in its southernism than the up-country. This makes possible the erroneous belief that Perry's administration as provisional governor was a success. There is no room in her narrative for the admission that the anti-Negro and states-rights prejudices of her mountain hero were in no small measure responsible for the failure of the Johnson plan of Reconstruction.

Francis B. Simkins.

State Teachers College,
Farmville, Virginia.

The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920. By Bernard H. Nelson. (Washington, D. C.; The Catholic University of America Press, 1946. Pp. viii, 185.)

Dr. Bernard Nelson, in his book, *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920*, tells of the attempts made by the Negro to use the courts as a means of solving his problems. The purpose of the study, as stated by Dr. Nelson, is “. . . to examine the interpretation and application of the Fourteenth Amendment between 1920 and 1943 to determine its effectiveness in protecting the rights and privileges of the Negro citizen.” Dr. Nelson points out that the Negro applied the Fourteenth Amendment to cases involving “residential segregation,” “disfranchisement,”

“exclusion from juries,” “educational inequality,” and criminal cases. The clauses of the amendment most frequently used by the Negro to prove that the discriminating practices were a violation of his civil rights were: “due process of law,” “privileges and immunities,” and “denial of equal protection of the law.”

The study points out that over a period of seventy-five years the Supreme Court has moved from a conservative interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to a liberal one. The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (separation of races in intrastate travel) illustrates the former statement, for the court held that “. . . the right for which protection was sought was a social right, not a legal right; and the Fourteenth Amendment did not force social equality. . . .” The *Gaines v. Canada* (admission of Negroes to state universities) proves the latter contention when Chief Justice Hughes said, “This discrimination, unrelieved, could constitute a denial of equal protection.” The trend of this liberal movement has been concomitant with the social thought of southern society. Another thing the author proves is that there has been consistent effort on the part of most of the southern states to circumvent the ruling of the Supreme Court when these decisions have been favorable to the Negro.

Whereas the work contains much recorded historical information, it lacks historical scholarship. Judging from the footnotes used to support the thesis, the author played the role of a commentator or columnist rather than that of a historian. For example, Dr. Nelson refers his readers to the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* and the *Washington Afro-American* for a discussion of Senator Borah’s proposal to alter the Fourteenth Amendment (p. 108, v. 3). Instead, the *Congressional Record* should have been cited, for a historian should cite source material and use newspapers only to track down leads to the information he desires.

Furthermore, the study lacks unity. For in one place the main topic is “Negro Disfranchisement” (p. 34), and in another place, under the same major topic, the author discusses the application of the Fourteenth Amendment in cases involving educational facilities and crime (p. 42). *The Fourteenth Amend-*

ment and the Negro since 1920 would have been more logically arranged if the author had organized his material around the cases involving residential segregation, disfranchisement, and the like.

Nevertheless, the layman who wants a compilation of cases involving the Negro and the Fourteenth Amendment since 1920 will find the book valuable.

Tinsley L. Spraggins.

St. Augustine's College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885. By Charles Callan Tansill. (The Georgetown University Studies in History, No. I. Washington: The Georgetown University Press, 1946. Pp. xi, 362.)

Thomas Francis Bayard came from a long line of distinguished and influential leaders in Delaware. His grandfather, James A. Bayard, senior, an ardent Jeffersonian Democrat, served as a United States Senator and as peace commissioner to Ghent in 1815; an uncle Richard H. Bayard was a United States Senator and minister to Belgium; and his father James A. Bayard, II, served three terms in the United States Senate, and had the unique distinction of presenting his son's credentials as a Senator, a privilege no other Senator ever had. Thomas Francis came naturally by his sympathetic attitude toward the South. His father loathed the abolitionists and sympathized with the Confederate States of America, believed that the South was in the right and would ultimately triumph. He opposed Lincoln's call for troops, found no warrant for it in the law or the Constitution, and declared that it meant a war of invasion. He believed that Delaware should secede but that her action should follow Maryland's. During the war he bitterly condemned the Radicals as "Brutes . . . [who] grow more sanguinary and vindictive with the hopes of success." Even those Republicans in whom he "supposed some sense and conservatism remained, prove either fanatics or hypocrites."

With such a heritage it was only natural that Thomas Francis should either enter public service and champion the cause of

the South. In June 1, 1861, he made a speech in which he urged that the southern states be permitted to depart in peace. Entering the Senate in 1869, he opposed much of the Radical reconstruction program, including Negro suffrage and the force acts. Bayard also played a major role in the Democratic party. He helped to create the electoral commission in 1876 and was a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1876, 1880, and 1884. But Bayard was more than a politician: he was a real statesman and stood head and shoulders above most of his confreres in the Senate. It is the author's opinion that the South, in failing to give its united support to its "protector," prevented Bayard's nomination. But Professor Tansill presents confusing and contradictory evidence in regard to Bradley T. Johnson's position on pages 270, 276, and 283.

This is not a biography of Bayard but it is an excellent study of his congressional career. Professor Tansill is eminently qualified to make this study. He has already written a good account of Bayard's contributions as Secretary of State and ambassador to Great Britain in *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard*, and the present work ably supplements the first. Professor Tansill has made extensive use of the Bayard papers and other contemporary collections in the Library of Congress. The author is most sympathetic with his subject and takes occasion to condemn the New Deal's financial policies and tendency toward centralization when he develops Bayard's attacks upon Republican practices and the Grant administration in the post-Civil War years. He has given a thorough and worthwhile account of political currents for the twenty years following the Civil War.

Fletcher M. Green.

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

Frontier on the Potomac. By Jonathan Daniels. (New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 262. \$2.75.)

Often I've wondered—though I don't recall having remembered to ask him—if Jonathan Daniels remembers the day Pro-

fessor Horace Williams at Chapel Hill asked him if he'd rather live in Raleigh or in Heaven. It was during one of "Horace's" lectures to the class in logic. And young Daniels's answer was prompt and unequivocal.

"Raleigh," said Jonathan.

His answer that day more than a quarter of a century ago was characteristic, in my opinion, of his writing in the years that have followed. It was unhesitant, slightly shocking, a bit brash, and designed to be different. And such have been his books. *Frontier on the Potomac*, his latest, has the Daniels touches. One reviewer, Virginia Kirkus, I believe, speaks of them. "Many small touches," she says, "a view of the significance of the healthy heresies he has found, this series of 'profiles' of governmental functioning is knowing, intimate, and interesting in its personal appraisal."

It is the contention of Jonathan Daniels that although the world's—and particularly America's—geographical frontiers are fast disappearing, other equally important frontiers are challenging the rawest courage and deepest devotion of a new group of explorers and navigators, men and women concerned with the discovery of the sound and the sensible and the good in the still unexplored or half-charted continents and oceans of ideas and plans and formulas that must either make or shortly wreck our world.

One of these frontiers, and the most important, including Moscow, London, Oak Ridge, Palestine, Bombay, and scores of college, university, and theological seminary towns where men are coming to close grips with ideas, is Washington, D. C. In Washington, perhaps if anywhere, we can sometimes get an imperfectly focused glimpse of the mighty and ponderous machinery, the intricate and hair-trigger mechanism, that operates this scattered and conglomerate, simple and complex, troubled and happy, vast land. And if anyone is equipped by experience, training, and inclination to have a peek at this dynamo of America and describe it—together with the probable, if there are to be any, gears and pins and dynamos of a new and stable world machine—Jonathan Daniels, one might reasonably suggest, is

the man. He lived in Washington and went to its schools while his father was Wilson's Secretary of the Navy, covered its various personages and doings as a newspaperman, and served in the government with the Civilian Defense organization and later as one of the Roosevelt presidential assistants.

His new book, then, is a report of Washington as Daniels sees it, and he has both an outside and inside view of the capital and the government. It is a frank, intimate, personal report, done with a Daniels flair and saltiness that sometimes approaches a sauciness of the Daniels days when he sat—and fidgeted—at the feet of such Chapel Hill stalwarts as Horace Williams and Edwin Greenlaw. It abounds in clever aphorisms that serve to spotlight Washington personages and places. He frequently chooses strange spots for setting his camera. The reviewer in one of the literary magazines mildly scolded him for this. "There are a good many times when the wincing reader will find the subject matter surprisingly trivial, by comparison with the importance of the period of which Mr. Daniels is writing," this reviewer says, "and the immensity of the tasks allotted to the public figures with whom he deals."

Mr. Daniels, no doubt, deliberately chose these "trivial" persons and places and events, and I approve such writing devices. Often the cab driver with whom he discusses current affairs or the Capitol guard who neatly summarizes the vagaries of Capitol visitors can be more enlightening—and entertaining—than the Chief Justice or a brace of Senators.

The reviews have been very good. The *Christian Science Monitor* declared that "Few chroniclers have Jonathan Daniels's entree. Few have his sharp eyes. Few have his detachments along with his romantic emotion. And so it will be a long time before as good a book as this is written about a contemporary period in American history." The *New Yorker* was somewhat critical: "A sometimes diverting and not always lucid essay on the capital." But the *New York Times* was lavish: "For those who can forgive Washington its climate, its rootlessness and its institutionalized pomposity and love it for its beauty, its human diversity and its never-failing challenge to the mind and the imagination," the book is recommended. "For it is here,

in the seat of Government, that America's frontier now lies. Whoever would know that frontier, in its human rather than its academic form, will have to read this book."

Frontier on the Potomac reveals the fabric of the clothing that dresses Washington, whether it be silks and satins and tails and tall hats or overalls and flour-sacking. But it likewise pulls aside the garments to reveal the skin and sinews and even the bones of that pulsating colossus we call the government of the United States. And it likewise reveals Jonathan Daniels. Perhaps the people and the government haven't changed so much despite the tremendous events of the last quarter of a century. Nor has Mr. Daniels. Were old "Horace" to return for a session with his old class in logic and ask Jonathan Daniels in his whining drawl: "Mr. Daniels, would you rather live in Washington or Heaven?" I'd bet my last nickel on what a considerably older, but still unhesitant, inclined-to-be-slightly-shocking, yes, and even a-bit-brash Daniels would reply.

LeGette Blythe.

The Charlotte Observer,
Charlotte, N. C.

History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. By Clarence S. Brigham. (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1947. Vol. I, pp. xxvii, 1-757; vol. II, pp. 758-1508. \$15.00.)

This set of books is an outgrowth of a suggestion made in 1911 relative to the importance of newspapers in historical research. The significance of such a compilation is quite evident to those who are interested in or who from time to time project historical research activities. Newspapers are important in writing the history of a city, community, county, or state, and when historians know the locations of the existing newspapers of the community or state in which they are interested it is a tremendous assistance. Dr. Brigham began his task in 1913—thirty-four years ago—and the results of his efforts have just come from the press. He did not, however, devote his full time to this task, but did use many vacation periods and visited many libraries throughout the several states.

The largest collections of newspapers prior to 1820 are housed in the American Antiquarian Society, the Library of Congress, the Widener Library of Harvard University, the New York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. Of course, other libraries and institutions have smaller files. In the collections which Mr. Brigham examined, he found the numbers of titles of newspapers from the several states as follows: New York with 434 titles, Pennsylvania with 368, Massachusetts with 175, Virginia with 127, Ohio with 99, Maryland with 93, Kentucky 88, and Connecticut 78. Other states follow proportionately down the line—Texas, Michigan, and Florida 2 each, and Arkansas 1. Dr. Brigham lists collections from 30 states.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, according to this compilation, had the longest continuous publication period. It ran for a total of eighty-seven years, 1728-1815. *The Maryland Gazette* was published for a period of seventy-five years, *The Boston News Letter* for seventy-two years, and *The New Hampshire Gazette* for sixty-four years. Other papers, of course, were published for long periods of time, but about fifty per cent of them existed only for two years. Many papers continued publication after 1821. It is interesting to run through the mortality of the newspapers listed in these volumes.

The states included in this compilation are listed alphabetically, as well as the newspapers in those states. The name of the newspaper and the inclusive dates are given after which follows a brief and concise history of its existence; then follows the listing of the issues in the various libraries throughout the country. Volume II begins with the state of North Carolina, about which we are particularly interested. Dr. Brigham lists a total of sixty-two titles of North Carolina newspapers, but of that number he failed to find issues of six. He is certain, however, that all sixty-two did exist for short or longer periods. The American Antiquarian Society has the best collection of North Carolina titles and issues. This is due to the great interest in collecting newspapers, the beginning of which was made by Isaiah Thomas. In checking we find that a

person who is interested in searching the files of the *Raleigh Register*, the *North Carolina Minerva*, *Wilmington Gazette*, *The Star*, and the *North Carolina Journal* can find that there are pretty good files of these newspapers. The American Antiquarian Society has forty-one North Carolina titles, the Library of Congress nineteen, Harvard University eighteen, the New York Historical Society six, the New York Public Library one, and the Wisconsin Historical Society five. Some of these libraries have files of several titles and in order to get access to complete files of any of the titles it would be necessary to visit all of the libraries.

Dr. Brigham has rendered a valuable service to students and scholars, and his volumes will be a welcome addition to the libraries throughout the country. This work, together with *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, edited by Winifred Gregory and published in 1937, completes the listing of newspapers from 1690 to 1936. Dr. Brigham is to be congratulated on this monumental work. He has been most meticulous in listing every issue of every title of any newspaper published within this period. He can well be proud of his accomplishment, because his work will stand for many years as a guide in locating the early newspapers of America.

D. L. Corbitt.

The State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

Florida Becomes a State. (Tallahassee: Florida Centennial Commission, 1945 Pp. xi, 481. \$3.50.)

This volume is a literary souvenir of the Florida Centennial. It begins with a brief essay on life in Florida in 1845 by W. T. Cash, state librarian. The main part of the work is in effect a documentary history of the process by which Florida became a state, beginning with the treaty of cession from Spain in 1819, containing among other selected documents the journal of the constitutional convention which met at St. Joseph in 1838, the resulting constitution, the federal laws providing and prescrib-

ing terms for the admission of Florida to the Union, and concluding with the act of the Florida legislature in 1845 which gave assent to the terms prescribed. The documents, edited by Dorothy Dodd, archivist of the Florida State Library, are preceded by an introduction by Dr. Dodd which gives a running account of the events resulting in statehood. The volume contains a good reproduction of an excellent map of Florida published in 1846, several interesting facsimiles, pictures of the Florida capitol as it appeared in 1838, 1845, and 1945, and portraits of contemporary and modern political leaders.

The whole work is designed and executed with care and ingenuity. It is at once a convenient manual and a small mine of information for those interested in this aspect of Florida history.

Cecil Johnson.

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

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the second term, 1947-1948.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, formerly a professor of history at Furman University, Greenville, S. C., has been appointed professor of history and head of the department of social sciences at the Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, N. C. Dr. Taylor succeeds Professor E. H. Stillwell, who died last January.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been granted an extension of her leave of absence for another year to enable her to complete work for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. Mrs. Carolyn Daniel has been appointed an instructor in history to supply for Miss McFayden during the latter's absence.

Dr. Katherine E. Boyd, who last year supplied for Miss Christiana McFayden, has accepted a position as associate professor of history at Carlton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Dr. C. D. Johns, who for the past three years has served as acting head of the department of history and political science of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed head of the department to succeed Dr. B. B. Kendrick, who died last year.

Dr. H. A. Coleman, formerly a professor at The Citadel and more recently chief of the Medical History Section, Army Air Forces, is now an associate professor in the social studies department of East Carolina Teachers College.

Dr. Lawrence Fay Brewster, professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College, has recently published in the historical papers of the Trinity College Historical Society his book entitled *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters*.

Dr. James W. Patton, head of the history department at State College, announces the following changes in the staff of that Department: Mr. H. A. Cunningham resigned July 1, 1947, to resume graduate studies at the University of North Carolina and Mr. William F. Entekin, Jr., also resigned effective on that date. The following men have been added to the staff as new members: Dr. Stuart McGuire Noblin, an assistant professor; Dr. Charles Melver Kolb, an instructor; and Mr. Rex Beach, an instructor. The following promotions also have been announced: Dr. L. Walter Segars from assistant professor of history and political science to associate professor; Dr. Kenneth Raahe from instructor to associate professor; and Dr. Preston W. Edsall promoted from associate professor to full professor. During the summer school Dr. Francis B. Simkins of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, taught at State College and Dr. James W. Patton taught at the second term at Duke University.

A Syllabus of the History of the Civilization, Volume III, by Lillian Parker Wallace and Alice Barnwell Keith, has been revised and published by the Technical Press, Raleigh, N. C.

Miss Priscilla Bailey has been appointed instructor in history at Salem Academy, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., has been appointed professor of history and acting head of the department of history at Salem College, Winston-Salem.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, formerly assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, on September 1 became president of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C. Dr. Trigg is the first Negro president of this institution.

Dr. Percival Perry has returned to Wake Forest College as assistant professor of history. Mr. Elmer Punyear has returned as an instructor of history and Mr. Wesley M. Bagby and W. B. Yearns, instructors in history for the last two years, will continue

as instructors this year. Mr. J. B. Woodall has resigned as instructor in order to resume graduate work at Columbia University.

Wilson Primitive Baptist Church, Wilson, N. C., a pamphlet edited by Elder S. B. Denny and published by the Wilson Primitive Baptist Church, has just been received from the author. This pamphlet of fifty-two pages gives the history of the church, together with brief sketches of the many pastors. Copies may be procured by writing Elder S. B. Denny, Wilson, N. C.

The Henderson County Historical Society has presented to the county commissioners of Henderson County a photograph of Judge Leonard Henderson, for whom the county was named. The society has also presented to the Rosa Edwards Elementary School a photograph of Judge Mitchell King of Charleston, S. C., who gave in perpetuity the land on which the school is erected.

On August 29-30 Henderson County celebrated its centennial. A pageant written by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton formed the main program for the celebration. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. Henry Howard Eddy represented the State Department of Archives and History at the celebration.

Dr. Bayrd Still has resigned as assistant professor of history at Duke University to become professor of history in New York University.

Dr. Dorothy M. Quynn has resigned from the history department in Duke University and is now serving as a lecturer in Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. John S. Curtiss of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year to continue his researches in Russian history and to serve as a participating fellow in the Russian Institute in Columbia University.

Mr. Theodore Ropp of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year to continue his work with the State

Department in Washington arranging for publication of the documents of the German Foreign Office.

Dr. Harry Stevens, who last year was a member of the faculty of the University of Cincinnati, has joined the staff of Duke University as an instructor in history.

Miss Alice K. Reek of Winterthur, Delaware, a graduate of Maryville College, has joined the staff as instructor in history at Mars Hill College.

A portrait of William Rufus King, a native of Sampson County, N. C., Vice President of the United States and Minister to France, has been sent to Paris, France, where it will hang in the American Embassy. This portrait was painted by Mrs. Mary de B. Graves of Chapel Hill.

On September 11 the Greensboro Historical Museum at the Civic Center formerly opened the O. Henry Memorial Room, commemorating the birth of O. Henry (William Sidney Porter). The drug store in which O. Henry served the public has been reconstructed as a part of the museum. Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. William F. Burton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Miss Manora Mewborn, and Mrs. Julia C. Meonnahey of the State Department of Archives and History attended the formal opening.

An original copy of the King James Version of the Bible, printed in 1611, has been added to the library of the Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C. This volume was discovered in Concord, N. C. Sketches and photographs of every man and woman associated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) who lost their lives in the late war are being assembled in the Foundation. This is made possible through the cooperation of the local historians of the Woman's Auxiliary of the church, working under the supervision of regional historians.

Dr. I. B. Holley and Dr. Walter Givan, graduates of Yale University, have joined the staff of Duke University as instructors in history.

Mr. Joel Cotton, who is a candidate for the doctor's degree at Columbia University, has been added to the staff of Duke University as an instructor in history.

Dr. William B. Hamilton has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of history at Duke University.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. Arthur B. Ferguson of Duke University have been promoted from instructors to assistant professors of history.

Dr. Joseph C. Roberts of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the first term of the year 1947-1948.

The North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on October 7-8 held a convention in Rocky Mount. On October 7 Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall of Nashville delivered an address entitled "Now is the Time." Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern appeared on the morning program on October 8 and former governor J. Melville Broughton spoke at the evening meeting. New officers elected for the year are as follows: Mrs. Albert Lee Thompson of Greensboro, president; Mrs. W. L. Johnson of La Grange, vice-president; Mrs. R. P. Reece, of Winston-Salem, vice-president; Mrs. P. A. Rothrock of Mount Airy, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Fitzgerald of Pelham, recording secretary; Mrs. W. A. Balsley of Greensboro, corresponding secretary; Mrs. P. P. Thomas of Asheville, treasurer; Miss Jeannette Biggs of Oxford, registrar; Mrs. A. T. St. Amand of Wilmington, historian; and Mrs. Grady Ross of Charlotte, recorder of crosses.

Dr. Thomas P. Johnston, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Kingsport, Tennessee, has been elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Historical Foundation at Montreat. Dr. Johnston succeeds Dr. R. F. Campbell. Dr. C. E.

Mount of Clarkesdale, Mississippi, Mrs. W. I. Fowler of Lexington, Kentucky, and Mr. William H. Barnhill of Charlotte, N. C., have been appointed a committee to promote the interest of the foundation throughout the church. Dr. Johnston, Dr. H. B. Dendy of Weaverville, N. C., and Mrs. Charles D. Parker of Asheville were appointed a special committee of finance whose duties include among other things the authorization of the construction of a new building for the Foundation. Plans for the building have been prepared by Alfred Morton Gethens of New York.

Books received include Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingston, *The University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years* (Chattanooga, Tennessee: The University of Chattanooga Press, 1947); Frank J. Klingberg, *A Free Church in a Free State, America's Unique Contribution* (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1947); Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization 1607-1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947); Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *The American Iliad, The Epic Story of the Civil War* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947); Evarts B. Greene, *Church and State*, (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1947); Louis R. Wilson, *The Chronicles of the Sesquicentennial* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947); Stanley F. Horn, *Gallant Rebel: The Fabulous Cruise of the Shenandoah* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1947); Nannie M. Tilley and Noma Lee Goodwin, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1947); E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1947); Henry Louis Smith, *This Troubled Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Press, Inc., 1947); Frank E. Vandiver, *The Civil War Diary of General*

Josiah Gorgas (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1947); Boyce House, *Cub Reporter, Being Mainly About Mr. Mooney and the Commercial Appeal* (Dallas, Texas: Hightower Press, 1947); Gerald W. Johnson, *The First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947); Edgar W. Knight, *Henry Harrisse on Collegiate Education* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Peirson Ricks, *The Hunter's Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947); Paul W. Wager, *North Carolina: The State and its Government* (New York: Oxford Book Company, 1947); Walter L. Lingle, *Memories of Davidson College* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1947); S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond, *North Carolina Today* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

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