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## PUBLIC PRINTING IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1749-1815

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Need for the preservation and distribution of laws and other state documents brought about the establishment of the press in North Carolina. The laws had been revised in 1715 and at that time the possibility of their being printed had been discussed.<sup>1</sup> But the revisal remained in manuscript and copies were distributed to the precinct courts with orders that they be kept open on the clerk's table during sitting of the court and that they be read aloud from beginning to end during the first term each year.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously this poor distribution of laws led to inaccuracies and evasions. In 1730 Governor Burrington<sup>3</sup> received as a part of his instructions the request that "all laws now in force be revived and considered" and a complete copy of them be sent to England.<sup>4</sup> A copy of the laws as revised in 1715 was sent with the governor's observations noted on the margin and with the general statement that they seemed to him "a body of Laws well adapted to the place."<sup>5</sup> In a note at the end of the document he claimed "encouragement for the printing of them . . . never effected."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Urmstone, missionary, wrote to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, February 14, 1715: "We have had all our Laws revived and amended where needful it was (and still they are confused and simple enough) and 'tis said they are to be sent to the proprietors for their approbation and then be printed." *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, II, 220. This revisal was not printed in full until 1904 when it appeared as a part of *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIII, 1-96.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Records*, XXIII, 95-96.

<sup>3</sup> Governor George Burrington (?-1759) arrived in North Carolina in 1731. His administration, which ended in 1734, was a stormy one. He was in conflict with the assembly and various officials over lands, powers of the courts, fees, and the governor's right to appoint officials and to create new precincts. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, III, iii-vi. M. D. Haywood, "George Burrington," *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 327-328.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonial Records*, III, 96-97.

<sup>5</sup> *Colonial Records*, III, 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Colonial Records*, III, 189. A digest of laws in force in the colonies was published in London in 1704 under the title: *An Abridgement of the Laws in Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations; (viz) of Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Maryland, New-England, New-York, Carolina, &c . . .*

It remained for a later governor, Gabriel Johnston,<sup>7</sup> to carry the enterprise to a successful conclusion, but it was not accomplished without repeated recommendations. In 1736 Governor Johnston first called attention to the need for legislation on this matter in his speech to the Assembly:

... If you turn your eyes upon the laws . . . which ought to be the Guardians of your lives and fortunes, I'm afraid you will find them in a very bad scituation; upon the strictest enquiry I can't find that there is one compleat Copy of them in any one place, neither have I yet seen two copies of them which perfectly agree, some of them seem plainly calculated to promote fradulent practices, and I dare say have prevented many honest fair dealing People from settling in the Province. . . . As the happiness of every private man depends on the Laws I think this is a grievance which can never too soon be redressed.<sup>8</sup>

A reply drawn up by a committee agreed that "revisal . . . of our Laws (as your Excellency observes) is a matter of the greatest importance and we shall be glad to see it well executed and new laws framed."<sup>9</sup> At this time no mention was made of printing the revisal. Governor Johnston urged the assembly to act in 1737, reminding them that he was ready to promote any provision they chose to make.<sup>10</sup> In 1738 both houses appointed committees for revising the laws.<sup>11</sup>

In 1739 Governor Johnston added the need for printing the laws to his plea for a revisal.<sup>12</sup> A committee of the house of assembly composed of Eleazer Allen, Edward Moseley, and Roger Moor, in their answer proposed "to direct the printing" of the laws.<sup>13</sup> The necessity for the printing of the laws was again stressed in Governor Johnston's address in 1740:

Since our last meeting here I have been obliged to travel through a great part of the Province and I cannot conceal from you Gentlemen the many complaints I have met with in every place of their wanting Copys of the Laws. Majistrates are at a loss how to decide controversies which arose amongst his Majestie's subjects, and even private persons, who were willing

<sup>7</sup> Governor Gabriel Johnston (?-1752), a native of Scotland, was educated at the University of St. Andrews. He was also professor of Oriental languages at that university and later a political writer in London. He arrived in North Carolina in 1734 and continued in office until his death in 1752. His administration was not without conflict with the assembly over quit rents and the location of the capital (Edenton or New Bern). He was active in promoting Scottish settlements on the upper Cape Fear and the migration of the Scotch-Irish and Germans to the Piedmont section. Samuel A'Court Ashe, "Gabriel Johnston," *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 187-193; E. L. W. Heck, "Gabriel Johnston," *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 140.

<sup>8</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 227.

<sup>9</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 231.

<sup>10</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 271-272.

<sup>11</sup> The house committee "John Montgomery, Esqre., Mr. [John] Hodgson, and Mr. [Joseph] Anderson to joyn some of your House [Council] at Edenton, and Sir Richard Everard, Mr. Sam: Swann and Mr. John Swann to joyn some of your Members at Cape Fear." *Colonial Records*, IV, 407. The council appointed Chief Justice William Smith to join the commissioners at Edenton and Edward Moseley to join those at Cape Fear. *Colonial Records*, IV, 411.

<sup>12</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 357.

<sup>13</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 357-358.

to pay the taxes are puzzled in what manner and at what time to comply with the Law, there is very little difference Gentlemen betwixt having no Laws at all and living under such as are impossible to come at, and are never promulgated in an authentik manner.

If your Committee appointed to revise your Laws, have done their duty in any tolerable manner I am persuaded you will lose no time to relieve the Inhabitants you represent from so terrible a misfortune.<sup>14</sup>

That same year the assembly allowed the "Commissioners to the So'ward" five hundred pounds for revising the laws.<sup>15</sup> But five years later the governor was still protesting the delay in completing the revisal for publication,<sup>16</sup> and the committee on propositions and grievances was resolving "that the so long delaying the printing of the Laws that persons concerned scarce know when they transgress them, and thereby through ignorance become lyable to Fines and Punishments is a very great grievance."<sup>17</sup> Finally, on March 6, 1747, a law for revising and printing the laws was enacted naming as commissioners of revisal, Edward Moseley, Samuel Swann, Enoch Hall, and Thomas Barker, who were to receive sixty pounds each for this service, and have, in addition, a copyright on the work for five years.<sup>18</sup> The revisal was financed by an import duty on wine, rum, distilled liquors, and rice.<sup>19</sup> Another law, enacted in 1749, provided for its publication by establishing the office of public printer with certain specified duties, and naming James Davis as the first incumbent.<sup>20</sup>

About James Davis little is known before his selection as public printer in 1749 except that he had been living in Virginia, probably at Williamsburg, learning his trade under William Parks.<sup>21</sup> The Act of 1749 fixed his salary at 160 pounds proclamation money annually, with appointment for five years. He was required to live in New Bern;<sup>22</sup> to print, in the same type as his

<sup>14</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 471.

<sup>15</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 514.

<sup>16</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 772.

<sup>17</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 825.

<sup>18</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 862; *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIII, 268. All the commissioners were men prominent in the affairs of the colony. Edward Moseley was chief justice, 1707-1711; surveyor-general, 1709; speaker of the assembly of 1715 which revised the laws; and a boundary commissioner, 1728 and 1729. George Davis, *A Study in Colonial History*, pp. 21-31. Samuel Swann was a distinguished lawyer and served as speaker of the assembly, 1742-1762, with the exception of 1754. Thomas Frederick Davis, *A Genealogical Record of the Davis, Swann, and Cabell Families*, p. 29. Enoch Hall was chief justice. *Colonial Records*, IV, 982, 996. Thomas Barker was treasurer of the colony, agent of the northern precincts in England, and clerk of the assembly. *Colonial Records*, IV, 1317, 232, 1168-1169; VI, 217, 1287-1288.

<sup>19</sup> *State Records*, XXIII, 268-272.

<sup>20</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 980.

<sup>21</sup> F. X. Martin, *History of North Carolina*, II, 54. A James Davis appears in the records of Bruton Church, Williamsburg, 1745. W. A. R. Goodwin, *Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, Williamsburg*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>22</sup> His first printing press was located at foot of Broad Street. *State Records*, XV, 378.

petition for appointment, at every session of assembly, the governor's addresses and the journals of the house of burgesses,<sup>23</sup> and be responsible for the delivery of a copy of each to the members of the assembly; to print all laws passed at the session and transmit a copy to the governor, to each member of the council and house, to the clerks of the assembly, general court, and county courts, to each justice of the counties, and to the Board of Offices in England; and also, to print and transmit to the proper places the public proclamations and all other acts of government. The salary of the office was to be met by a tax of four pence, proclamation money, on each taxable person in the province. Davis was also granted the sole right to sell the documents.<sup>24</sup>

The first official act of the public printer seems to have been the printing of money. The assembly authorized payment to him of 80 pounds on October 17, 1749, for the printing of twenty-one thousand three hundred fifty pounds public bills of credit, a half year's salary being advanced to him at this time.<sup>25</sup>

The long-awaited revisal was ready for printing in October, 1749, when the governor congratulated the assembly on the completion of this "work earnestly desired by and zealously struggled for by every honest man for these fifteen years past."<sup>26</sup> He promised a printed copy of it by the following June in a letter to the Board of Trade on December 21.<sup>27</sup> The revisal did not come off the press as early as expected. In the earliest surviving issue of Davis' newspaper, *The North Carolina Gazette*, November 15, 1751, it was advertised as "just publish'd."<sup>28</sup> The first issue of the revisal, with imprint date, 1751, ends with the laws of 1750, and was evidently published before the September, 1751, session. A later issue, bearing the same title page, ends with the laws of 1751, and must have appeared after September, 1751.<sup>29</sup> The volume was appropriately dedicated to Governor Gabriel Johnston, who had worked long to bring about its publication. Of the commissioners appointed for revisal of the laws,

<sup>23</sup>At least one official publication had been printed in Williamsburg prior to this time, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the North Carolina House of Burgesses, 1740*; S. B. Weeks, "Pre-Revolutionary Printers, Davis, Steuart, and Boyd," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XV, 105, (October, 1915).

<sup>24</sup>*State Records*, XXIII, 314-315.

<sup>25</sup>*Colonial Records*, IV, 1023.

<sup>26</sup>*Colonial Records*, IV, 1009.

<sup>27</sup>*Colonial Records*, IV, 924.

<sup>28</sup>The revisal is ante-dated by two issues of *The Journal of the House of Burgesses*, printed in 1749 and 1750 by Davis. D. C. McMurtrie, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>29</sup>Detailed descriptions and location of copies in libraries of these and other Davis imprints appear in McMurtrie, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800*.

only Samuel Swann survived to sign the dedication.<sup>30</sup> A re-issue of the volume, with addition of the laws of 1752, is commonly called "the yellow jacket" from the peculiar color of the leather in which it was bound. A greater number of surviving copies may indicate that this issue was published in a larger edition.

In 1753 Matthew Rowan informed the Board of Trade that he had recommended to the assembly the revisal of the laws "but they seemed to think that important task fitter for the first session of a new Assembly."<sup>31</sup> In 1754 the Board of Trade instructed Governor Arthur Dobbs<sup>32</sup> that, since "many of the Laws heretofore passed in our Colonies and Plantations in America respectively have from time to time been either entirely or in part repealed . . . It is therefore Our will and pleasure that you . . . revise the Laws."<sup>33</sup> The assembly responded by appointing commissioners of revisal,<sup>34</sup> but another revisal did not appear earlier than the work compiled and published by James Davis in 1764. This volume is not a complete revisal, for it is limited to the laws in force enacted since publication of the revisal of 1751. It was followed in 1765 by *A Collection of All the Acts of Assembly of the Province of North Carolina Now in Force and Use*, also the work of Davis.<sup>35</sup> Another was projected as early as November 10, 1769, when Davis advertised in his *The North Carolina Gazette* for subscribers to "A Complete Revisal of All the Acts of Assembly," stating that "the first edition of the late revisal is intirely sold." But this fourth revisal printed by Davis did not appear until 1773. He had hoped to publish it in the fall of 1769, but the manuscript was lost in the great storm of September 7, 1769, which destroyed his print

<sup>30</sup> "To His Excellency Gabriel Johnston, Esq: Captain-General, Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of North-Carolina, and Vice-Admiral of the same. May it please Your Excellency, Col. Moseley, the other Commissioner concerned with me, in the Collecting, Compiling, Revising, and Printing the Laws in force in this Province, being dead, I alone beg Leave to Dedicate Them to Your Excellency, as their Patron and Protector; under whose wise and prudent administration, the greatest Part of the best of them have been formed . . . I am Your Excellency's Most Dutiful and Obedient Servant, Samuel Swann." *A Collection of All the Public Acts of Assembly of the Province of North Carolina, Now in Force and Use*, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Rowan to the Board of Trade, *Colonial Records*, V, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Arthur Dobbs (1689-1765) was a native of Ireland, where he held the offices of high sheriff of County Antrim, member of parliament from Carrickfergus, and surveyor-general. He came to North Carolina as governor, October, 1754, and held the office until his death in 1765. His administration was notable for clashes with the assembly, mainly over the right of the governor to appoint the public treasurer and control the public funds, and over amendments to the court law. M. D. Haywood, "Arthur Dobbs," *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 80-83. J. G. deR. Hamilton, "Arthur Dobbs," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 336-337.

<sup>33</sup> *Colonial Records*, V, 1113-1114.

<sup>34</sup> *Colonial Records*, V, 270, 291.

<sup>35</sup> Davis said in the dedication of this volume to Governor William Tryon: ". . . It has long been expected, that a work of such an interesting nature to the Public, would have been undertaken by a select committee, appointed by the General Assembly; but their long Delay in the matter, added to the Sallicitations of many of my Friends induced me to undertake a Revisal of them."

shop.<sup>36</sup> Davis tells of his loss in *The North-Carolina Magazine*, November 10, 1769:

These proposals [to issue a revisal] were published some time ago, and the books were to have been delivered this fall; the work was accordingly carried on, every sheet of it was lost in the ruins of the Printing-Office which was swept away in the late storm.

The volume published in 1773 was the last of the Davis revisals. That he was solely responsible for its compilation is affirmed in the dedication to Governor Josiah Martin:<sup>37</sup> “. . . I am well convinced, Sir, of my poor abilities to encounter a task of this arduous Nature, but seeing no abler Hand to undertake it . . . I have again embarked in the Service of my Country.” A little later a copy went as a gift from Governor Martin to the Earl of Dartmouth with an apology for its “coarse dress,” as the “Bookbinders here are not able to put it in seemly apparel.”<sup>38</sup> Davis again proposed a revisal in an advertisement of July 4, 1777, in which he offered to print by subscription “An Exact Abridgment of All the Acts of Assembly of this State in Force and Use at \$3.00, containing 500 pages.”<sup>39</sup> On December 1 of the same year the upper house of assembly resolved that he be allowed the sum of 500 pounds toward this project, but the lower house did not concur.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the four revisals, published 1751, 1764, 1765, 1773, three of which are entirely his work, Davis has to his credit the printing of practically all documents of a public nature issued by the colony and state from 1749 to 1782.<sup>41</sup> An examination of Davis's imprints which have survived, or of which there is a record, gives an indication of the type of publication which came from the press of the public printer. The Davis publications listed in the McMurtrie bibliography of North Carolina eighteenth century imprints may be classified as follows: session laws,

<sup>36</sup> In a letter of Thomas Clifford Howe, enclosed in a letter from Governor Tryon to Earl Hillsborough, the complete destruction of Davis's shop is described as follows: “Mr. Davis's house is a mere wreck, his printing office broke to pieces, his papers destroyed and types buried in the sand, his desk stove and what money he had with all his private papers entirely lost.” *Colonial Records*, VIII, 74.

<sup>37</sup> Governor Josiah Martin (1737-1786) was probably born in Antigua. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1756, but proceeded no further with the law. He served in the French and Indian War as ensign, lieutenant, and captain. He was appointed governor of North Carolina in 1770, serving until driven from the colony by the Revolution in 1775. Loyal to the crown, he attempted to carry out his instructions to the best of his ability in spite of great opposition. After leaving the colony he planned a British invasion to join the loyal Scottish highlanders in North Carolina. Defeat of the highlanders at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge prevented this being carried out. E. A. Jones, *American Members of the Inns of Court*, pp. 155-157. A. R. Newsome, “Josiah Martin,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 343.

<sup>38</sup> *Colonial Records*, IX, 691.

<sup>39</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 4, 1777, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> *State Records*, XII, 155-156, 336.

<sup>41</sup> The Davis imprints have been described in the Weeks bibliographies, excellent for their time, and in the recent more complete work by McMurtrie.

36; journals, 27; revisals, 4; governor's proclamations and messages, 10; political essays, 5; money, 1; court document, 1; popular law book, 1; military document, 1; sermons, 7; textbooks, 2; reprints of out of state publications, mainly political, 7.<sup>42</sup> Doubtless many other Davis publications, both official and private, have been lost, but the larger proportion of provincial and state documents among the surviving imprints indicates that he was mainly concerned with his official duties and that he performed them faithfully.<sup>43</sup>

Davis's long term of office was not entirely without conflict and was almost terminated several times. In 1752 he was ordered to appear before the assembly and answer for his neglect in sending laws and journals to the counties as specified by law.<sup>44</sup> He countered the charge skillfully by replying that he had printed and delivered journals, speeches and addresses of every session, and that laws had been sent to the counties "though not by any express messenger therefore he can't pretend that they have received them." He went on to protest his small salary as inadequate for the employment of a messenger, thus turning defense into offense! Nevertheless the house moved that he be reprimanded for neglect of duty.<sup>45</sup> He was continued in office, without change of salary or duties from the specifications in the law of 1749, by the assemblies of 1754,<sup>46</sup> 1757,<sup>47</sup> and 1760.<sup>48</sup> An attempt to displace him was made in 1762 when Henry Eustace McCulloh proposed for appointment Alexander Purdie,<sup>49</sup> but this proposal was rejected by the house, and Davis was again elected.<sup>50</sup>

In 1764 Governor Dobbs expressed his displeasure with Davis in his message to the assembly:

I can never approve of the late Printer appointed by the Assembly upon Account of His negligence in not Printing the Laws Journals and other Public Orders or dispersing them in proper numbers for the use of the Province and Consequently deserves no favour I must therefore recommend it to the Assembly to appoint a Sum to encourage a Printer to Reside where

<sup>42</sup> McMurtree has compiled a table of the eighteenth century legislative sessions, indicating those for which printed journals and session laws have been located in the original edition. For the 48 sessions held during Davis's term of office, 12 issues of the journal and 34 issues of the laws have been located in libraries. McMurtree, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>43</sup> Davis was prominent in politics. His position as printer was one of many offices he held. A detailed account of his life is given in S. B. Weeks, "The Pre-Revolutionary Printers of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XV, 104-115 (October, 1915); and in other sketches.

<sup>44</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 1340-1341.

<sup>45</sup> *Colonial Records*, IV, 1344-1345.

<sup>46</sup> *State Records*, XXIII, 399.

<sup>47</sup> *Colonial Records*, V, 866.

<sup>48</sup> *State Records*, XXIII, 538.

<sup>49</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 844-845.

<sup>50</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 913.

he can attend the Government and Assembly and do his duty to the Public and not barely Consider his own Profit and Conveniency.<sup>51</sup>

A committee was appointed by the house to find another printer to serve for one year.<sup>52</sup> Reason for Davis's neglect of official duties may have been the attention he must have been paying to other enterprises at this time. This was the year in which a Davis revisal appeared. This undertaking, which promised some extra remuneration, probably led to negligence of routine duties. He was also engaged in launching his second<sup>53</sup> newspaper, *The North-Carolina Magazine*, and was soliciting in its columns subscriptions to another work, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace*, "to be delivered to the subscribers at 13 s 4 d each."<sup>54</sup> These publications, together with the second Davis revisal already being advertised as "speedily to be published,"<sup>55</sup> would have left little time for official routine. But in a real sense they may all be considered as "his duty to the public," particularly the revisals, which seem to have been financed entirely by subscriptions which he gathered by his own effort. Later in the year, the governor took action by appointing another printer, Andrew Stewart.<sup>56</sup> The house of assembly immediately protested appointment of "a printer under the sounding Appellation of His Majesty's Printer . . . of an unusual nature truly unknown either to our Laws or Constitution."<sup>57</sup> Two days later the house again elected Davis printer, at a salary of 200 pounds a year.<sup>58</sup> Andrew Stewart was allowed 100 pounds for "his trouble and expense in coming."<sup>59</sup>

Shortly afterward an advertisement appeared in Davis's paper, as follows:

#### JAMES DAVIS

Provincial Printer, appointed by the LOWER-HOUSE of ASSEMBLY informs the PUBLICK That on the 25th of December last, he received from the Speaker of the House Copies of the LAWS passed at the last Session of Assembly at Wilmington; which are now in the PRESS, and will be

<sup>51</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1200.

<sup>52</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1139.

<sup>53</sup> His first newspaper, *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), was published intermittently from 1751 to 1778. For the history of these papers see C. C. Crittenden, "North Carolina Newspapers before 1790," *The James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XX, no. 1 (1928).

<sup>54</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), July 6, 1764.

<sup>55</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, September 7, 1764.

<sup>56</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1301. Andrew Stewart (?-1769) was born in Belfast, Ireland, and served his apprenticeship in that city under James MacGee. He set up a press in Philadelphia in 1758 where he acquired a reputation for copying other people's publications without acknowledgment. He went to Wilmington in 1764 and there published *The North-Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* from 1764 to about 1766. Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing*, I, 251-252, S. B. Weeks, "Pre-Revolutionary Printers," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XV, 116 (October, 1915).

<sup>57</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1256.

<sup>58</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1313.

<sup>59</sup> *Colonial Records*, VI, 1313-1314.

published by the First of February next; when they will be then sent to the several Counties agreeable to a Resolve of the House for that Purpose.<sup>60</sup>

In the same issue, another advertisement appeared:

#### THE LAWS

Passed the Last Session of Assembly at Wilmington, are printed by Andrew Stuart, and are ready to be delivered to the Clerks of the respective counties . . . . N. B. A few copies are left for Sale price 3/ which may be had of Mr. Richard Ellis, merchant in Newbern.<sup>60</sup>

Evidently each printer was acting in his official capacity. But the one supported by the lower house had the last word in the controversy, since that body controlled the purse strings. Andrew Stewart found himself in the untenable position of holding an office with no salary attached.

The controversy continued in 1765. Davis was again appointed by resolution of the house in May,<sup>61</sup> but in November the council protested payment to him of "L 190 for printing the Laws and Journals of 1764 and last session which allowance they cannot think just as a printer was by Commission under the late Governor appointed whose office it was to print the Laws and having performed that service is intituled to the proper salary. . . ."<sup>62</sup>

Opposition to Davis seems to have subsided in November, 1766, when a law was enacted naming him public printer for a term of three years at a salary of 250 pounds a year.<sup>63</sup> He was again appointed in 1769,<sup>64</sup> 1771,<sup>65</sup> and 1773,<sup>66</sup> and in 1774, for a term of only one year.<sup>67</sup> He was printer also in 1776.<sup>68</sup>

In 1773 William Hales, alias Spencer Dew, who was about to be executed in Duplin County for horse stealing, made a serious charge against Davis. As a part of his confession, Hales, admitted passing counterfeit money which he affirmed had been printed by Davis, and declared that for this service he had paid the public printer a commission on the profit. Hales's statement was

<sup>60</sup>*The North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), January 11, 1765.

<sup>61</sup>*Colonial Records*, VII, 59, 86.

<sup>62</sup>*Colonial Records*, VII, 334-335.

<sup>63</sup>*State Records*, XXIII, 675.

<sup>64</sup>*Colonial Records*, VIII, 131.

<sup>65</sup>*Colonial Records*, VIII, 350. The assembly authorized Adam Boyd to print one official document in 1771, a broadside *Table of Taxables* which had been compiled by John Burgwyn, clerk of the court of chancery and secretary of the council. *Colonial Records*, IX, 190-191. One copy of this document has survived in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was reprinted with notes in W. K. Boyd, ed., *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, pp. 413-416.

<sup>66</sup>*Colonial Records*, IX, 774.

<sup>67</sup>*State Records*, XXIII, 971.

<sup>68</sup>*Colonial Records*, X, 974.

printed in *The Cape Fear Mercury*, September 22, 1773.<sup>69</sup> The charge may have been discredited as the effort of a criminal to pass on a part of his guilt to another man. James Davis held his office for three years after the accusation was published.

In April, 1777, James Pinckney was appointed printer to the state by a resolution of the assembly.<sup>70</sup> Governor Caswell wrote regretfully of this appointment in a letter to Hezekiah Alexander: "The Assembly thought proper to remove an old servant (the printer) for neglect of duty and appoint one who resided in Virginia, who after long delay, removed to Halifax about five or six weeks ago, where he died."<sup>71</sup>

Soon after Pinckney's death, Davis took up the official printing at his own expense. In an advertisement in his *The North-Carolina Gazette* of October 3, 1777, he explained the situation: "Mr. Pinckney, who was appointed Printer to this State in April last, being dead, and no Prospect of the State's being Able to get their Laws printed, Mr. Davis informs the Public, that he has undertaken this necessary work, and will dispatch them to the several Counties as soon as possible." His faithfulness was rewarded in November of that year when the assembly named him printer by resolution, with a salary of 500 pounds a year.<sup>72</sup>

During the following years Davis's salary showed a substantial increase, being advanced to 1,200 pounds in 1778,<sup>73</sup> and to 2,500 pounds in 1779.<sup>74</sup> The declining value of currency probably brought this about. In a petition to the assembly late in 1780 the printer complained that his salary due in 1778 was not paid until February, 1779, when depreciation had reduced its real

<sup>69</sup> Reprinted in David Leroy Corbitt, "Historical Notes," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 471-474. Dew implicated Davis as follows: "I was in combination with J—s D—v—s, P—t—r in N—b—n, and received from him Three Hundred Pounds Proc. which I saw him make to Pass, and I was to give him one half of what I got for it; and in 1773, he also gave me Eight Hundred Pounds more of his own make on the same terms, which I left in the possession of William Marfault. I have seen Ja—s C—r receive from said D—v—s to the full amount of Two Thousand Pounds Counterfeit to Pass, and I verily do believe that John & George Kennedy are in Confederacy with said Davis."

<sup>70</sup> *State Records*, XII, 36.

<sup>71</sup> *State Records*, XI, 617. Willie Jones gave his opinion on Pinckney in a letter to Governor Caswell, August 29, 1777; ". . . Mr. Pinkney is dead: his death is not regretted by a single person who knew him in this part of the world. His conduct was so scandalous, that we only regret that he did not die before he had an opportunity of abusing this State in the gross manner he has done. I used every means in my power to stimulate him to his duty, and to enable him to perform it; but all to no purpose. When I went to Williamsburg after my return from Newbern, I found he was so involved there, that his creditors would not let him depart without money or security, and to expedite the public business, I advanced him money and became his security to the amount of upwards of 400 pounds, for which I have no kind of security. His Types were brought to Halifax, and I think of detaining them until I am made secure. I should therefor be glad (if there should be any application to your Excellency for administration of his estate) that it should not be granted until I could be informed of it." *Colonial Records*, XI, 600.

<sup>72</sup> *State Records*, XII, 118, 273.

<sup>73</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 163-164.

<sup>74</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 259.

value to 25 pounds; and that the price of paper had risen to 100 pounds a ream. It is not surprising that he found himself under "an absolute necessity of resigning the business." He consented to remain by special request and a promise of extra pay, but was unable to collect the amount due him. "It then became necessary for him to advance upwards of twenty-five hundred pounds before he could get the laws published."<sup>75</sup> Some relief may have come in a law passed in 1781 reducing his salary, but making it payable in specie and providing that the state bear the cost of paper for printing the laws.<sup>76</sup> Another difficulty that Davis was encountering was the necessity of delivering his publications to communities at greater distances than formerly. As an aid in delivery, he asked that the clerks of the courts be required to send for the publications at the expense of the counties.<sup>77</sup> Difficulties on the other side are set forth by Captain John Walker in a letter to Governor Abner Nash, June 16th, 1780: "I have sent to Newbern sundry times for the last Acts of Assembly. Mr. Davis has not, nor ever does, send them to us for many months after the Sessions of Assembly."<sup>78</sup>

These difficulties and increasing age may have induced Davis to lay down his office voluntarily. In 1782 his son, Thomas Davis, succeeded him as public printer<sup>79</sup> at an annual salary of 600 pounds, exclusive of the cost of paper.<sup>80</sup> He had received his training in his father's printshop,<sup>81</sup> and probably took over the Davis press.<sup>82</sup>

After the retirement of James Davis, who had been public printer of North Carolina for thirty-three years, state printing entered a new era. Printers seeking office encountered more competition as presses were established in larger numbers.<sup>83</sup> A new method of election made nomination of more than one firm the usual procedure. The rise of political parties and the tendency of political leaders to use the newspapers as a medium of party expression made editors take part in party battles, thus winning support for office. The office of state printer had par-

<sup>75</sup> *State Records*, XV, 222-225. But Davis had a copyright on his publications and sold copies of the laws for \$3.00 a volume. *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 24, 1778, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 407.

<sup>77</sup> *State Records*, XV, 222.

<sup>78</sup> *State Records*, XIV, 853-854.

<sup>79</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 177. By house resolution, May 17, 1782.

<sup>80</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 444.

<sup>81</sup> *State Records*, XIII, 259-260.

<sup>82</sup> On February 15, 1782, he wrote Governor Burke from Halifax, asking for a wagon to transport a press to that town. *State Records*, XVI, 195-196.

<sup>83</sup> There were as many as eight newspapers established in North Carolina in the period from 1783 to 1789. Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers before 1790*, p. 13.

ticular significance in a time of intense party strife, such as the period at the end of the century, which saw the birth of a new party and the overthrow of an established one. Editors who had conducted their newspapers as impartial publications for dispensing all viewpoints, almost without editorial comment, indulged in the bitterest invective, with personal insults to political opponents. As warriors in the fray they were entitled to party patronage, and party support became necessary to hold office.

Party differences did not play a part as early as the election of Thomas Davis, or in the early years of the long tenure of Abraham Hodge. Thomas Davis, son of James Davis, was elected printer by resolution of the General Assembly in May, 1782.<sup>84</sup> There is indication that the office had been promised to him at the time of his father's retirement, since he wrote to Governor Burke on February 15th, requesting a wagon that had been offered to him to move the Davis press to Halifax.<sup>85</sup> A law passed that same year set his salary at 600 pounds specie a year, exclusive of the cost of paper.<sup>86</sup> Davis does not seem to have performed his official duties satisfactorily. The year after election he was petitioning the assembly for payment of a bill for paper, giving the want of it as the reason for his failure to print the journal of the last session.<sup>87</sup> In September, 1783, Benjamin Hawkins and Hugh Williamson suggested that another printer should be elected:

We have not heard whether the Resolves of the Assembly, or even the Laws have been printed, nor do we hear that the art of Printing is in the State unless for the purpose of making money: This we mention because applications have been made to us by several printers to recommend them to be employed for the State. . . .<sup>88</sup>

In spite of complaint, Davis was again elected. A law passed in 1784, which named him printer, relieved him of some of the responsibility of delivery, costly in this time of scanty mail service. Laws were to be delivered by the printer to the superior court clerks who were responsible for holding them until the clerks of the county courts and the justices applied for them. Extra copies of the laws and journals were to be printed for the delegates of the state in Congress. The salary of the printer was lowered to 500 pounds a year, and the governor had the right to displace him and employ another in case of neglect of

<sup>84</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 127.

<sup>85</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 195-196.

<sup>86</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 444.

<sup>87</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 166-167.

<sup>88</sup> *State Records*, XVI, 887.

duty.<sup>89</sup> At this same session Davis petitioned that he be paid "according to his expense and labor as by him stated" instead of by a fixed salary. The committee to which his petition was referred reported adversely, with the statement that they were considering the proposals of another printer, a certain Cist of Philadelphia, and that they were of the opinion that he should be induced to come to the state.<sup>90</sup>

In 1785 a law was passed changing the method of election to joint ballot of the two houses following nominations. Previous to this time printers had been elected by passage of a special bill, or by a resolution naming the printer. Documents to be printed were specified as before, with the exception of the reservation of the right of the general assembly to order publication of necessary accounts of executive officers and public bills. The number of copies of documents was specified as follows: 1,106 copies of the laws, 162 copies of the journal of both houses, and 162 copies of proclamations, accounts, or bills published by special order. There was no change in salary, but the printer was required to give bond for an amount double his salary.<sup>91</sup> Following enactment of the law, balloting for a printer took place, which resulted in the election of Arnett and Hodge, a New Bern firm.<sup>92</sup>

Abraham Hodge, who with successive partners<sup>93</sup> served as public printer for nearly fifteen years, was born in 1755 in the colony of New York. At the request of prominent citizens of North Carolina he moved to the state in 1784 or 1785.<sup>94</sup> At various times he owned presses in Edenton, Halifax, Fayetteville, and New Bern,<sup>95</sup> and published three newspapers.<sup>96</sup> His service as printer was continuous from 1785 to 1797, but Allmand Hall displaced him in 1798. He served again in 1799 for one year.<sup>97</sup>

During the period when Hodge was state printer the salary ranged from 500 to 600 pounds a year, but extra appropriations

<sup>89</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 637-638.

<sup>90</sup> *State Records*, XIX, 465.

<sup>91</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 748-749. Acts of the U. S. Congress were added to the list of documents to be published regularly in 1790, *State Records*, XXI, 833.

<sup>92</sup> *State Records*, XVII, 416.

<sup>93</sup> 1785, Arnett and Hodge; 1786, Hodge and Blanchard; 1787-1797, Hodge and Henry Wills; 1799, Hodge and William Boylan.

<sup>94</sup> "Obituary," by William Boylan, *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 5, 1805.

<sup>95</sup> Stephen B. Weeks, *The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 43.

<sup>96</sup> *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, published by Hodge and Blanchard, later by Hodge and Henry Wills, in New Bern from about November 17, 1785, to March, 1788, when it was moved to Edenton (the last issue with Hodge and Wills as publisher was that of March 30, 1792); *The North-Carolina Journal*, published by Abraham Hodge and Henry Wills at Halifax, July 18, 1792-1812; *The North Carolina Minerva*, published by Hodge and William Boylan, at Fayetteville and Raleigh, 1799-1820+

<sup>97</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1798, p. 46.

were often made for printing documents not specified in the printing law of 1785. For example, in December, 1787, Hodge was allowed one hundred and fifty pounds for publication of documents as follows: Accounts of the Treasurer, appended to the *Journal*; 150 copies of Baron Steuben's *Military Instructions*; 1,500 copies of the Federal Constitution; and 300 copies of Resolves for calling a Convention.<sup>98</sup> At this same session a law was enacted for collecting and revising the laws of the state, and James Iredell was appointed commissioner of revisal with authority to contract for the publication of the work. The printer was required to furnish one copy to each county court, one to each superior court, and two copies for the use of the general assembly, the remainder to be sold by the printer, who had the privilege of copyright. The sum of five hundred pounds was advanced to the printer as a loan. Iredell was to be paid according to "labor and expences in compilation."<sup>99</sup> The revisal was advertised in *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, September 8, 1788, by its printers, Abraham Hodge and Henry Wills, who were soliciting subscribers at an advance of 40 shillings to be deducted from the price of the book, which would be sold at 12 shillings per hundred pages. It was advertised on October 22, 1790, as "now in the press" and on November 11, 1791, as "just published."<sup>100</sup>

James Iredell was responsible for the printing of an important constitutional document. In a letter to John Steele in February, 1789, he said that the manuscript of the debates of the Hillsborough convention of 1788, which had failed to ratify the Federal Constitution, was in his hands, and that he had contracted with Hodge and Wills to print it by the middle of May. The printers were allowing him credit for the cost of publication, which he hoped would be reimbursed by the sale of the thousand copies ordered,<sup>101</sup> but this hope failed to materialize and the enterprise involved him in some pecuniary loss.<sup>102</sup>

Another important publication was undertaken as an enter-

<sup>98</sup> *State Records*, XX, 469.

<sup>99</sup> *State Records*, XXIV, 888-889.

<sup>100</sup> A series of supplements containing the session laws of the year was issued, 1792-1800, the original issue being bound with these each year and offered for sale as an up-to-date publication.

<sup>101</sup> James Iredell to John Steele, February 17, 1789. Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 33.

<sup>102</sup> Griffith John McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 235.

prise by François Xavier Martin, New Bern printer,<sup>103</sup> who petitioned the General Assembly of 1790 to allow him "a small advance on his giving security" to enable him to publish a collection of these statutes of Great Britain which were then in force in the state. The assembly allowed him an advance of 100 pounds. He described the projected volume as "a quarto of demy-paper," priced at 15 shillings for every hundred pages.<sup>104</sup> Martin also printed the laws and journal of the special session of July, 1794, though Hodge and Wills were official printers at that time.<sup>105</sup>

In the period from 1785 to 1792 editors of newspapers rarely committed themselves on policies or state politics, conducting their papers as mediums for expression of all opinion, with little editorial comment.<sup>106</sup> Evidence of an exception to this policy as early as 1788 was Archibald Maclaine's withdrawal of his subscription to *The Wilmington Centinel and General Advertiser* on account of its anti-Federalist sentiment.<sup>107</sup> An examination of *The North-Carolina Journal*, one of the newspapers published by Hodge in the period when he was state printer, indicates that he maintained a non-partisan attitude during the period following the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Later, when the Federalist party came under attack, he naturally defended it as a public office holder who owed his office to that party.<sup>108</sup> A decided Federalist inclination appeared in *The North-Carolina Journal* in 1796, when political articles written by Virginia Federalist leaders were published in it.<sup>109</sup> In 1798 a Federalist victory was announced with the following comment: "Among these . . . we reckon seven Federalists—What a blow to the French faction!"<sup>110</sup> That same summer Hodge found himself involved in a political controversy which took a violent form when he published some anonymous handbills derogatory to the character of Thomas Blount, a Republican candidate for Con-

<sup>103</sup> François Xavier Martin was born in France in 1764. He was in New Bern in 1783 teaching French, later becoming a printer of school books, almanacs, and translations. In 1789 he was admitted to the bar, and he later prepared and published law treatises and compilations. He moved to New Orleans after 1806, and died there in 1846. Edward L. Tinker, "Jurist and Japer," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XXXIX, 675-697.

<sup>104</sup> *State Records*, XXI, 906-907.

<sup>105</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1794, colophon.

<sup>106</sup> Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers before 1790*, p. 38.

<sup>107</sup> Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, p. 27. *The Wilmington Centinel* was published by Bowen and Howard.

<sup>108</sup> Hodge was induced to move his *State Gazette* to Edenton by James Iredell. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II, 231.

<sup>109</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, August 8, 1796.

<sup>110</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, October 8, 1798. But Gilpatrick says: "Classification of the new delegation [by Hodge] as seven Federalists and three Republicans was not accurate." D. H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*, p. 110.

gress. Blount, meeting him on the street in Halifax, demanded the name of the author of the handbills, which were also printed in Hodge's newspaper,<sup>111</sup> and, on being refused, attacked the editor, giving him several strokes with a small cane. Hodge painted himself as an impartial agent for the dissemination of all opinion,<sup>112</sup> but during this period his paper contradicted this in almost every issue.

Allmand Hall of Wilmington was elected public printer in 1798.<sup>113</sup> At this time he was publishing *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, which he tried to maintain neutral.<sup>114</sup> His election over Abraham Hodge was opposed by prominent Federalists, among them Samuel Johnston, who said Hall's victory "mortified" him greatly.<sup>115</sup> The new public printer held office only one year.

A law passed in 1798 required the public printer to live in Raleigh, the state capital.<sup>116</sup> To meet this requirement Hodge and Boylan moved their printing office from Fayetteville to Raleigh in May, 1799, and established their newspaper, *The Minerva*, in the capital.<sup>117</sup>

At about the same time a group of Republican leaders, interested in setting up a newspaper favorable to their party, now in the lead in North Carolina, persuaded Joseph Gales of Philadelphia to move to Raleigh. In Gales they secured an editor who had experience, ability, and reputation as a liberal.<sup>118</sup> He had recently been obliged to leave England on account of government opposition to the liberal character of his newspaper, *The Sheffield Register*. On his arrival in Raleigh he established *The Raleigh Register*, the first issue appearing on October 2, 1799. *The Minerva*, established by Hodge and Boylan, ante-dated it by some months. Gales's political backing and the character of his editorial writing made him a formidable rival to Hodge for the office of public printer. Both were seeking election in 1799, but

<sup>111</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, August 6, 1798.

<sup>112</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, August 13, 1798.

<sup>113</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1798, 46.

<sup>114</sup> Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 89.

<sup>115</sup> Cited in Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 101, note. Samuel Johnston to James Iredell, December 14, 1798. Charles E. Johnson collection, University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill.

<sup>116</sup> *Laws of the State of North Carolina*, 1798, pp. 16-17.

<sup>117</sup> *The North Carolina Minerva*, May 28, 1799. William Boylan, who had succeeded Henry Wills in the firm, was Hodge's nephew. He was born in New Jersey, and as a youth came to North Carolina to work in his uncle's printshop. He was active in the establishment of *The North Carolina Minerva* in Fayetteville in 1799. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *History of Printing in the United States*, II, 354.

<sup>118</sup> Born in Eckington, England, in 1760, he was publishing *The Sheffield Register* in 1794, when his criticism of the action of English officials resulted in a warrant being issued for his arrest, and he was obliged to flee the country. In Philadelphia he had employment with newspapers and gained the attention of members of Congress by his use of shorthand to report debates. Willis G. Briggs, "Joseph Gales, Editor of Raleigh's First Newspaper," *North Carolina Booklet*, VII, 110-114 (October, 1907).

Hodge and Boylan claimed the priority of their establishment in Raleigh as a point in their favor. Opposition to Hodge was led by Thomas Blount, who had been the aggressor against him in the recent cane episode in Halifax.<sup>119</sup> The election resulted in a victory for Hodge and Boylan, but Gales made a good showing for a foreigner who had established residence in the state only a few months before. The vote was: Hodge and Boylan, 107; Gales 36; Allmand Hall, 17.<sup>120</sup>

Preparations for the fight in the general assembly of 1800 began early. Charles Harris thus described the Republican candidate:

. . . Great expectations are making by Mr. Baker, Blount, Macon, and a few others to have Gales elected public printer in place of our friend Hodge. The *gentleman Gales* is said to be by birth an Irishman, but it is certain that he lately conducted a weekly publication in Sheffield in England and came to America because he did not behave peaceably at home. It is certain that he was invited from Philadelphia to Raleigh by party men for party purposes. A letter of John G. Blount to Gen. Willis of Lumberton is a sufficient proof of this. . . .<sup>121</sup>

Harris also told about a fight at Raleigh between William Boylan and Blake Baker, attorney general of North Carolina, over the matter of state printing. Baker seems to have come out rather the worse as he was described as having received "four or five blows on the back without facing the danger."<sup>122</sup>

Soon after the opening of the general assembly William Polk reported the result of the election of the printer to John Steele, as follows:

The General Assembly have commenced their annual session, with a higher tone of Jacobinism than has hitherto appeared. . . . Flushed with success and power they this day brought in the ballot for State printer when the man Gales was elected by a majority of 24 votes over Hodge and Boylan.<sup>123</sup>

Gales held the office for ten years,<sup>124</sup> but not without opposition. Almost every year the general assembly discussed public printing, with a Federalist minority struggling to displace Gales. The debate often took the form of consideration of petitions of the rival candidate, William Boylan, who was now running alone. Abraham Hodge withdrew from the firm after April 25,

<sup>119</sup> Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>120</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1799, p. 3; *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1799, pp. 2-4, 9-10.

<sup>121</sup> Charles W. Harris to Robert Harris, August 29, 1800. Henry M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Harris Letters*, p. 81.

<sup>122</sup> Charles W. Harris to Robert Harris, September 18, 1800. Wagstaff, *The Harris Letters*, p. 83.

<sup>123</sup> Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 190-191.

<sup>124</sup> The last three years, 1808-1810, jointly with his son-in-law, William Winston Seaton.

1803, to live in Halifax and edit *The North-Carolina Journal*<sup>125</sup> until his death on August 3, 1805.<sup>126</sup> Boylan's campaign method was to offer to do the printing at a lower cost,<sup>127</sup> to call attention to his better claim as a native American, and to charge Gales with neglect of duty. The bitterness of the fight is displayed in the columns of the rival newspapers.<sup>128</sup> In December, 1804, printed insults led to blows and a fight took place on the capitol steps, with Boylan striking Gales several times. Reverberations of this encounter resounded in the columns of *The Raleigh Register* and *The Minerva*.<sup>129</sup> Gales displayed the usual unrestrained character of the battle of words in his comment on Boylan in *The Register* of December 10: "The cold-blooded assassinator of private character, the secret plotter against his neighbor's fame, is at length dragged before the public and stands forth that literary wonder, that scientific desperado, that butcher of good names—William Boylan!"<sup>130</sup>

The general assembly of that year passed a resolution calling for a division of the printing between Gales and Boylan,<sup>131</sup> but the resolution was rescinded four days later by both houses. Boylan made an effort to gain election by offering to do all the printing for 300 pounds less than Gales's salary.<sup>132</sup> His petition was referred to a committee which reported adversely, recommending the drawing up of a new printing bill.<sup>133</sup> A fight over the salary clause in the bill ensued, with the amount fluctuating between 500, 550, and 600 pounds and with the house of commons contending for the higher amount.<sup>134</sup> The law as finally enacted set the salary at 500 pounds annually, with an extra allowance of 40 shillings a county for delivery of documents.<sup>135</sup> This in American money amounted to a salary of \$1,200, together with \$4 a county.<sup>136</sup> In 1805 the house of commons pro-

<sup>125</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820: Part X, North Carolina," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Ser., XXVIII, part 2, pp. 309-311.

<sup>126</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 5, 1805.

<sup>127</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1804, p. 12.

<sup>128</sup> *The Raleigh Register*, July 9, 16, 30; September 17; October 1, 29; November 12, 1804. *Minerva*, July 9, 23; August 13, 20; September 10, 24; October 15; November 12, 1804. Cited in Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 137, note.

<sup>129</sup> *The Raleigh Register*, December 10, 1804; *The Minerva*, December 10, 17, 24, 1804. Cited in Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 138, note.

<sup>130</sup> *The Raleigh Register*, December 10, 1804, quoted by Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 786.

<sup>131</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1804, p. 6.

<sup>132</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1804, p. 12.

<sup>133</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1804, p. 22.

<sup>134</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1804, pp. 26, 32; *Journal of the House*, 1804, pp. 37, 40.

<sup>135</sup> *Laws of the State of North Carolina*, 1804, chapter XIX, pp. 9-10.

<sup>136</sup> *The Star* (Raleigh), November 29, 1810, p. 192.

posed a joint committee to prepare a bill amending the law, but the senate did not agree to this proposal.<sup>137</sup>

Another contest for office began to gather force in 1809 when a bill was drawn up to repeal the salary section of the 1804 printing law. The stated reason was the need for reduction of expenses, but the real moving force probably was opposition to Gales. The bill was tabled<sup>138</sup> but the question came up again the next year, when the advisability of appointing a committee to confer with the heads of departments on printing costs was discussed.<sup>139</sup> A bill was drawn up and after much debate was passed on December 3, 1810;<sup>140</sup> it was reported in detail in *The Raleigh Minerva* and *The Star*.<sup>141</sup> Arguments for a change expressed were: that Gales was receiving too much and more than he said he was; that an inquiry about salaries in other states should be made; that a policy of receiving bids for printing might well be adopted since the United States Congress used this method. Arguments used against amending the 1804 law were: that Gales's salary was no larger than the committee of 1804 had recommended; that the practice of "bartering away offices" to the lowest bidder should not be tolerated; that a lower salary would drive away printers (this was contradicted as "an imaginary spectre which will frighten nobody [as] Printers are daily multiplying"); that the measure would show "niggardly economy." William Johnston of Anson County protested the reduction of the salary of the public printer to meet the bid of a competitor since it would tend to increase rather than lessen "a spirit of party and intemperance in the legislature highly pernicious to a deliberative body." He estimated the actual cost of argument over this recurring question during the past ten years by salaried legislators as \$15,950.<sup>142</sup>

The law of 1810 reduced the printer's salary to \$900 a year without extra allowance for delivery.<sup>143</sup> The firm of Gales and Seaton was again elected, defeating a new nominee, Thomas Henderson, Jr., but the reduction in salary must have brought disappointment and loss of prestige to Gales. *The Raleigh Minerva* commented in sarcastic vein:

<sup>137</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1805, p. 2; *Journal of the Senate*, 1805, p. 5-6.

<sup>138</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1809, p. 44.

<sup>139</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1810, p. 7.

<sup>140</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1810, p. 20.

<sup>141</sup> *The Raleigh Minerva*, November 29, December 6, 1810; *The Star* (Raleigh), November 29, December 13, 1810.

<sup>142</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, 1810, pp. 42-43.

<sup>143</sup> *Laws of the State of North Carolina*, 1810, p. 13. *The Star*, December 27, 1810.

Our readers will have observed that the former method of appointing public printer is to be persevered in by the legislature. On Friday last, Messrs. Gales and Seaton were re-elected to that office, in opposition to Mr. Henderson, by a small majority. What then, has become of the declaration of the public printers that the work could not be executed for less than their former salary, when they now consent to do it for little more than half that?<sup>144</sup>

The next year three firms were nominated, Lucas and Boylan, now publishing *The Minerva*, Gales and Seaton, and Thomas Henderson, Jr.<sup>145</sup> Gales and Seaton withdrew when repeal of the salary reduction law of 1810 could not be accomplished,<sup>146</sup> and Thomas Henderson, Jr., was elected.<sup>147</sup>

The new printer had established *The Star* in Raleigh, November 3, 1808, with Dr. Calvin Jones, a native of Massachusetts, as his partner. He was a Federalist but attempted to keep his paper neutral. *The Star* introduced some new ideas in North Carolina journalism, emphasizing state news, and art, literature, theatre, agriculture, and history. It published an annual index. Henderson was generally popular and this fact, together with his neutral editorial policy, may have contributed to the decline of political conflict over the office following his election.<sup>148</sup> He received a raise of \$100 a year in 1815.<sup>149</sup>

Public documents published during the period from 1782 to 1815 were of much the same type as those published in the colonial period. Laws and journals of the general assembly continued to be the only serial publication throughout the period. Individual laws, published as separates, must have been printed in fairly large numbers, but few copies of them have survived in libraries. Reports of state departments and officials are found as a rule only as appendices to the laws and journals.<sup>150</sup>

Revisals and compilations of laws, authorized by the assembly, were usually financed by the printer by advertising for advance subscriptions. As promoter of legal publications, François Xavier Martin succeeded to the leading place formerly filled by James

<sup>144</sup> *The Raleigh Minerva*, December 20, 1810.

<sup>145</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1811, p. 51; *Journal of the House*, 1811, p. 31.

<sup>146</sup> *Journal of the House*, 1811, p. 55.

<sup>147</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1811, p. 51.

<sup>148</sup> Archibald Henderson, *The Old North State and the New*, II, 674-676. Governor Swain said of Thomas Henderson: "No citizen succeeded in conciliating the warm regards of a greater number of personal friends than he." Speaking of *The Star* files for the year 1811, Governor Swain said: "There is not during the year a single unkind editorial remark . . . not even a discourteous allusion to any one of the editors of *The Register* and *Minerva*." David L. Swain, *Early Times in Raleigh* (Raleigh, 1867), pp. 11, 13.

<sup>149</sup> *Laws of the State of North Carolina*, 1815, p. 10.

<sup>150</sup> One *Report of the Treasurer*, 1809/1810, published as a broadside, is in the University of North Carolina Library. Several special reports were issued as separates. See comptroller's *Statement*, 1801-1805, 1811, 1812, is appended to *Laws*, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1812, 1813.

Davis. In addition to a compilation of English laws in force in North Carolina, published in 1792,<sup>151</sup> he published a supplement to Iredell's revisal in 1795,<sup>152</sup> a collection of North Carolina private acts in 1794,<sup>153</sup> a compilation of North Carolina superior court reports in 1797,<sup>154</sup> and with his partner, Ogden, another volume of superior court reports in 1802.<sup>155</sup> In 1803 the assembly passed an act "to encourage François X. Martin to publish a revisal of certain Acts of Assembly," in which he was given the right for five years of "printing and vending" a revisal of the public acts from 1790 to end of that session.<sup>156</sup> In addition to these volumes Martin published several law books of the popular type designated as guides to justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, and executors. One of these, *A Treatise on the Powers and Duties of Executors and Administrators According to the Law of North Carolina*, was reprinted by Joseph Gales in 1820. Three others were reprinted by John C. Sims in New Bern in 1806.

William Boylan was another publisher of documents of a public nature when not holding the office of public printer. In 1805 he published *A Collection of the Militia Laws in Force in North Carolina*, a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages. Boylan also published a second<sup>157</sup> and third<sup>158</sup> edition of Judge John Haywood's *The Duty and Office of Justices of Peace*.

Important compilations of laws and court reports published during this period by the public printer were: a volume of superior court cases, published by Abraham Hodge in 1799;<sup>159</sup> the Iredell Revisal, with its various supplements,<sup>160</sup> also printed by Hodge; two volumes of court reports, printed by Joseph Gales, the first while in office,<sup>161</sup> the other during the term of

<sup>151</sup> *A Collection of the Statutes of the Parliament of England in Force in the State of North Carolina* (New Bern, 1792).

<sup>152</sup> *The Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina* (New Bern, 1795).

<sup>153</sup> *A Collection of the Private Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, from the Year 1715, to the Year 1790, Inclusive, Now in Force and Use* (New Bern, 1794).

<sup>154</sup> *Notes of a Few Decisions in the Superior Courts of North Carolina, and in the Circuit Court of the U. States, for North-Carolina District, to Which is Added A Translation of Latch's Cases* (New Bern, 1797).

<sup>155</sup> John Louis Taylor, *Cases Determined in the Superior Courts of Law and Equity of the State of North-Carolina* (New Bern, Martin & Ogden, 1802).

<sup>156</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1803, pp. 33-34, authorized by the assembly of 1804; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1804, p. 1. The revisal is entitled: *Public Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina*, the first volume containing acts from 1715 to 1790, the second, acts from 1790 to 1803. Another edition, with appendix containing the acts, 1804-1806, was published in 1806.

<sup>157</sup> Raleigh, 1808.

<sup>158</sup> Raleigh, 1816.

<sup>159</sup> *Reports of Cases Adjudged in the Superior Courts of Law and Equity of North-Carolina* (Halifax, 1799). The second volume containing cases, 1797-1806, was printed by William Boylan in 1806.

<sup>160</sup> See above, p. 194.

<sup>161</sup> *Reports of Cases Ruled and Determined by the Court of Conference of North-Carolina*, by Duncan Cameron and William Norwood (Raleigh, 1805).

Thomas Henderson.<sup>162</sup> Gales also printed four editions of Judge John Haywood's *A Manual of the Laws of North-Carolina*.<sup>163</sup> The second edition bears the imprint "Printed and Sold by J. Gales and W. Boylan." Evidently the rivals for political office were not averse to a business partnership when it seemed profitable.

Official publications of the period from 1782 to 1815 may be classified as follows: laws, 52; journals of assembly, 65; constitutional journals and documents, 7; financial, 3; military, 4; public works, 2; university, 5; courts, 10; governor, 1; revisals, 6; popular laws books, 14.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *The Carolina Law Repository* (Raleigh, 1814-1816).

<sup>163</sup> Published in Raleigh, 1801, 1808, 1814, 1819, and a reprint of the 1819 edition, with an appendix for 1818-1828, in 1828.

<sup>164</sup> Counted as documents are publications containing official material, as well as those financed by the state. Titles are counted in McMurtrie, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints*, and in Mary L. Thornton, *North Carolina Official Publications, 1749-1939* (MS in University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill), including only those which have been located in libraries.

# THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS HUGHES CONCERNING HIS TENNESSEE RUGBY

Edited by

MARGUERITE B. HAMER

In an earlier number of this publication, a detailed version of the Rugby venture portended to trace the rise and collapse of the little utopian colony.<sup>1</sup> In that paper the following hitherto unpublished letters had been drawn on more or less extensively. Here, for the first time, the letters appear in their pristine state ready to speak for themselves across the intervening half century.

Thomas Hughes owed his reputation largely to his publications. *School Days at Rugby*, *By an Old Boy*, and *Tom Brown at Oxford*. These classics have run through many editions since their advent in the sixties. Even as late as 1932 new copies continued to appear. Hughes retained to his last days an interest in English youth of the more opulent classes. For them he launched in the eighties an ideal community in the wooded mountain country of Tennessee. The site was that part of the Cumberland Plateau that is in our day noted as the home of Alvin York of World War I fame and of Secretary of State Cordell Hull of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations. In this forest country transported English youth were to be apprenticed to farmers to learn the business of agriculture and so escape the tedium of English Will Wimble lives.

In the autumn of 1880 Hughes set out for America to project his dream. His arrival on our shores was the occasion for invitations to address universities and colleges, schools, clubs, and literary and humanitarian societies of sorts from Canada to Georgia.<sup>2</sup> Cornell University despatched an invitation on behalf of its "social science club." Haverford College wished Hughes to lecture before their "seventy students, mostly from the wealthier class of 'Friends' or Quakers—an interesting body of young men." The letter concluded: "It is a happy thing that great public teachers in our English race are more and more finding

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<sup>1</sup> *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), 390-412.

<sup>2</sup> In parliament Hughes had distinguished himself as an advocate of socialistic schemes for the betterment of the middle and lower classes. His American Rugby, however, was to supply a happy solution to the problems of young idlers of the elite classes.

and using a field for their service both by pen and speech on both sides of the Atlantic and we owe you many thanks for your willingness to let your voice be heeded amongst us in the advocacy of things noble, good and true." A later communication from Haverford added: "I think we shall prefer to hear your lecture on 'The Song of Roland,' a delightful subject."

The principal of the Rugby Academy for Boys,<sup>3</sup> Wilmington, Delaware, wrote:

"Permit me on behalf of the Rugby boys of Wilmington, Delaware, to welcome you as the author of the best book ever written for boys. . . . I do hope you can find it convenient to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Rugby Literary Society in the Grand Opera House of our city."

Across this request appears in Hughes's hand the word, "declined."

Other groups and other individuals sought the lionized one as the following letters indicate.

Aug. 23, 1880  
Long Branch, N.J.<sup>4</sup>

My dear Mr. Hughes -

I have just learned of your arrival in N. Y. and I should like to have you make us a visit at Long Branch on Friday or Saturday of this week and remain a few days. We shall be glad to welcome you to Philadelphia when you return East, as we hope then to be back to town.

Mrs. Childs unites in hoping your engagements will allow you to visit us at Long Branch.

With high esteem  
Sincerely yours,  
Geo. W. Childs.

Whitelaw Reid, speaking for the Lotus Club, urged the English author to attend "a big dinner of 120 plates." The invitation concluded:

Although all public dinners are a bore . . . you will not find this too fatiguing.

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad, "the Queen and Crescent,"<sup>5</sup> placed a special car at the disposal of the English visitor to enable him to "attend the opening of the Cincinnati Exposition."

<sup>3</sup> The name of this school reflects, of course, the popularity of Hughes's books on this side of the Atlantic.

<sup>4</sup> Long Branch had enjoyed a social prestige enhanced on occasion by the visits there of President Grant and his socialite family.

<sup>5</sup> Cincinnati, the "Queen of the West," and New Orleans were optimistically referred to as terminal points within access of the projected Rugby—a prospective rival. Actually Rugby missed the railway by some seven cruel miles of rugged mountain terrain; too, in a day that knew not the tin horse of Detroit.

From Rome, Georgia, came this ambitious plea to Hughes:

Can you not visit our beautiful and promising city. I would like to . . . tell you something of our rich mineral wealth. . . .<sup>6</sup> I want to start a town and colony on these lands. Can you give me any information on how to proceed? I want Englishmen.<sup>7</sup>

The following invitation came from St. Paul, Minnesota.

Thomas Hughes

Dear Sir.

. . . I am exceedingly interested in your colonial project in Tennessee, and as we in Minnesota are eager to attract hither a desirable class of British Emigrants, it has awakened the desire to have you look over our state and see for yourself what its resources are and acquaint yourself with its progress and the inducements it offers to those Engaged in Agricultural pursuits.

The wide range of Hughes's interests is reflected in the following letters as in this one from Julia Ward Howe.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science holds its annual session in Boston. . . . Would you not enjoy a trip up to Boston to attend the day's meeting? The trains are very convenient.

Another communication from Boston reads:

Thos. Hughes, Esq.

At Robbins, Scott Co. Tenn.

Dear Sir

I wish on behalf of the Woman Suffrage Association of this city to ask you to deliver a lecture . . . on your Tennessee Enterprise. Some of our leading members such as Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and Mrs. Lucy Stone you doubtless know by reputation. . . . We would offer you \$100.

The offer notwithstanding, the word "impossible" appears in Hughes's hand across the letter.

From Chicago, Hughes received this invitation that is quoted in part:

Yesterday, meeting the ex-president of our *Chicago Literary Club*, he exclaimed, "Do you know that Thomas Hughes is in America, we *must* get him out here! Why, do you know it was he to whom we owe the foundation of our free Public Library?"<sup>8</sup> and he straightway went on to tell me his plans for a little entertainment to be given to you by

<sup>6</sup>A belated survival of the seventeenth century lure of gold and silver. Georgia's pride in her gold lands was partly responsible for the ruthless evacuation from her soil of the poor Red Man.

<sup>7</sup>British and especially Englishmen were the settlers preferred. Regions in the Middle West from North to South vied with one another to secure coveted settlers.

<sup>8</sup>After the Chicago fire Hughes contributed generously toward the foundation of a new public library. Years later, when American publishing firms mailed thousands of books to Rugby, Chicago was conspicuous among the non-contributors.

our Literary Club. . . . I have the church<sup>9</sup> that D. Laird Collier used to have.

Later came this daring offer:

Clifton, Cincinnati  
Sep. 14, 1880.

Thos. Hughes, Esq.

Dear Sir

. . . I beg leave to transmit you a formal invitation to lecture at Pike's Hall on any Sunday afternoon. The lecture fee will be \$75., the largest we have yet paid.

This fee was bettered by "100 and up" by the more generous Ridpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston. An invitation from The Penn Club, 720 Locust Street, Philadelphia, met with this reply from Hughes. "Sorry not to be able to accept. Time more than filled up already."

From New York came this cordial note:

The Christian Union would be glad of permission to invite a few gentlemen of this city and vicinity — leading educators and others to meet you socially. . . . The Christian Union is recognized as in some sense a representative of the ideas which you are endeavoring to embody in a practical organization. . . .

Very respectfully

Your obed't Servant

Lyman Abbott

From Philadelphia came this lengthy letter:

Phila. Society for Organizing Charity<sup>10</sup>  
1429 Market St.

Phila. Aug. 23, 1880.

Thomas Hughes, Esq. M.P.  
Fifth Avenue Hotel, N.Y.C.

My dear Sir,

This society (which is modeled after the pattern of your own London Charity-Society) desires to extend a cordial welcome to our shores to one who has devoted himself . . . to practical schemes for improving the condition of Working Men; and it is in warm sympathy with your efforts to promote co:operative<sup>11</sup> measures among them that I have been instructed to ask you to visit this city before you return Home; and to address our

<sup>9</sup> Concrete, mute testimony to Hughes's love of the Anglican Church is the little English church still gracing a quiet wooded street of Rugby, Tennessee.

<sup>10</sup> The welfare of his fellow man of high or low degree engaged the pen of Hughes with never ceasing fervor.

<sup>11</sup> "Cooperation" was a topic familiar to the lecture platform of the eighties. Harriet Ward Beecher used to say, "It's the one case in which you have your cake and eat it too." The cooperative store at Rugby sold shares to its customers and thus allowed them to participate pro rata in the profits.

Society upon the results of your study and experience in this department of benevolent work.

Your kind compliance would . . . aid our infant efforts . . . and would inure to the material benefit of the Working-Man of this the largest manufacturing city of the Continent, a vast majority of whom are natives and sons of natives of G. B. and thus have a strong claim upon your active interest. . . .

Chas. D. Kellogg.

In Parliament and out of Parliament the Hughes favorite theme being cooperation, the Cooperative Board of 291 Broadway, New York, was favored by an address. Hughes expounded on this theme at length to his business partner, Franklin W. Smith:

It is not our business to make money out of trade and if we can see our way to nothing better than a store of the Board,<sup>12</sup> I think the sooner we can choose it the better . . . I myself (and I think I may here speak for both my colleagues and for most if not all the English subscribers) are strongly impressed with the evils of the present system of ordinary competitive trade. . . . No person or class of persons should have a monopoly of the trade as to which the true principle that every consumer should reap the profit of his own purchases should be kept in view. . . . We propose to convert the present temporary store and the Board into a cooperative society composed of every dweller in or near the town who cares to become a member of it. . . . I propose to bring out with me the rules and methods of business of our cooperative union and hope to convert our temporary store into a society embracing all residents during my stay on the Plateau.

Characteristic of Hughes was the determination to open a colony with solemn ceremonial exercises. "If possible," he wrote, "we ought to have a temporary church up as well as an hotel before that day so that we may have a short service amongst the other functions."

Charles Todd Quintard of Sewanee was to officiate in his capacity as Bishop of Tennessee. He confided his views to Hughes:

Under all circumstances it will be best to have a brief and simple service on 5. of Oct. If you wish it, I will conduct the service but in place of a discourse, I think you must give an address as to the intentions of the founders of the colony.

We can get along very well without the choir boys and I shall not object to a "big barn" if it is big enough. . . . Let me beg you to have the church organized at Rugby from the very first. In this land — in Colonial days — Mother Church dealt out hard and severe measures to her children. Every sect and denomination was perfectly organized and in full working order before our pure branch of the Church of Christ.

<sup>12</sup> The Board of Aid to Land Ownership which controlled Rugby enterprises.

I shall leave home [Sewanee] on Monday evening 4th Oct. and proceed by first train from Chattanooga to Rugby. I pray God's blessing on you and your undertaking. I am yours in the best of bonds.

Following the advice of the bishop, Hughes gave on the opening day a full and delightful explanation of the intentions of the founders. Whitelaw Reid of the New York *Tribune* penned these congratulatory words: "What an admirable little speech you made the other day at your opening. I am afraid it suffered a little at the hands of the telegraph operators but still even through their disguises it shone as a beautiful piece of work."

Having launched his colony and made innumerable addresses, Hughes retired to visit Goldwin Smith in Canada. From The Grange, Toronto, he wrote to his beloved brother:

Dear Hastings

. . . All that you say of affairs looks well, but no doubt you will have a hard job and one requiring much thought and care and patience. Don't express yourself strongly to folk (specially in the time of disagreement or censure) but act strongly. . . .

Take care to keep an eye on finances — I *hope* to send you supplies from N. York but possibly it may not be any large amount. . . .

Think over the whole situation and advise pretty fully. . . . I think the thing ought to go well with the start it has had. . . . We had a high old time in Chicago.

Affly yrs.

Tho. Hughes.

The next communication finds Hughes on the high seas:

Germanic

Nov. 15, 1880.

Dear Hastings

We are to be in Queenstown to night so I send this at once. . . . We have had a very good passage and much interest all around as to Rugby. I quite think that we have got the game in our hands now only it must be played very cautiously, and above all things, my dear fellow, don't shock people — keep to beaten ruts and common-places. We can build up a community such as we want to see far more surely by showing everyone that we are jog trot every day folk, who want to go on just as like their neighbors as possible consistently with their cooperative ideas, which they don't want to force on unwilling folk but just to let grow quietly.

I hope to see Mother.<sup>13</sup>

Ever aff'ly yrs.

Tho Hughes.

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Hughes who, despite her ninety years, came out to her son's colony and lived in Uffington House.

The late summer and autumn of 1880 saw the desk of Hastings Hughes snowed under with applications such as the following from prospective settlers:

10 Aden Terrace  
Green Lane  
London  
7. Oct. '80.

Th. Hughes  
'Rugby'  
Junction of Clear Fish & White Oak  
USA.

Will you kindly send me a prospectus of your new land scheme which is now exciting great interest in this country.

New Orleans,  
Sep. 10, 1880.

My dear Bishop Quintard

By kindness of the Rev. Mr. Kramer I am permitted to ask you to obtain some information for me regarding an English colony just established somewhere in the Plateau of the Cumberland Mts. of Tennessee. . . .

I am attracted to the place because it is established by a man who has the reputation of being a clear-headed philanthropist — and because I am desirous of removing my family to a more bracing climate than New Orleans and where I can found a homestead for them.

151 Fulton St.  
Pittsburg, Pa.  
Aug. 22, 1880.

Mr. Thomas Hughes

. . . .

Dear Sir.

I, the undersigned, clergyman, physician, and schoolmaster born and educated in the British Island of Antigua,<sup>14</sup> and having a family to bring up, am desirous of emigrating into Tennessee and would be pleased if you would admit myself and family among the no. of your tenantry, subjected to all of your regulations. . . .

Yours in the Church

Wm. F. Floyd, M.D.

Priest in the Prot. Epis. Church.

Oct. 31, 1880  
Constantinople

To the Author of *Tom Brown's School Days*

" . . . I see by an extract from an English paper that you have founded a 'new Rugby'.

<sup>14</sup> Although this Caribbean Island is the home of a fantastic number of religious sects, yet the Anglican Church and other English institutions dominate even among the blacks.

I am one of those rolling stones . . . which begin to feel that a covering of moss would be acceptable, i.e., I ask myself (my age is 26½) if I cannot some day look forward to having a home of my own. . . .

Innumerable letters came from "remittance men:"<sup>15</sup>

Dec. 23, '80

Dear Hastings,

Please give all the advice and assistance he may need to bearer, Mr. Hodgkinson, who proposes to start for Rugby early in the new year. His father is a friend of our Mr. Russell Sturgis, father of the Boston Shareholders, and he himself seems just the kind of settler we hope for.

Yours aff'ly

Th. Hughes

Board of Aid to Land Owners, Ltd.<sup>16</sup>  
57 Moorgate St.  
London, May 19, 1881.

Dear Hastings -

The bearer, Mr. Briggs has excellent introductions to me and I think means work and will be a good permanent settler if he gets on well.

His father will give him some capital.<sup>17</sup> to buy land and start when he feels competent. Meantime please put him with . . . the best settler you can find to take him as boarder and pupil.

Aff'ly yrs

Th<sup>o</sup> Hughes.

Margate  
Apr. 22, 1881.

Dear Hastings

I think I must have already mentioned to you the bearer, Mr. Stevenson, who goes to Rugby to be with you or some settler as pupil and boarder with a view to settling.

Please do what you can to put him in the way of making a good start.

Ever aff'y yours,

Th. Hughes.

<sup>15</sup> In 1939 while visiting South Africa I met several of these young "Honourables" endeavoring to reach England before the outbreak of war. In 1880 they may have represented the same type: attractive, polished, young aristocrats depending for a living on the remittance furnished them from the estate "at home."

<sup>16</sup> This Board composed for the most part of Englishmen maintained an office in Rugby and sold lands to prospective settlers.

<sup>17</sup> Such dependence upon the family purse would tend to destroy a youth's initiative. Incidentally, note the exceptional type of immigrant that Hughes encouraged.

Athenaeum Club  
Pall Mall  
23/12/80

Dear Hastings.

The bearer, Mr. Howard Startin, is the son of Mr. G. Startin of G. Startin & Co. of 160 Fenchurch St., a highly respected city firm. His father wishes to place him with one of the Rugby settlers with whom he is most likely to learn his business best as a settler. He will pay 50 pounds to the settler who takes him, so (unless you can do it yourself, which will be best) please select a man and make an arrangement for him . . . in finding his legs in his new home.

Ever affly yours

Th. Hughes.

Sir E. Strackhey, Sir Lesley Probyn, and many another sent sons to Rugby. One at least of these young men remained for more than fifty years successfully farming in Rugby, but a typhoid epidemic early in the colony's history carried off all too many of its promising young Englishmen. This was only one of the many misfortunes that beset the Rugby venture.

Many of the letters of the year 1881 reflect a pessimistic strain that was destined to assume alarming but justifiable proportions.

80 Park Street  
Apr. 5, 1881.

Dear Hastings

. . . I tell all applicants now that we cannot promise work of any kind and that I recommend no youngster to go who cannot see his way to paying from 50 to 70 pounds for a year's board, lodging and teaching.

Bois Rectory  
Chesham  
April 18, 1881

. . . Though no hope is held out of your being able to find him (my son) employment, I feel persuaded that you will do what you can for him — especially in helping him to find an honest and if possible godly family to board with.

Yours faithful,

Jos. Mathews.

Chillingworth  
Torquay  
Apr. 23, 1881.

W. H. Hughes, Esq.

Dear Sir.

Your Brother, Mr. Thomas Hughes told me that I might count upon your kind advice and assistance in furthering the interests of my son, Graham Egerton at Rugby. I have just heard from him of his arrival and am sorry to find that Mr. Wallace (to whom understand your Brother wrote to receive him as a boarder and to learn his work) was unable to receive him and owing to your accidental absence at the time he was unable to apply for your assistance to place him elsewhere and has gone to the Hotel. He asks me to send him 100 dollars to enable him to buy a bit of ground and build a shanty but I feel doubtful whether it will be judicious to do this at first and fear that he may find it impossible to live in a place by himself and that he had better adhere to our original plan which was that he should board with some gentleman who has land and learn his work, with a view to eventually purchasing a farm. Under these circumstances I venture to forward to you the endorsed 100 dollar note and to request the favour of your judgment in the mode of employing it . . . I will be answerable for I-L one pound sterling a week for him for the next year or two years if necessary and in about a year's time I hope to run out and see how he is getting on, and if desirable purchase a farm from your company. He tells me he is earning a dollar a day, but does not say how—clearing, I suppose.

Yrs. faithfully

Philip Egerton.

Many notables came to Rugby in its brief heyday to be housed at The Tabard Inn. Among the guests were Richard T. Ely,<sup>18</sup> Charles A. Dana, Lord Kimber, Dr. Agnew.

Although only a pioneer town carved out of a wilderness but a few brief weeks before, little Rugby could boast of a library of 6,000 volumes, contributed by publishers and libraries. William F. Poole wrote from the Public Library, Chicago:

W. Hastings Hughes, Esq.

Dr. Sir:

. . . You state that you are beginning at Rugby to collect your Public Library and you ask for such contributions of American books from this Library as we can spare. We should be most happy to make such a contribution but unfortunately the Library has no duplicate American books which it can spare. We think, however, that we can do something which will more fully express our interest in your new enterprise at Rugby. . . . We with other citizens of Chicago would like to make a contribution of

<sup>18</sup> Ely was especially attracted by the novel land scheme employed at Rugby.

American books to your Library as a slight acknowledgment of the great service which your brother, Mr. Thomas Hughes, rendered to this city in contributing to the foundation of the Chicago Public Library.

The library, a church, a social club, the tennis club were destined to be the few ventures that succeeded in Rugby. More strenuous activities such as agriculture, canning, pottery were doomed to failure. "Mentor" of Dayton, Tennessee, in an open letter to Thomas Hughes attempted an explanation: "I am sure your Cumberland Plateau land is not good. . . . Your inexperienced English colonists will fail on account of the poverty of the soil whereas they would have succeeded if you had been careful to have selected a good location."

His statements are given the lie by the conspicuous agricultural achievements of the present farmer in Uffington House.

Financial difficulties followed hard upon agricultural failure. Thomas Hughes penned this sad note to Hastings.

. . . the funds of the company immediately available are practically exhausted—unless indeed, as I hope, I manage to get a no. of new subscribers in Boston or N. Y.

By the end of 1882 failure stared the colony in the face. From Paris, Franklin W. Smith wrote to a Rugby friend and collaborator:

One full authoritative publication, correcting the scandals set afloat by Mr. Hughes's political opponents in England, and the rowdies who came to Rugby to carouse<sup>19</sup> for a living, tactfully used would put Rugby upon a new start. . . .

I wrote to Mr. Boyle that to spend nothing in advertisement of such an estate as Rugby in the U. S. to let it remain dying—dead—in order to reduce expenses to the 'uttermost' is like stopping all food from a fine horse for rigid economy. . . . If you could occasionally prepare such a paper as the above and send it as a slip to the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Transcript*, *Herald* . . . the *Baltimore American*—I think you would redeem the reputation of Rugby.

Mr. Kimber is on his way to you via Australia and I trust you will press these newspapers upon him not only in justice to Mr. Hughes and other original subscribers but to their own interests.

D. V. I shall be home<sup>20</sup> about Nov. 11 (1882) in Boston and at the first opportunity shall call a meeting of the Boston subscribers to show them the small amount of money advanced by the mortgages with the large assets for security and the chance of foreclosure.

<sup>19</sup> Legally Rugby was bone-dry but other localities in the Plateau were not of like view.

<sup>20</sup> The letter is mailed from Paris. It was unfortunate for Rugby that so many of its founders, organizers, and leaders were abroad when the colony most needed their advice. At one time they were scattered as far apart as England, Australia, and South Africa.

A decade passed. To a faithful Rugbeian, Dr. Agnew, Hughes wrote this last sad letter:

Uffington House  
Chester  
7-12-(91?)

My dear Doctor:

I was on the point of writing to you . . . for the statement of accounts from the office in view of the transfer of all my Rugby property to the new company. . . . As I read the accounts there is a balance in my favour of \$321 up to August last. . . . If I am right I propose that we sh<sup>d</sup> divide it equally. . . .

Your reports of the School, Church and Library are on the whole cheering, and quite as hopeful as I had looked for. I can't help feeling and believing that good seed was sown when Rugby was founded and that some day the reapers . . . will come along . . . bearing heavy sheaves with them. Whether I shall live to see it may be doubtful as I am nearing the psalmist limit of three score and ten, or whether I shall be able to get out again much as I should like to do so. . . . However, whether I can ever come again or not, you I know, my dear friend, will always feel how truly my heart is with you in the famous fight you are making to plant a righteous and prosperous colony in those fascinating mountains.

POET, PAINTER, AND INVENTOR: SOME  
LETTERS BY JAMES MATHEWES LEGARÉ,  
1823-1859

Edited by  
CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Southern Literature, which abounds in "versifiers," can ill afford to overlook a poet—one with a genuine gift for clear-cut and musical song. Yet to all intents and purposes Southern Literature has overlooked James Mathewes Legaré in that, ever since the publication almost a century ago of his slender, single volume of verse, it has forgotten all about him. This is a pity, since, for quantity alone, Legaré sent to various magazines later in life almost as many pieces again as had originally appeared in his *Orta-Undis, and Other Poems*.<sup>1</sup> None of these later poems has ever been re-published. A collected edition of his works has never appeared. Even Legaré's family background, his personal career, and the place of his death have been blanketed by obscurity. Insufficient knowledge alone, however, is not enough to warrant the revival of a man's work if that work is inferior. Legaré's verse is not inferior. In the opinion of the writer, this Charlestonian has published enough good lines of poetry to place him below only Poe, Lanier, and Timrod in the history of Southern verse.

It is time to revive Legaré's work.<sup>2</sup> No better method of presenting the poet to a new and later public can be found than through the publication of the following MS. letters in his hand, all but one of which have not seen print before. The letters tell a varied tale and present us with a rather colorful portrait of the young Carolinian as not only a poet but also an artist in oils and a practical inventor, two of whose creations were accepted by the United States Patent Office.

The writer was born in Charleston, November 26, 1823, of Huguenot ancestry, the elder son of John D. Legaré and a Mathewes of the old colonial family of that name. A distant

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<sup>1</sup> Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer has in progress a life-and-works of the poet which is approximately half complete. *Winging to the Sun: The Career and the Poetry of James Mathewes Legaré* must remain unfinished through the duration of the war.

cousin of Hugh Swinton Legaré (1797-1843), the poet came of established Carolina houses on both sides. He had a younger brother, Joseph John Legaré (1828-Dec. 6, 1901), and a sister Frances Doughty Legaré (*d.* Dec. 28, 1897), both of whom are buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston.<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible, moreover, that the poet's father was the same J. D. Legaré who figured prominently in ante-bellum Charleston as the editor of the *Southern Agriculturist* from 1828 to 1834.<sup>4</sup> Such a fact might serve in part to explain the poet's highly practical turn, and his interest in textiles and in scientific matters generally, an interest which culminated in his receiving, about 1853, the gold medal for invention at the annual exhibition of the South Carolina Industrial Institute.<sup>5</sup>

As a youth Legaré attended the Grammar and English schools of the College of Charleston until 1832,<sup>6</sup> during part of which time he was a school-mate of the future soldier and statesman John Charles Frémont (1813-1890), and subsequently enrolled at the College itself. Though he did not graduate, he remained at the institution until 1842.<sup>7</sup> There then followed a brief period of legal apprenticeship, which the young man did not savor, until, about 1847 or perhaps earlier, he was forced by ill health to travel to Aiken. There in Aiken, with occasional trips to Charleston and a few times to the North, the poet resided, a bit unwillingly, for the rest of his short life. He had married, probably rather early in his career, a Miss Andrews of Augusta, Georgia, whom he adored and for whom several of his poems were composed. Their small home, which the writer nicknamed "Turtle-Dovey," still stands in Aiken, at 719 Laurens Street (now the Thomas R. Morgan house, and appreciably enlarged). Though he did not mix to a great extent with the townspeople, Legaré was an officer in the St. Thaddeus Episcopal Church at Aiken; and in the St. Thaddeus cemetery, beneath a monument erected only in February, 1942, he lies buried.<sup>8</sup> Like Lanier and

<sup>3</sup> For this information I am gratefully indebted to Mrs. Ernest W. King, of "Hillsborough," near Charleston, S. C.

<sup>4</sup> William Stanley Hoole, *A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals, 1732-1864*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>5</sup> *DeBow's Review*, XXV, 215-216 (August, 1858). The article is a reprint of one in the *Charleston Courier*, c. June 10, 1858, by an unspecified person.

<sup>6</sup> J. Harold Easterby, *A History of the College of Charleston*, p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> Easterby, *A History of the College of Charleston*, p. 309.

<sup>8</sup> This worthy accomplishment was the result of the tireless efforts and enthusiasm of Miss Elizabeth C. Teague, of Aiken, Librarian of Aiken High School. In 1921 Miss Teague formed the Legaré Literary Society, composed of students at the High School; and the pennies of these children, saved through the years, have at last resulted in the erection of a suitable monument to the poet. See the *Aiken Standard and Review*, Friday, February 13, 1942, p. 5. This article also includes a brief sketch of the poet's life made by Miss Catherine Morgan, the present owner of the poet's one-time home.

Timrod, Legaré died of consumption—on Monday evening, May 30, 1859, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

The poet's rather saddening saga, as revealed in the letters that follow, is all too typical of the careers of Southern literary men both before and after the Civil War. Hence is it all the more gratifying, when such recognition is clearly deserved, to grant posthumously to certain of these literary men the admiration that was not theirs in life.

## 1

TO J. C. SPENCER<sup>9</sup>

Charleston. February 16, 1844.

[A brief note of introduction, presenting J. Berwick Legaré (1794-1850), "A relative and particular friend" of the poet. 1 page.]

## 2

TO CAREY AND HART, PUBLISHERS<sup>10</sup>

Charleston. May 19, 1845.

[Submitting a manuscript for consideration, presumably *Orta-Undis, and Other Poems* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1848). "My proposal is simply that you accept the volume, and publish it at your own cost, and consequently, risk: To any profit resulting I am indifferent, as my desire is chiefly to thus obtain an acceptable offering to the sister, (an only one) to whom I have dedicated the work. A *few* of the articles have been published in magazines, before. The title (I need not mention) is merely 'Belonging to the muse of verse' (*Erato*).]" 1 page.]

## 3

TO RUFUS WILMOT GRISWOLD<sup>11</sup>

New York City. [June, 1845?]

[Although "It is rather late in season to visit N. York," nevertheless he has made the journey from Aiken. Is having difficulty reducing a manuscript volume to a size suitable for publication. ". . . and after all, it is with only a third of this book completed, that I propose waiting upon a publisher." Hopes to meet Griswold personally. 1 page.]

<sup>9</sup> In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

<sup>10</sup> In the Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library. The Legaré letters in this library were uncovered as the result of a suggestion made by Professor Jay B. Hubbell of Duke University.

<sup>11</sup> In the Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library. Letter No. 4 is printed in full in R. W. Griswold, *Correspondence*, edited by W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, 1898), p. 230.

TO THOMAS POWELL<sup>12</sup>

Aiken. November 16, 1849.

My dear Sir

A fresh masterly book — picked up at random in a bookstore, and in the end carried home with the almost boyish delight I confess to, in making any addition to the limited number of my 'pet-books on their exclusive shelf — is not an everyday occurrence; and if your 'Edith'<sup>13</sup> touched me happily some months back, I was scarcely prepared for a capture of heart and judgment so entire, as that brought about by the "Living Authors"<sup>14</sup> two days since in Augusta. If I were to tell you how pleasant, brilliant, and critically accurate, I account the vol, I would be likely to fall as far in your esteem, as I would be well pleased to be lifted: for my admiration of a work of more than talent commonly outrages stolid 'popular opinion', and I have that quick perception of the presence of genius — there is surely no egotism in saying so, for it is God's gift, no doing of mine — which is the 'sesame' to the secret cave wherein lie the chief riches of literature. In your warm regard for Miss Barrett (rather, Mrs. Bowring), analysis of Thackeray's cold sneers,<sup>15</sup> and light valuation of Henry Taylor's drudgery I find my longwhile opinions upheld; and that with the more pleasure, because it is seldom indeed, I meet one willing to subscribe to any two of the many sentiments we hold in common. As for the last named author, he is at least just, and makes his damsels as little capable of loving fervently as his hero, the 'master of a summer's night!' Don't you recollect where (in Philip V. Artevelde),<sup>16</sup> Clara 'wishes for her part she had a lover'. 'You' says Adriana — 'Why there's Sir Walter!' 'Sir Walter — very good,' returns the pining Clara, '*But he's at Bruges — I want one here.*'

But I forget myself — that I stand chatting familiarly with you, before you know me even so much as by name — and that I have a letter of introduction to present from one of the Muses, a letter of introduction so badly written, it is true, that you may reasonably doubt it's [*sic*] being the sole composition of the lady in question. Jestng apart, I can find no readier plea for addressing you so abruptly and expressing a thorough appreciation of your views (as I feel impelled to do, after a free and easy fashion natural enough to a citizen of our 'Great Republic') than in assuming this note to be written with the single end of begging your acceptance of the small vol (of my poems) I will forward by the same mail. There is no affectation in the light regard in which this use of it, evinces I hold my own work, for no one can be more sensible of its demerits. With the exception of scarce three poems I am ashamed of the contents already,

<sup>12</sup> In the Boston Public Library. Powell (1809-1887) was an English-born journalist and hack-writer who came to the United States in 1849. He resided in New York City, where he was among the Bohemian frequenters of Pfaff's restaurant.

<sup>13</sup> Powell's moralising narrative poem, "The Prayer of Edith," appeared in the *New York Literary World*, IV, 529-530 (June 23, 1849).

<sup>14</sup> Powell's *The Living Authors of England* (New York, 1849) gained considerable popularity as a readable, "candid" discussion of the leading English literary lights of the day.

<sup>15</sup> This phrase is remarkable in that it is the only recorded passage wherein Legaré has aught but praise for W. M. Thackeray. In the poet's own prose tales, the influence of the English novelist is outstanding.

<sup>16</sup> *Philip van Artevelde* (1834) was a blank-verse historical drama, of the closet variety, by the English poet and government official, Sir Henry Taylor (1800-1886).

although it has been out little more than eighteen months or so.<sup>17</sup> The very lenity with which the critics generally handled it, as not worth analysing, quickly convinced me of the incapacity of the book to obtain a foothold in the world of letters.<sup>18</sup> Poor Poe, I at least had no reason to mingle a weak sense of relief from danger, with my heartfelt regret for his death; for there was no likelihood of his ever pouncing upon my unlucky bit of Latinity.<sup>19</sup> 'Leo tacet.'<sup>20</sup>

I *think* I have written and published, since the issue of the vol., far better poems than any in it; the two best (perhaps) appearing in a Southern periodical<sup>21</sup> not likely to have fallen under your eyes. And as a counterpoise to the dissatisfaction with which I regard my former trials, — I hope, by God's grace, to live long enough to have a name worth owning: for as I never paint<sup>22</sup> without an inclination to thrust my canvass [*sic*] through with the malstick, when it comes to finishing the painting, from sheer inability to embody what is as clear as day in my brain, so I am nearly as seldom satisfied with the success of my pen. And it seems to me, if I were incapable of better things *to come*, I would stupidly consider nothing so excellent as what I have already done. After all, it is more consistent to write, as Mr Greenough does (did),<sup>23</sup> 'faciebat' than 'fecit' on one's work. But quite enough of myself — yet stay, lest you should slightly mistake me, let me add a dozen words in this connexion. I am aware of course of your American Volume, designed to follow that referred to above<sup>24</sup>; but if I did not believe the book to be already in press, or possibly already issued, I would with common delicacy, shrink from apparently forcing myself upon your notice. I was strongly tempted to question Mr Duyckinck<sup>25</sup> [*sic*] in regard to yourself and your poems, when one or two of the latter appeared in the 'Literary World'<sup>26</sup>; but I was unwilling to risk the construction which might naturally enough attach to my praises *then*.

<sup>17</sup> The poet's only published volume of verse, *Orta-Undis and Other Poems* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1848), appeared in early May.

<sup>18</sup> Legaré was too easily dashed. Of the eight reviews of *Orta-Undis* all but one were favorable; and this exception, that in the *Christian Examiner*, at its severest only echoed the consensus of opinion concerning the poet: that he showed much promise in this first venture, but that he must not rest on his laurels since far better verse was to be expected of him. In the order of their appearance, the reviews were as follows: *Literary World*, III, 283 (May 13, 1838); *Holden's Dollar Magazine*, I, 375-376 (June, 1848); *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV, 388-389 (June, 1848); *Knickerbocker*, XXXII, 179 (August, 1848); *DeBow's Review*, VI, 159-160 (August, 1848); *Southern Literary Gazette*, I, 127 (August 26, 1848); *Christian Examiner*, XLV, 306 (September, 1848); *Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI, 224-232 (October, 1849).

<sup>19</sup> Legaré refers to this title-poem, "Orta-Undis" ("Sprung from Water"), which he placed last in the volume. Three others of his poems bear Latin titles while two of them contain passages in Latin. Two of his poems bear Greek titles. Hence the classical influence on at least this one Southern poet would seem to bear out the thesis that the literature of Greece and Rome were of appreciable importance in the culture of ante-bellum Dixie.

<sup>20</sup> Latin for "the lion is silent."

<sup>21</sup> Legaré probably refers to the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1834-1864), which between the years 1847 and 1856 published eight of his poems, half of which he reprinted in *Orta-Undis*. The *Messenger* printed far more of Legaré's verse than did any other periodical.

<sup>22</sup> The poet was also a practiced painter in oils. He occasionally earned income through the instruction in the art (see below, p. 231, n. 75) and for his amusement at one time decorated with murals the walls of the rooms in his Aiken, S. C., home. The poet's murals remain in the house.

<sup>23</sup> Horatio Greenough (1805-1852), American sculptor born in Boston.

<sup>24</sup> Powell's *Living Authors of America* was published by Stringer and Townsend (New York City, 1850).

<sup>25</sup> Legaré probably refers to Everett Duyckinck (1816-1878), New York journalist and editor, one of the most influential men in the literary world of his day. With his brother, George L. Duyckinck (1823-1863), he edited the weekly New York *Literary World* (1847-1853), which became perhaps the leading literary weekly of the period.

<sup>26</sup> See above, n. 25.

You must know, our Southern people are too often half asleep in matters of literature, becoming acquainted at large with books through the (native) Reviews, long after their first appearance. But in this instance, it shall be no fault of mine if a different order fails. I have written notices for the principal papers of Charleston and Augusta (Ga), and will endeavor to find time to send a more lengthy review to the 'Southern Quarterly' or 'Lit Messenger'. This I do out of mere satisfaction in the book and a sincere desire to have its boldness and vigor acknowledged and praised, before Mr Croker<sup>27</sup> and his 'freres' fall upon it in indignant fury, and so the lesser critics sing second. *Afterward*, they will be harmless enough — 'La casa quemada, acudir con el agua,'<sup>28</sup> as Don Somebody or other says.

Your mention of the "Sunday under three heads" of Dickens, surprised me, as I supposed I possessed all his works. I must get Mr Clark (of the K)<sup>29</sup> to send it to me, the next time I write — but, by the way, is there an American edition?

Let me ask you one direct question — although I am no 'Yankee' proper! How did it happen that you left out that little divinity of the ladies, Mr Tupper?<sup>30</sup> Surely you must feel the same gratitude towards him that I do, — as an Editor of a modernised edition of the Book of Proverbs, and so forth?

Respectfully and sincerely yours

J. M. Legaré

P. S.

I wish you could have seen as somebody (who was it?) saw in Cornelius Agrippa's black palm-fluid, how *We* (I, 'and one dearer') read your 'Edith', ensconced in a highbacked rustic seat<sup>31</sup> in the quiet woods, where from a hilltop, our eyes rested on the far blue hills—Does not a far horizon seem always to enlarge your very sense of existence? Although, to be sure, according to Teufelsdruck [*sic*] (what a name for any but a *Roman* nose!) 'What one sees, but cannot see over, is equal to Infinity'?<sup>32</sup>

JM. L. [6 pages]

To Thos. Powell Esqr  
N.York

<sup>27</sup> John Wilson Croker (1780-1857), English statesman and literary critic, contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, was renowned as a severe reviewer.

<sup>28</sup> Spanish for "To come with the water after the house has burned down": well-known proverb. This quotation serves to demonstrate the poet's deep interest in Spanish literature and history. See also below, p. 226, n. 60, and p. 228, n. 65.

<sup>29</sup> Legaré refers to Lewis Gaylord Clark (1808-1873), who with his twin, Willis Gaylord Clark (1808-1841), edited the *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1834-1861). Both men were among the best known editors of their day.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Farquhar Tupper (1810-1889), English rimester, by his *Proverbial Philosophy* (1838-1842) that put commonplaces in rhythmical form, achieved enormous popularity.

<sup>31</sup> Legaré had already memorialized this rendezvous by his poem, "The Rustic Seat," *Southern Literary Gazette*, I, 41 (June 17, 1848).

<sup>32</sup> The poet refers to Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, the imaginary German scholar whose "Life and Opinions" Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) gave to the world in his volume *Sartor Resartus* (1838). Legaré's memory tricks him, however, since the above quotation is not from *Sartor*. Professor Charles Frederick Harrold suspects "that it occurs in one of the later works, possibly one of the histories. I remember seeing it, somewhere, in connection with some difficult feat Carlyle was describing." (C. F. Harrold to the writer, 23 April, 1942).

5

TO THE DUYCKINCKS<sup>33</sup>

Aiken. May 8, [1848?]

[Addressed to both and enclosing "a few lines" that remain unidentified. "I like better to see some verses appear in your pages unpaid, than as paid articles in those of any magazine in the country, because it is remuneration enough to know one writes for the Brotherhood, and if anything, however small, be well said, it will surely be well received." 1 page]

6

Aiken. June 11, 1849.

Dear Sirs

I have several times sent to the Lit: World gratuitous articles, because in many characteristics your journal stands foremost in America, and to my view it is better to be read by a few on whose capacity of appreciation an author can count, rather than glanced at by innumerable readers of Graham, Godey, and the like.<sup>34</sup> Indeed my best poems, 'Maize in Tassel' and two or three others, appeared first in your columns for the above reason.<sup>35</sup>

I now submit to you two poems; the shorter (in rhyme)<sup>36</sup> I beg you to accept as hitherto, — the longer, the most thoughtful, earnest, and good-designing I have yet composed,<sup>37</sup> I hope you will not decline to purchase at whatever you may please to estimate its worth: I will be content with your evaluation however moderate. To speak frankly, my pecuniary affairs at present, by a succession of mishaps, are much straitened — and yet much as I require even small remittances at the moment, should you not judge the poem worth *any* sum to *yourselves*, pray publish it also gratuitously, for I cannot reconcile myself to seeing a work, short<sup>38</sup> but written out of my soul rather than head, adorning the pages of a lady's magazine, although each line were paid for in gold instead of commoner coin. I offer it to you *first*, and yours it must be, even if my labor (in a pecuniary sense) be lost. One thing is certain — the poem has not been written with a primary view to gain — *then*, you know, I could only have written out of my head. no more: But because I wish to lend my aid to the overthrow of that frightful creed in which we are all reared — unchristian horror of death, or more properly, of dying. And as you will readily discern by the title alone, I desire this to oppose (for I speak only of the *moral*,

<sup>33</sup> In the Duyckinck Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

<sup>34</sup> Though Legaré shared the aversion of Poe, Hawthorne, and other literary men of a more refined cast to the widely popular "ladies' magazines," Legaré himself had already contributed one of his better poems in 1848 to *Graham's Magazine* (1826-1858) of Philadelphia and was to contribute no less than six prose tales to the same periodical in 1850-1851. For the poet's opinion of the work done by his "left hand," see below, p. 226, n. 55.

<sup>35</sup> In 1848-1849 the *Literary World* published four of Legaré's poems. "Maize in Tassel" appeared in III, 287 (May 13, 1848).

<sup>36</sup> Legaré probably refers to "A Laurel Blossom," *Literary World*, V, 50 (July 21, 1849).

<sup>37</sup> This poem, "Thanatokallos," actually appeared at last in the *Knickerbocker*, XXXIV, 204-206 (September, 1849). The Greek title, which means "Beauty in Death," though readily intelligible, is apparently a neologism of the poet's, since no such noun compound is common in the language. Likewise, one *l* would have made for a more orthodox spelling.

<sup>38</sup> "Thanatokallos" is not so short. It contains 139 lines of blank verse. In its final form, Bryant's "Thanatopsis" adds up to 81 lines.

not of artictical effect and finish) the great poem of Mr Bryant. How unfortunate it was that so masterly a poet should have taught so sad a doctrine in *Thanatopsis* — for as Longfellow well says; there is no knowing in whose breast one of these our random arrows may descend<sup>39</sup> — and *that* must have descended into many. The more impressed I am, by repeated perusals, with the nobleness of the poem *as a poem*, the more have I regretted that treating as it does wholly of death, it should so regard the end of all as to render it of all others the last one dying would wish to read and muse over. A grand edifice in Literature — a vast pyramid of granite, with graves of Kings in its heart: a cloudy column like that which led the Israelites by day<sup>40</sup> — but will it turn to a pillar of light for any when night draws on?

I wish to call your attention to a trifling matter in the *lesser* poem, which you might otherwise attribute to accident or carelessness in rhythm; viz [?] that the verses are lengthened and rendered more sonorous as the subject itself grows in gravity.

Respectfully & Truly yours

J. M. Legaré. [2 pages]

[*lengthwise on margin*] If you suppose the *effectiveness* of the Poem on death, will be enhanced by publishing it anonomously [*sic*], you are welcome to do so. Be pleased to let the interval of at least one No. be between the publication of these two articles.

7

TO EVERT DUYCKINCK

Aiken. July 5, 1849.

[Arranging for him to interest Lewis Gaylord Clark in "a republican in the best journal in the country," the *Knickerbocker*, of "*Thanatokallos*," and submitting a few verbal and phrasal alterations for either editor's decision.]

O, we authors, with our vanity and butterfly wings not to be handled without leaving some of our brightness on the fingers touching ever so gently; and you critics, whose object, as a class, is to thrust a 'good specimen' through with a great pin and leave the unhappy insect to stiffen in the position in which impaled: is it any wonder such ill will commonly lies between the two, or that Mr Lowell has written a book to turn the tables for once!<sup>41</sup> Indeed my idea of a 'Critic' is of a personage so awful and bloodthirsty, that I have never been able to regard you as belonging to the ranks of our implacable enemies, and cannot help thinking the fable of the jackdaw and borrowed plumes for once reversed (for we all see how your dingy,<sup>42</sup> are too scant to conceal your finer feathers,) and after all you are one of us in disguise. [3 pages].

<sup>39</sup> Legaré refers to W. W. Longfellow's well known little poem "The Arrow and the Song," published in *The Belfry of Bruges, and Other Poems* (1846).

<sup>40</sup> *Exodus*, xiii: 21-22. Specific Biblical allusions are almost non-existent in the poet's writings; but the critic of the *Literary World* was correct when, upon reviewing *Orta-Undis*, he asserted that the author's "graceful mind appears to be braced with a pervading religious feeling."

<sup>41</sup> James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) published anonymously his verse satire of contemporary literary men, "A Fable for Critics," in 1848.

<sup>42</sup> The poet has unintentionally omitted some such word as "plumes."

## 8

## TO EVERT DUYCKINCK

Aiken. February 13, 1850.

I enclose three dollars and count on a full year's reading by my evening lamp of the very best paper of it's [sic] kind I know of in this Country or Europe. It was not *want of good will*, to be sure, that has made me at so late a date a subscriber to the LIT: WORLD in my own person — cotton has as much to do with the sale of paper as the making of it! Pray send the back Nos. from the commencement of the present vol, and I will count in no little favor if you will send with them such Nos of Last Year's Vol, *as contain 'Edith' and any other poems by Thos Powell*.<sup>43</sup> I admire his genius greatly, and as for the matter of his late misfortunes<sup>44</sup> (with my limited information I have no right to use a harsher term, nor any inclination either), I *never* suffer an Author and an everyday man to be *confounded* together in my estimation of the first—to *unite* the two is quite another thing. Besides, God knows only, who of us all is fit to cast the first stone. [2 pages].

## 9

## TO EVERT DUYCKINCK

Aiken. March 26, [1850?].

[Expressing disappointment at "the non-arrival of the back Nos of the Lit World," together with the fact that, "at this distance from the centre of the (American) Universe, why I'm altogether perplexed to decide" the truth of the stories about Thomas Powell. 2 pages.]

## 10

## TO EVERT DUYCKINCK

Aiken. July 14, 1851.

[Assuring him that he has already paid his current subscription to the *Literary World*. 1 page]

## 11

## TO EVERT DUYCKINCK

Aiken. January 1, [1852?].

[Cancelling his subscription to the *Literary World* because "I have suffered such serious loss through a published in my debt,<sup>45</sup> that for the present I find need of reducing my expenses to the smallest compass, —

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 229, notes 12 and 13.

<sup>44</sup> Powell came to America following accusations of literary forgery in England, and he seems to have been on the whole of a none too savoury character.

<sup>45</sup> John R. Thompson edited the *Southern Literary Messenger* from 1847 to 1860, frequently on a shoestring. From certain passages in Legaré's letters, below, to Thompson—especially Letter 16, p. 226, it would seem quite possible that the poet may have loaned money to the editor in a useless effort to compensate for the sagging circulation of the magazine. And on December 12, 1851, Thompson wrote to Rufus Griswold ". . . the *Messenger* is almost 'gone' . . . my affairs are really so much embarrassed that the sale of my library hangs over me like some impending doom. . . . Four yeards of hard labor find me in debt, my small patrimony exhausted and myself utterly unfitted for any sort of employment" (R. W. Griswold, *Correspondence*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1898, p. 279).

even in comparative trifles.' Concludes with declaring "how much I regretted missing you, last December, both in your own office and when you called in Bleeker S'." 2 pages.]

12

TO JOHN R. THOMPSON<sup>46</sup>

Aiken. November 13, 1849.

My Dear Sir —

I owe you many thanks for pleasant readings lately, and the more so since my apparent discourtesy in not acknowledging the receipt of the first, has not hindered you from sending a second No of the Messenger. It was only *apparent* discourtesy however, for, to speak honestly, my surprise and pleasure in the extraordinary improvement of the above work during your Editorship, (having lost sight of the consecutive nos. for many months I regret to say) rendered me unwilling to express my satisfaction and interest in nothing stronger than words. There are no means at hand for extending the circulation of the Messenger in this neighborhood, the fine dry climate being the only inducement to residing here, — certainly *not* the society. But I thought before this to have visited Charleston and exerted my personal influence so far as it goes, in swelling your list of subscribers and so I still hope to do, although your attention has drawn from me the promise rather than the result. I consider, without exception, 'Ike Marvel's' "Bachelor's reverie"<sup>47</sup> the best magazine article of the day — or more definitely, of the present year — superior to anything to be found, within that period, in either Blackwood or the Knickerbocker, the only two magazines in our language, of course, with which the 'Messenger' may be classed. It is a masterly production of it's [*sic*] kind, and by the simple energy of its language and true pathos, would evidence it's [*sic*] author a genius, had not his former writings declared him so already. Should I visit the North this approaching summer, as I design in part, to procure materials for a weighty literary work, — I will go out of my way to make at least two acquaintances — P. P. Cooke,<sup>48</sup> and 'Ike Marvel'. Where do the two reside, and what is the real name of the latter? can you tell me? And so poor Poe is dead<sup>49</sup> — his poems rank first among my pet books, those almost-sacred few kept on a small shelf apart from my mere library volumes, and (sometimes one, sometimes another) companions of long rambles through the woods. I felt far more grieved at his death than I would at that of many a relative; for I *do* love genius in whatever shape manifested, and best of all in a true poet.

<sup>46</sup> Letter 13 is in MS. in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Letters 14-16 are in MS. in the Anthony Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

<sup>47</sup> Donald Grant Mitchell (1822-1908) was commonly known as "Ik. Marvel" or "Ike Marvel" from a misprinting of the pseudonym J. K. Marvel that he had adopted in 1846 as a signature to his contributions to a New York City newspaper. As Ik. Marvel he published in book-form in 1850 four essays entitled *Reveries of a Bachelor; or, A Book of the Heart*. The first essay had appeared in the *Messenger* in 1849. The sentimental tone of the *Reveries* completely won the hearts of readers, and the book became one of the best-sellers of the generation.

<sup>48</sup> Philip Pendleton Cooke (1816-January 20, 1850) was a native of the northern part of the Valley of Virginia. Like Legaré, he published but one volume of verse, the *Froissart's Ballads* (1847), but he also contributed some prose romances to the *Messenger*.

<sup>49</sup> Edgar Allan Poe died in Baltimore, October 7, 1849.

Both before and since his death, I have earnestly maintained his cause against such 'small people' as have no charity for the failings of great men, forgetting that delicate organization, not less of soul than of body, can seldom support harsh contact uninjured. There is only one glad thought, that God who knows intimately every spring of action and weighs all temptations more justly than any man can, — will surely be more merciful to those whose temptations were greater, by reason of the very greatness of the gifts He bestowed.

As an author, I will tell you concisely what I will do to show my sincere interest in your manly work. I am engaged, and will be for a time scarcely yet defined, in a work leaving little room for pleasant episodes of magazine articles: and what few productions of that sort escape my pen are half pledged to the Knickerbocker. But for all that, if you wish, I will now and then furnish you with a tale or poem at the usual magazine rates — I only with I might with any justice to myself, write gratuitously in aid of of [*sic*] a result of far more political weight than our petty politicians can understand — the refinement of the people by mental contact. Meanwhile, accept the enclosed copy of verses<sup>50</sup> for your next no — like most of my short poems they have no merit but earnestness. I have been critically accused of affectation,<sup>51</sup> but except in a few instances, I think with little justice. For at least one thing is certain, I write only when touched to the soul or moved by some more transient emotion — and all I say is verily out of my heart. I could not avoid smiling the other day, as I told Mr Clark, at Mr Hueston's (of the Knickerbocker)<sup>52</sup> business expression 'I enclose (such a sum) in pay (!) for Thanatokallos' — as if I would have written that poem for any mere 'pay' whatever. All manner of success attend you.

Truly and Respectfully yours

J. M. Legaré.

[*written round one side and the top of the first sheet*]

I fear you find this a sadly dull note, for I was wearied out before beginning it. By the way, you must not suppose I have any connection with every petty "Georgia paper" which cites my name. It would be churlish to refuse their request at the beginning, and after a contribution of old rubbish once or twice (which however I believe does me no little hurt as an author, or would if the circulation of the above was not so limited) I slip off without disturbance. I hope you will do as (or *better* than) your predecessor<sup>53</sup> and 'come south' (he only came *once*) I will be very glad to see you at home here. [4 pages].

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps "A Husband to a Wife," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 6-7 (January, 1850).

<sup>51</sup> In objecting to Legaré stanzaic structure and occasional phrasal introversions, the *Southern Literary Gazette* had declared, anent Orta-Undis, "Mr. Legaré's poetry is marked by a studied quaintness—amounting to a positive affectation, to which we are disposed to object. . . ."

<sup>52</sup> Samuel Hueston was the publisher of the *Knickerbocker Magazine* from 1849 to 1857.

<sup>53</sup> Benjamin Blake Minor (1818-1905) edited the *Messenger*, 1843-1847.

## TO JOHN R. THOMPSON

Aiken. February 1, 1850.

My Dear Sir

You must give me credit for much good feeling towards the 'Messenger,' and faith in yourself, for I have acted with both in view without pausing to consult your pleasure farther. However there was no help for it — as I had need to do quickly, if I did anything. This is a mysterious fashion for the beginning of a note — so read the explanation before you conclude me a disciple of that choicest of newspaper empirics, Lippard.<sup>54</sup>

To confess the truth, I felt no little compunction (and your late note increased it!) at the arrangement I had made of my best literary material. I had sent to the Knickerbocker a tale,<sup>55</sup> (which is the *only thing* in prose I ever wrote of which I have not been heartily ashamed in three weeks after its conclusion, — it is an *original* tale if ever one was!) with this end in mind; that I would then place 'Janette'<sup>56</sup> at your service, and thus by the time the Knickerbocker would wish another article, be enabled to send Mr. Clark a poem<sup>57</sup> which so far as it is written (the whole is *sketched* out) is very far superior to any work, long or short, hitherto attempted: and this is not *my* judgment solely. (for I suppose it may be in verse as it is in painting — if I paint a piece which I take a strong aversion to in the end, the family,<sup>58</sup> and callers who chance to see it, say — 'how pretty' — and so for the reverse!) So I repeat this is not *my* opinion merely, but that of the only eyes possessing the freedom of all my MSS, and which seldom judge erroneously, because they are part of a pretty head, in intellect both much clearer and better than mine.<sup>59</sup> This poem I design to contain all that is deepest and worthiest in my musings and speculations in those most suggestive of all places, deep silent woods — not silent as some South American woods are from lack of life, but from absence of all human labors or voices.<sup>60</sup> and *finally*, this poem, I am rather ashamed to say, I designed for an NYork Magazine, because it (the poem) is the best, to the prejudice of a Monthly<sup>61</sup> of equal worth and possessing all the claims upon one's better feelings, which well sustained Southern excellence must, in these jealous days, exert even upon one who like myself regards with bitter hostility the firing of our common homestead's roof by demago-

<sup>54</sup> Legaré refers to the notorious George Lippard (1822-1854), Philadelphia hack writer and author of many sensational and "Gothic" novels.

<sup>55</sup> Probably the poet's prose satire, "Story of the Hâhâ," which at last appeared in the *Messenger* for July, 1850.

<sup>56</sup> Legaré's poem "Janette" was finally published in the *Knickerbocker*, XXXV, 245-246 (March, 1850).

<sup>57</sup> "The Hemlocks," which at last appeared in the *Messenger*, XVIII, 115-116 (February, 1852).

<sup>58</sup> For the poet's relationships with his kindred, see below, p. 230-231, letter 20.

<sup>59</sup> Legaré's love for his wife he recorded in a good half-dozen poems, while several others contain passages that refer to her. Her eyes were brown.

<sup>60</sup> It is highly improbable that the poet ever possessed the money to travel anywhere beyond the Atlantic seaboard. The information about the jungle silence in tropical forests he undoubtedly acquired through reading; and we find reference to it again in his adventure romance of exploration in central Guatemala which he presented to *DeBow's* under the title of "Suppositious Reviews" (August, October, 1850; January through March, 1851). The tale purports to be a review of a Spanish travel-book, but is assuredly by the poet himself. The reference to the forest stillness occurs in *DeBow's*, X, 162 (February, 1851).

<sup>61</sup> The periodicals referred to are very probably the *Knickerbocker* and the *Southern Literary Messenger*, respectively.

gues and stump orators at North or South — for there are enough, and more than enough, of such at both. Heaven help us — (not we of the South — for we will be rather the best off, — but *All* of us as a great People, the first and most powerful on the globe) — in case of a Disunion! — but let's "return to our sleep."<sup>62</sup>

I have done already and without staying to ask your advice, there being no time as I have already said, all I can to correct my error. I have written directly on to stop the publication of the tale, to beg him to return it, and enclosing 'Janette' with the pointed wish that he would substitute that poem for the article in hand. Mr. Clark knows nothing of the *chiefer* poem, and as I have experienced his willingness to oblige me, I have no doubt, if still practicable, the exchange will be made to please me.<sup>63</sup> I told him that for private reasons I wished 'Janette' to appear in the *K*, and the tale published in another magazine. If the result should be as I hope, I will immediately forward the MS of the tale to you, and narrow indeed as my present means are, that you may be sensible I do not value that universal good-and-evil, money, most of all things, — you may give \$4-\$3 or what you can *afford*, per page — and remarkably big pages yours are — verily! I also pledge myself to give you the request of 'The Hemlocks' — (the poem above-referred to) when completed, which will not be for some months, as I never write a word of it when not in the humor; it was begun before 'Janette' and others even: and that at your own price of \$4. of course. Do you like all this? — I hope you *do* — you should, I think! Although I dislike the practise and have never before done it, I will enclose a few verses of the 'Hemlocks,' that you may judge at least the *style* so far as written.

How keenly I felt (and feel) the death of poor Cooke!<sup>64</sup> I am far from being a nervous temperament, but the sudden intelligence of the death of a man of *genius* always affects me restlessly for a time, and with some instinctive feeling of what kind I cannot tell, I selected *his* 'poems' from among my 'pet books,' and paced the room with it in my hand (it was twilight) until the emotion was passed. Poe's death moved me much in the same way — I *cannot* bring myself to weigh for a moment a man's sad infirmities *against* his genius. What a speechlessly lovely place (or estate) must that Heaven be, where *all* are possessed (only in an inconceivably greater degree) of what we call 'genius' here.

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. Legaré.

P. S. I have *just* received a note from Mr. Hueston offering \$50 for the tale sent to the Knickerbocker — which is at the rate of 'I-don't-know-what' per page! Not very much I suppose, for the Knick's pages are small in compass, and, which bears more still on the point, he Mr. Hueston is very 'hard up' (ut dicitur) at present from having expended every cent of his and *more* in the purchase of the 'Knick': This I know from a private source, though I mention his note just to show you, the disposition of the MSS is

<sup>62</sup> For the poet's nationalistic outlook on matters political, see below, p. 229, n. 70.

<sup>63</sup> It was. See above, 226, n. 56.

<sup>64</sup> See above, p. 224, n. 48.

not in my hands *now* — and of course cannot be until I hear in reply to my late note, an answer to which I will expect daily next week.

I design to show at once my value of the 'Messenger' by more than words. It is *not* enough (or properly) noticed in the Papers. I think it may do some little good if I write an article or two for the Charleston and Augusta papers, directly to the purpose. At least, I will try it. I will write you shortly again and show more *tangibly* my desire to spread the Messenger's circulation, even before [*henceforth written completely round the margin of all the sheets*] I go to Charleston. I can't take an interest, unless it is a real, bonafide, *warm* interest — one feels the better for doing so. By the way, don't misunderstand me so much as to fancy the mention of Mr. Hueston[s] offer was designed for a *hint* in any direction — I heartily despise what is called 'hinting' at an end, and would have spoken out. [4 pages.]

## 14

Aiken. May 16, 1850.

[Offering him in advance his prose romance "Pedro de Padilh,<sup>65</sup> a tale "designed to form a starting point in my prose composition as clearly defined against the background of my former inanities in authorship" in prose. He has two objects in view, to illustrate little known but highly romantic passages of Spanish (*Insular*) History of conquests, — the other, to write down, if I am able, the absurdities of speech and custom which the stilted romances of the preceding century and their imitators in this, have persuaded modern mankind were 'household words'<sup>66</sup> of mankind three centuries or so ago. For my part, I believe in no tragedy heroes such as certain novelists picture — I believe men thought, lived, acted, spoke much *then* as they *now* do; and I wish to advance and support my plea for justice to the silent, dead — so long dead — predecessors of our in this, in some respects, changeless world."<sup>67</sup> 4 pages.]

## 15

Aiken. May 22, 1850.

[First paragraph quoted in full. Rest of letter pertains largely to his prose satire, "Story of the Hähà" (*Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 414-426, July, 1850).]

I hasten to reply to your note received only this aft, for I sincerely feel with you in your mixed personal and literary position. Tomorrow I will write to friends in different parts of the country, urging the claims of the Messenger — the only manly literary publication of the South; even

<sup>65</sup> This historical romance appeared in *Graham's* XXXVII (August-December, 1850). It is another evidence of the poet's interest in Spanish history and culture. It is doubtful, however, that Legaré could do more than read simple Spanish in the original.

<sup>66</sup> The poet refers to the English weekly periodical, *Household Words* (March 30, 1850-1859), which was edited by the novelist Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who founded it.

<sup>67</sup> This passage is valuable in that it adds to our knowledge of the poet's literary theory. His explicit utterances thereon are few. They tend strongly toward an espousal of realism. For Legaré's opinions on (a) the historical novel or tale, see "Pedro de Padilh," *Graham's* XXXVII, 92 (August, 1850); (b) on the "sentimental heroine," see *Graham's* XXXVII, 376 (December, 1850); (c) on plot structure, see "The Lame Girl," *Sartain's* IX, 106 (August, 1851).

De Bow's Review when altered from its [*sic*] present purely mercantile character (he has written to solicit articles with that view)<sup>68</sup> will be far from competing in point of position. I will also without awaiting your permission, make such *delicate* use of the confidence you repose touching the Messenger's 'impaired constitution' in the columns of various papers as, with an earnest desire to produce a reaction in the lethargic perception around, I may judge best suited to bring about that result. Finally, I will hasten my long procrastinated visit to Charleston (the late winter and Spring must bear the reproach of my detention here) with the view of proving by personal applications, the sincerity of my good wishes and hitherto useless promises. The Messenger must not, most of all at this political crisis,<sup>69</sup> by its fall offer another proof of the shortsighted stolidity of our people. I am fairly sick of the everlasting rant for rights about me, and arrogant neglect of what is nearest and highest!<sup>70</sup> [4 pages]

16

TO JAMES HENRY HAMMOND<sup>71</sup> (1807-1864)

Aiken. September 6, [1848].

[Thanking Hammond for his offer of financial assistance in certain unspecified literary projects, and arranging for a meeting in the near future at Hammond's home. 2 pages].

17

Aiken. March 22, [1858].

[Encloses a printed description "of the first of my inventions,"<sup>72</sup> now rapidly getting into use, and likely to push from competition all materials

<sup>68</sup> James D. B. DeBow (1820-1867), influential Southern editor and journalist, was born in Charleston and was for a time a college-mate of Legaré's at the College of Charleston, where DeBow graduated in the class of 1843. Legaré sent his old acquaintance a copy of *Orta-Undis*, which DeBow himself reviewed for his magazine.

<sup>69</sup> Legaré has reference to the country-wide agitation then stirring over the so-called Compromise of 1850, relative to the extension of slavery in newly acquired territories following the Mexican War. On March 4 the Southern spokesman Calhoun had delivered his "Speech on the Slavery Question," which had been answered three days later by Webster with his now celebrated "Seventh of March Speech."

<sup>70</sup> As the consuming flames of the Civil War licked nearer, Legaré was among the minority of Southerners who contrived to keep a cool head and utter a prayer for unity. Though warmly Southern, he advocated continued national solidity both for national and for practical reasons.

<sup>71</sup> In the James H. Hammond Papers, Library of Congress. The Legaré MSS. are allocated as follows:

Letter 16—Hammond Papers, vol. 16, no. 21743.

Letter 17—Hammond Papers, vol. 23, no. 23154.

Letter 18—Hammond Papers, vol. 24, no. 23573.

Letter 19—Hammond Papers, vol. 25, no. 23827.

Letter 20—Hammond Papers, vol. 26, no. 24092.

Hammond was a native South Carolinian and governor of the state for two terms in 1842-1844. He was United States Senator, 1857-1860, resigning upon the election of Abraham Lincoln. The highlight of his senatorial career, and the only reason for which he is popularly remembered today, lies in the fact of a speech he made, replying to a speech of Senator William Henry Seward, on March 4, 1858. In this reply Hammond popularized, though he did not invent, that celebrated shibboleth of Dixie, "Cotton is King!"

<sup>72</sup> In the United States Patent Office *Annual Report*, 1857, Part One (vol. I, pp. 589-590), we find the following description of the poet's first invention: "No. 18,980.—James M. Legaré, of Aiken, S. C.—*Improvement in Preparing Plastic Cotton for Moulding Purposes*.—Patent dated December 29, 1857.—The nature of this invention consists in rendering cotton, lignine, or any fibrous material whatever soft and plastic, capable of being worked up by hand without the use of moulds, and so converted into furniture of solid or open patterns and decorations of buildings, and into fire and water proof roofing." There follows a detailed description of the constituent materials.

now used for roofing purposes, if not for walls." Cites two other inventions, one completed, the other largely so.<sup>73</sup> Assures Hammond that all of his friends, "both here and down the country 'hurra'd bravely' when you ran that grand tilt the other day, against Northern Fanaticism and Humbug."<sup>74</sup> Everybody asked Everybody - 'Have you read Gov Hammond's Speech?' " 2 pages].

## 18

Aiken. June 16, [1858].

["Over work perhaps, and over anxiety brought on the field my old enemy of eight or ten years ago — I mean, hemorrhage of the lungs." Hopes that Hammond will soon find time to ride over to Aiken "and let me show you some of the results of my works since my abandonment of literature!" 3 pages].

## 19

Aiken. November 24, [1858].

[Thanking Hammond "for a copy of your grand last Speech in a form fit to preserve" and declaring that he hopes "shortly now to have an able associate in the Patent Right who will be able to manage matters rightly. . . ." 2 pages]

## 20

Aiken. May 15, 1859.

[Reveals that all Legaré's mechanical discoveries, since his first interest in invention "About twelve years ago," have been but ancillary to his chief desire, the construction of a 'Dual Air Engine' motivated by "steam and hot air conjointly" in the proportion of 1 to 12. During his labor therein he has on the side brought to completion three minor inventions: a frame composition; 'plastic-cotton'; "a light, cushionless easy reading-chair . . ." Of the three the first two only are patented. He asks Hammond for a loan of \$1,200 to cover the cost of patenting here and abroad the Air Engine and paying small immediate debts he has contracted incidentally to his labor. "If I were to ask such aid now even in the moment of success, from the two or three of my own name and blood who are considered excessively wealthy, they would give as to a beggar if they gave at all . . ." He has obtained his food by dining at his Father's house and has "also dressed with a close economy which only 'slop-shops'

<sup>73</sup> In Letter 20, Legaré reveals what all these inventions are. Though the one "largely" completed was apparently never patented, he did secure a patent for the other invention cited. In the Patent Office *Annual Report*, 1858, Part One (vol. I, p. 667), we read: "No. 20,569—J. M. Legaré, of Aiken, S. C.—*Improvement in Ivory Frame Composition*.—Patent dated June 15, 1858. . . . Claim.—The employment of any saponified material, in combination with a neutral clay, as a basis of my composition, substantially as set forth in the specification." Though the poet's reclining-chair and his dual-air engine were never to be patented, his plastic-cotton preparation found much use. In Aiken today, in the home of Mary H. Ravenel, is a piece of the fibre, twisted rope-like as decoration for a bookcase, while the Ravenels at one time also possessed a small what-not made out of the material (Mary H. Ravenel to the writer, December 20, 1941). A screen made by the poet through this process may be seen today in the Charleston Museum.

<sup>74</sup> The speech is, of course, the one referred to in n. 71 above. These words of animosity are the only recorded ones by the poet revealing a sectional bias—which fact, considering the high emotions that stirred both North and South on the eve of the war, is notable indeed.

could supply, and have denied myself still more in the purchase of books . . ." He has attempted to gain an income "by painting, or by writing for the magazines, or by drawing lessons, for two years, to a couple of pupils:<sup>75</sup> one year I even tried a class of 'finishing' young ladies. . . ." This letter was written just two weeks before the poet's death, which occurred on Monday evening, May 30, at Aiken. 11 pages].<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> The poet probably attempted more than once to eke out a livelihood through instruction in painting. On at least one occasion, during the summer of 1847, he instructed the children of John Marsh Adams (1801-1853), a well-to-do merchant who lived on the Sand Hills outside Augusta, Georgia. Unfortunately, during his course the poet was again brought down by consumption; and Mrs. Adams had to nurse him back to temporary health. ([Sarah Susannah Adams], *As I Remember, and Other Reminiscences*, New York and Washington; Neale Publishing Company, 1904, pp. 106, 108).

<sup>76</sup> Only three obituaries of the poet have been uncovered. The chief, and by far the fullest, was by the Charleston poet Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-1886), who, as editor of *Russell's Magazine* (1857-1860) in Charleston, gave his lead article in the "Editor's Table" for the issue of July, 1859 (V, 370-372). Two other brief identical notices were also published in the *Charleston Mercury*, June 2, 1859 (p. 2, col. 2) and in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, same date (p. 2, col. 6). From Charleston, on July 24, 1859, William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), the Charleston novelist, wrote to the poet's father, requesting factual data for "the sketch which I propose to make of your son." Apparently this sketch never materialized (the MS. of Simms's letter is in the possession of Mr. A. S. Salley, Secretary, South Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C.). Simms had been aware of Legaré's work at least as early as 1845, when was published, under Simms's anonymous editorship, *The Charleston Book: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (Charleston: Samuel Hart). To this compendium Legaré contributed (pp. 189-199) the second longest piece in the book, his narrative poem of the Revolution, "Du Saye: A Legend of the Congaree."

# RECONSTRUCTION LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by  
JAMES A. PADGETT

## PART XI

### LETTERS TO SALMON PORTLAND CHASE

The letter books and papers of Salmon P. Chase, purchased by the Library of Congress in 1902, comprise twenty-two volumes of letter books, memoranda and notes, and about 10,000 letters. The letters are arranged chronologically and are bound in 108 volumes. The letter books consist mainly of letter press copies, covering the period from 1833 to 1872. The other books in the collection comprise a volume marked "Votes by Counties, [Ohio] German Voters, 1848-1851"; a volume lettered "Stocks, New York, 1861-1862"; a commonplace book; a diary for the years 1861 to 1863; a "Farm Diary and Calling List," 1873; a volume of biography; and a volume of "Family Memorandums."

The correspondence begins with 1755, but there are only three letters prior to 1810, and the earliest letters to Chase are dated 1824. The latest papers are dated 1874. The letters cover all the phases of his life. Many of the earlier ones are addressed to him at Washington, during the time he conducted a classical school for boys and studied law with William Wirt in that city. The years he spent in Cincinnati as an attorney and his services as Senator, as governor of Ohio, as Secretary of the Treasury, and as Chief Justice are all fully represented in the collection. He had correspondence with many of the outstanding leaders in the Republican party of his day, as well as with many men of the ordinary walks of life.

Since he was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court during Reconstruction one would not expect to find many letters from Republicans in North Carolina during this period, but since he continually had the presidential bee buzzing in his bonnet, seeking the nomination from any party or faction which would back him, quite a number of the Republicans of the South wrote to him about the prospects of Republican success in that section and conditions in the South.

Beaufort, N. C.  
Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1865

To the Hon. Salmon P Chase<sup>1</sup>  
Chief Justice U. S.

You having during your short sojourn in Beaufort, made a frank avowal of your views of reconstruction of our governments, to which I heartily subscribe & besides having exhibited an approachability so consonant to my feelings in my great deprivation. consequent on the Civil War, that I am inclined to ask you to aid me in some appointment of trust & profit that will enable me to sustain my family— I have sent up my name fortified by the recommendations of our worthiest Citizens, repeatedly; & received no response, whether from the fact of my applications not having been presented or not having been reached I know not— The place of Assessor for the District of Newbern is as I hear as yet unfilled—All I ask of you, whom I confidently believe to be a highminded, liberal gentleman is to speak one word in my behalf in the obtainment of this or some other place— You may be assured that the trust will never be misplaced & you shall ever have my most cordial remembrances— Respectfully & truly  
James H. Taylor<sup>2</sup>

Raleigh N. C.  
April 23<sup>d</sup>, 1867

Hon. S. P. Chase

Sir:

Yesterday Governor Worth<sup>3</sup> and his friends assembled with the Colored Citizens at Capitol Square in this Town.<sup>4</sup> The object was the same as that at Richmond— namely to influence the vote of those men but it failed most beautifully. They paid respectful attention to all that was said to them but occasionally put in such responses as to greatly trouble the speakers.

<sup>1</sup> Salmon Portland Chase was born in New Hampshire on January 13, 1808; attended several schools and then graduated from Dartmouth College in 1826; taught school; studied law in Washington, D. C.; was admitted to the bar in 1829; and began to practice law in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1830. He was elected to the city council in 1840 as a Whig; joined the Liberty Party in 1841; attended its national convention in 1843 and 1847; was a delegate to the Free-Soil National Convention in 1848 which nominated Van Buren for President; served in the Senate as candidate of some Democrats and Free-Soilers, serving from March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1855; was elected governor of Ohio as a Free-Soil Democrat in 1855 and as a Republican in 1857; served in the Senate from March 4 to March 6, 1861; was Secretary of the Treasury from March 6, 1861, to July 1, 1864; and was a member of the peace convention held in Washington in 1861 in an effort to prevent the Civil War. On December 6, 1864, he was appointed Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; was a member of the National Peace Convention in 1868; presided at the impeachment trial of President Johnson in 1868; and died in New York City on May 7, 1873. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, pp. 804-805.

<sup>2</sup> The editor has been unable to identify James H. Taylor.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Worth (November 18, 1802-September 5, 1869) practiced law, served in the legislature, was a planter and engaged in the turpentine, railroad, and plank road businesses, and became an outstanding leader in politics. He was in the legislature, 1860-61, where he opposed secession as he had opposed nullification in South Carolina nearly thirty years before. After secession he supported the South, was state treasurer from 1862 to 1865; was elected governor in 1865 and 1866; but was removed in 1868 by General Canby. He favored the new constitution of 1866, but opposed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. He very much opposed Congressional Reconstruction but was friendly to General Daniel E. Sickles. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 536.

<sup>4</sup> In reality this meeting was intended to aid the Negroes in their newly acquired rights of suffrage, but they did not appear to appreciate it. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina, passim*.

One thing can be said of Governor Worth, Major Gales<sup>5</sup>, and Mr. Battle<sup>6</sup>—the three who spoke on the occasion, they were kind in their language as well as in their temper, and did not abuse us of the North in the manner of Judge Daniel<sup>7</sup> & Marmaduke Johnson of Richmond. A very large audience was expected but how great was the disappointment when only between two and three hundred persons were to be seen on the ground!

The colored people are wide awake even down here and it is impossible to lead them to vote for their former Masters.

There is however a deplorable ignorance of matters especially in the country, and there is great fear too that if they vote against their old masters they may be discharged from employment as some are mean enough to threaten.

Mr. Harris<sup>8</sup> who is President of the National Equal Rights League<sup>9</sup> in this state, and who is also with us in the Grand Council of the state, was called on yesterday for a radical speech, for the meeting an enthusiastic radical one and all voted that they were Republicans.

Mr. H. made a curious address. He said just as much to favor the opposition as did on the republican side and made some allusions to Lincoln that were painful.

Gov. Holden<sup>10</sup> and myself have talked the matter over and concluded that if he proceeds in this way he will do great mischief. He is a man of marked ability and does some good but undoes it again in the way of yesterday.

<sup>5</sup> Seaton Gales was a member of the resident central committee of the Conservatives or Democrats in 1868. They made a good platform. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 362.

<sup>6</sup> Richard H. Battle was born in Louisburg, North Carolina, on December 3, 1835, the son of William Horn and Lucy Martin Plummer Battle. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1854; studied law under his father; and was admitted to the bar in 1857; first practicing in Wadesboro. He entered the Civil War as first lieutenant in the forty-second North Carolina regiment, but he resigned in 1862 to become private secretary to Governor Vance, a position which he held until August, 1864, when he became state auditor. On November 28, 1860, he married Annie Ruffin Ashe. After the close of the war he formed a partnership with Samuel F. Phillips and they enjoyed a lucrative business until the dissolution of the partnership in December, 1868, when Battle became a member with his father and brother, Kemp P. Battle, under the name of W. H. Battle and Sons. In January, 1876, he formed a partnership with Samuel F. Mordecai, under the style of Battle and Mordecai, which firm continued into the twentieth century. "No man in recent years has attained to a higher eminence in the profession" than he. He was a member of the state Democratic committee, serving as chairman from 1884 to 1888; served as president of the board of directors of Rex Hospital for years; was director of the Citizens' National Bank, Raleigh, of the Raleigh Cotton Mills, and of the Neuse River Cotton Mills; and was president of the North Carolina Home Insurance Company. He became a trustee of the University of North Carolina in 1879; became secretary and treasurer in 1891; was one of the founders of the Good Shepherd Protestant Episcopal Church; and in 1886 he became a member of the general convention of the Episcopal Church throughout the United States. Samuel A. Ashe, editor, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 39-43.

<sup>7</sup> William Daniel was born in Winchester, Virginia, on November 26, 1806, and died in Lynchburg, Virginia, on March 28, 1873. He was educated at Hampden-Sydney College and at the University of Virginia, and while yet a youth was a lawyer of large practice and wide reputation for his eloquence. He was elected to the Virginia house of delegates before he was of age; was an elector on the Polk ticket in 1844; and served as judge of the supreme court of appeals in Virginia from 1847 to 1865. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 75.

<sup>8</sup> James H. Harris of Wake County, North Carolina, was a native of the state, but he was educated in Ohio. He had unusual ability as a speaker and was an outstanding Negro. He served as grand marshal of the Union League of North Carolina; served in each house of the legislature, and became a candidate for Congress in 1868 for the fourth district, but John Deweese bought him off by paying him \$1,000. He was a prominent figure in the railroad scandals and in the "Kirk-Holden War." *A Manual of North Carolina*, 1913, p. 832; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 150, 247, 254, 281, 335n, 336, 350, 368, 404, 492n, 497, 583, 583n.

<sup>9</sup> The National Equal Rights League was only one of the various organizations working for the advancement of the Negroes of the South. It was not always called the same name in various sections.

<sup>10</sup> William Woods Holden (November 24, 1818-March 1, 1892) became a printer and then editor. He was a leading secessionist, but began to shift about 1860. He was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore conventions; was a member of the North Carolina secession convention and favored withdrawal from the Union; backed Vance for governor and then broke

I told him he was not radical enough and that he was on both sides if I judged his remarks correctly.

And he is on the list of officers of the National Equal Rights League with Langston<sup>11</sup> and others. If Langston would write him a letter complaining of his course and advising him to be bolder for the right I see no reason why I should not hope to see this State saved.

There is to be a great Republican meeting tonight and I am invited to speak. I am now at a loss to know which way to proceed, whether to go to Charleston where we have organizations or to New Orleans where we have none. I will Telegraph Judge Edmunds<sup>12</sup> for instructions.

Nothing but the League will do in the south. the colored men like it and feel secure by its obligations. The whites and blacks meet and work in perfect harmony here and I rejoice to inform you that I see the slavish prejudice which has been so widespread down here gradually disappearing.

Believe me as ever

Most Truly Yours

Thomas W. Conway<sup>13</sup>

Raleigh N. C Dec 3<sup>d</sup> 1867

Hon. S. P. Chase

Dear Sir

Your kind letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> ult. has been received. I am Scarcely able to express my thanks for the encomium from a Source So honorable.

I trust I may be able to reciprocate. in 1868 the dear words of encouragement and compliment so freely bestowed in your letter. you can hardly concieve [*sic*] the genuine pleasure that animates us hourly. darke [*sic*] clouds have been rolled aside and the effrulsent sun of liberty shines with un diminished splendor over the redeemed and purified Commonwealth of my nativity.

yours very truly

J. H. Harris<sup>14</sup>

with him; and ran for governor in 1864 with the idea of withdrawing from the Southern Confederacy. President Johnson appointed him provisional governor in May, 1865; the Senate later refused to confirm him as minister to San Salvador; he became a strong radical reconstructionist; was elected governor in 1868; but was impeached and removed after the Democrats swept the state in the election of 1870. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 138-140.

<sup>11</sup> John Mercer Langston was born in Louisa County, Virginia, on December 14, 1829; was an outstanding Negro; attended the common schools of Ohio and graduated from Oberlin College in 1849 in the literary department and in 1852 in the theological department; studied law in Elyria, Ohio; was admitted to the bar in 1854 and commenced to practice in Oberlin, Ohio; took an active part in recruiting Colored troops in the Civil War; held several offices in Ohio; and moved to Washington, D. C., where he practiced law. He was dean of law department of Howard University from 1869 to 1876; was appointed member of the board of health of the District of Columbia in 1871; was consul general to Haiti and chargé d'affaires to Santo Domingo; was made vice president and acting president of Howard University in 1872; was a delegate to the Republican Convention in 1876; became president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, Petersburg, Virginia, in 1885; in congress from September 23, 1890, to March 3, 1891; was defeated for Congress in 1891; and died in Washington on November 15, 1897. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, pp. 1202-1203.

<sup>12</sup> George Franklin Edmunds was born in Vermont on February 1, 1828; was educated in the common schools and by private tutor; studied law and began to practice in 1849; served in both houses of the Vermont legislature, presiding over each house; served in the Senate from April 3, 1866, until his resignation on November 1, 1891; was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1877; resumed the practice of law in Philadelphia; and later moved to Pasadena, California, where he died on February 27, 1919. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 934.

<sup>13</sup> The editor has been unable to identify Thomas W. Conway.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 234, note 8.

Raleigh N. C. June 10<sup>th</sup> 1868

Dear Judge:

I passed through Richmond Saturday Morning and regretted that I was unable to stop and see you. I find that a decided majority of the intelligent opponents of the "Radicals" are for you. There are some who hold back, but their prejudices are by no means insuperable. Your friends are zealous and determined, and I am assured that a majority of the delegates to the New York Convention are for you.<sup>15</sup> They are not confined to either class of the old party politicians, but embrace both Whigs and democrats, or Unionists and Secessionists. Carter,<sup>16</sup> when whom you saw here is warm in the cause. So is James M. Leach<sup>17</sup> of Lexington who was for some years in Congress. Gov. Matt. Ransom,<sup>18</sup> of the rebel army, and a man of talent and influence, is for you, and I may say the same of nearly all the lawyers, Leach and Ransom. Gov. Graham<sup>19</sup> is reserved as you are aware, but I believe, he will take the same view. Mr. Moore,<sup>20</sup> Mr. Haywood,<sup>21</sup> Mr. Badger<sup>22</sup> jr, and Judge Fowler are out spoken. There is a general desire to see you, and I am asked at every turn, if you will be here.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The Democratic convention in New York in 1868 was a hotly contested affair. For twenty-one ballots no decision was made, but on the twenty-second ballot with a landslide Horatio Seymour was nominated. He had not been in the race before this ballot. On the eighteenth ballot Chase received half of a vote, on the nineteenth the same, and on the twenty-first four votes. Since Chase could not be nominated on the Republican ticket he was willing to run on any ticket. Edward Stanwood (revised by Charles Knowles Bolton), *A History of the Presidency*, I, 325-326.

<sup>16</sup> D. M. Carter approved the plan of reconstruction for North Carolina introduced by Thaddeus Stevens on December 13, 1866. In 1872 he ran in the first district of North Carolina as a Conservative against C. R. Cobb, the Republican, but lost. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 187n, 587n.

<sup>17</sup> James Madison Leach was born in Randolph County, North Carolina, on January 17, 1815, and died in Lexington, on June 1, 1891. He attended the common schools and Caldwell Institute, and graduated from West Point in 1838. After studying law he was admitted to the bar in 1842 and located in Lexington. He was in the state house of representatives from 1848 to 1858; was in Congress as a Whig from March 4, 1859, to March 3, 1861; and served as captain and then as lieutenant-colonel in the Confederate Army. He was in the Confederate Congress in 1864 and 1865; in the state senate in 1865, 1866, and 1879; and served in Congress as a Conservative or Democrat from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1875, but refused to run again. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1212.

<sup>18</sup> Matt Whitaker Ransom was born in North Carolina on October 8, 1826, and died in the same state on October 8, 1904. He graduated from the state university in 1847, and, after studying law, he began to practice in Warrenton. He was attorney general of North Carolina from 1852 to 1855; served in the state house of representatives from 1858 to 1860; and was in the Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1861, as a peace commissioner. He entered the army as a private and rose to the rank of major-general; served in the Senate from January 30, 1872, to March 3, 1895; was minister to Mexico from 1895 to 1897; and then engaged in agriculture. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1444.

<sup>19</sup> William Alexander Graham was born in Lincoln County, North Carolina, on September 5, 1804, and died in Saratoga Springs, New York, on August 11, 1875. After graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1824, and after admission to the bar in New Bern, he began to practice in Hillsboro. He served several terms in the state legislature, being speaker more than once; was a United States Senator from December 10, 1840, to March 3, 1843; was elected governor in 1844 and 1846, but refused to run for the third term; and declined the mission to Spain in 1849. He was Secretary of the Navy from 1850 to 1852; was the Whig nominee for Vice President in 1852; served in the Confederate Senate from 1864 to the close of the war; was a member of the Union Convention in Philadelphia in 1866; and at the time of his death was on a committee to settle the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 701-702.

<sup>20</sup> Bartholomew F. Moore was a leader in the North Carolina convention of 1865; drafted a freedmen's code; favored a convention, but opposed the constitution as made; and wrote the protest of the bar against the Reconstruction regime. For years he was known as the "father of the bar." Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 121, 124, 131, 153, 173, 176, 250, 283, 390, 392-393, 399n, 605.

<sup>21</sup> Edmund Burke Haywood was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, on June 13, 1825; was educated at the University of North Carolina and received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1849; and began to practice in Raleigh where he was still living in 1887. In 1861 he was appointed surgeon over the Confederate hospitals in Raleigh and Richmond; and was acting medical director of the department of North Carolina, and president of the board to grant discharges from 1863 until the close of the war, when he

I hope you will find it convenient to come. Judge Brooks,<sup>24</sup> who is also your friend, desires to see you, and reserves the Grand Jury for you to charge. — In fact, the business of the Grand Jury is not yet through with.

In regard to the obstruction process, I may say to you, that the officials at Washington fully approve my course, and would have acted as they did formerly if the impeachment had not been pending. Binckly intimated his to me. Of course I would not make public a fact so little creditable to the independence of the Government. — Such is poor human nature. I doubt not the Administration would be strengthened in the back by a charge to the Grand Jury from you, while you would be applauded by the country, North and South. What I did to defeat Sickles's<sup>25</sup> arbitrary orders gained me the confidence of the intelligence of the State, without distinction of parties while I made not an enemy even among the debtor class. It was manifest that I did what the law and my oath of office required of me, and that fact excused me even with those who would gladly postpone or escape the payment of their debts,

As an old Anti-Slavery Republican I have deemed it inexpedient to press your name upon the attention of democrats; but I have no occasion to do so— I can accomplish a great deal more by merely answering their spon-

returned to his practice. He was president of the Medical Association of North Carolina in 1868, and, from 1871 to 1877, of the state insane asylum. He was a delegate to the International medical congress in Philadelphia in 1876, and contributed papers to various surgical and medical journals. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 148.

<sup>22</sup> Richard C. Badger was counsel for Governor Holden in the Kirk-Holden arrests of the Ku Klux leaders in North Carolina. He was also chief counsel with four associates for Holden in his impeachment trial. He was conservative and opposed the use of the militia in the arrest of the leaders in the Ku Klux war. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 362n, 397-398, 446, 497, 508, 510, 546-547, 553, 561, 596-597, 637n, 639.

<sup>23</sup> In June, 1867, Chase held a session of the circuit court in Raleigh and ordered that the jury list should contain "all persons regardless of race or color, otherwise qualified." Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 200, 228, 231-232.

<sup>24</sup> George Washington Brooks (March 16, 1821-January 6, 1882) was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. After attending Belvidere Academy he studied law; served in the legislature in 1852; was in the convention of 1865-66; and allied himself with the Union men. His friendliness with the administration in Washington led President Johnson to name him United States district judge in August, 1865, which nomination was confirmed on January 22, 1866. The conduct of his office until his death was marked by sound judgment and industry. When Holden in 1870 invoked martial law in two counties of the state, proposed to try the offenders by a military court, and treated the state supreme court with contempt, those who were arrested took their cases to Judge Brooks, who immediately issued writs of *habeas corpus*. This was the first time the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was invoked to protect white men. *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Edgar Sickles was born in New York City on October 20, 1823, and died there on May 3, 1914. After learning the printer's trade and working at it for several years, he studied law and practiced in New York City. He served in the legislature, was corporation counsel, and was secretary to the legation in London from 1853 to 1855. He served in the state senate from 1856 to 1857; was Representative in Congress from March 4, 1857, to March 3, 1861; and was tried for the murder of Philip Barton Key, whom he shot on account of intimacy with his wife. At the outbreak of the war he raised the Excelsior Brigade of United States volunteers in New York City and became colonel of one of the five regiments. He fought under Joseph Hooker. On March 7, 1863, he was made a major-general, and played a leading role in the Battle of Gettysburg as well as in many other battles. In 1865 he was sent to Colombia and to other South American countries on official business. He joined the army again as colonel on July 28, 1866; was commander of the military of the district of the Carolinas from 1865 to 1867, but was removed by President Johnson for his strictness. On January 1, 1868, he was mustered out of volunteer service and on April 14, 1869, he was placed on the retired list. He declined the mission to the Netherlands and to Mexico; backed Grant for the Presidency; and served as minister to Spain from May 15, 1869 to March 20, 1873. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 523; *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1524.

taneous inquiries, I cannot turn round without meeting them. I hope you will find it convenient to come.

I am with great regard

Your friend & obt. sevt.

Daniel R. Goodloe<sup>26</sup>

Hon. S. P. Chase  
Richmond, Va.

Raleigh N C June 17/68

Hon S P. Chase Chief Justice

My Dear Judge—

I have read your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> addressed to Mr. Goodloe this Evening. I did not reply to your letter immediately because the Grand Jury had had so far progressed with their business as to render it necessary to discharge them some days before you suggested you would be able to come to Raleigh— I well know too that the members of the bar in attendance upon the Court— or most of them would leave during the 2<sup>nd</sup> week of the term. And I could not write that there would exist that necessity for your presence or that your attendance at the Court would so pertinent to you as if you could have attended the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> weeks of the term—

Most of the *Non* resident Lawyers have left— The Grand Jury was discharged last week— & we are quietly trying civil causes—

The Lawyers & people were disappointed that you did not attend & expressed their regret unreservedly—

I hope that I will be able to close the term this week, but rather doubt my ability to do so—

I am Sir

Very truly Yours

G. W. Brooks<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Reaves Goodloe was born in Louisburg, North Carolina, on May 28, 1814; was educated at the "old field" schools and at Louisburg Academy; and was a printer's apprentice for two and a half years. His newspaper, *The Examiner*, soon went broke, leaving him in debt. He then read law and began to practice at Louisburg, but as clients did not come he moved to Tennessee after two years and later migrated to Washington, D. C. For a while he was assistant editor of the *Whig Standard*, and when it failed he edited the *Georgetown Advocate*, and then he was associate editor of the *National Era*, an outstanding anti-slavery paper in Washington. He became a noted anti-slavery leader, and when the *Era* failed in the first part of the Civil War, he was a Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*. In 1862 Goodloe became chairman of the committee to pay out \$1,000,000 for liberated slaves in the District of Columbia. He was assistant editor of the *Chronicle* for some time after this until he went to North Carolina in 1865 as United States marshal. When Grant became President he was removed. He later returned to Washington where he compiled *The Birth of the Republic* and *A Synopsis of Debates in Congress for a Century*. In 1900 he was again living in North Carolina. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 71.

<sup>27</sup> See above, page 237, note 24.

PART XII  
OTHER LETTERS

LETTERS TO LYMAN TRUMBULL

The papers of Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, purchased by the Library of Congress in 1906, number approximately 3,700 pages and are bound in seventy-seven volumes. These letters begin in 1855, when Trumbull took his seat in the Senate, and continue until 1872. The greatest number of manuscripts found in any one year are for 1861, but the political campaign of 1872 also contributed a large proportion. There are few papers for the years 1863 and 1870.

Private correspondence comprises almost the entire collection. It relates for the most part to his services as United States Senator, but there are a few letters from the Southern states from those who favored the Republican rule. Many of his letters are from leaders in the party such as Charles Sumner, Stephen A. Douglas, William Herndon, S. P. Chase, John G. Nicholay, Zachariah Chandler, Lydia M. Child, Preston King, Simon Cameron, Joseph Medill, J. W. Grimes, Horace Greely, John G. Palmer and John Pope.

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OFFICE OF  
THE BATTLEBORO ADVANCE.<sup>1</sup>  
CHARLES A. CAMP, *Publisher*  
CICERO W. HARRIS, *Editor.*

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.<sup>2</sup>

Battleboro, N.C. Jan 30, 1872.

Dear Sir:

I take the liberty of enclosing herewith two articles on current politics, prepared by myself as editorial contributor of the journal in which the articles appear.

<sup>1</sup> *The Battleboro Advance* was published from 1870 to 1873. It was the only paper ever published in the town. *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Lyman Trumbull was born in Colchester, Connecticut, on October 12, 1813, and died in Chicago, Illinois, on June 25, 1896. He attended Bacon Academy; taught school in Connecticut from 1829 to 1833; studied law, was admitted to the bar, and began to practice in Greenville, Georgia; moved to Belleville, Illinois; and became a member of the state house of representatives in 1840. He was secretary of state in Illinois in 1841 and 1842; served as justice of the supreme court of Illinois from 1848 to 1853; was elected as a Republican to the Thirty-fourth Congress in 1854, but before the beginning of Congress was elected to the United States Senate; was reelected in 1861 and 1867, and served from March 4, 1855, to March 3, 1873; resuming the practice of law in Chicago; was unsuccessful candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket in Illinois in 1880; but as long as he lived he was a force in Illinois politics. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1629.

The views I, as an humble individual hold, are identical with those entertained by large numbers of the representative men of my State and section. The war once waged over abstractions has given place to a struggle between those who desire practical reforms in the administration of the Government and those who are opposed to making these reforms. With us, even the nomenclature of existing parties is lost in the great and absorbing issues of the day. We have watched with deep and ever-increasing interest the Liberal movement in the Northwestern States,<sup>3</sup> and most of us have favored what is termed the Passive Policy, though, fearing that our endorsement might impede that patriotic movement, our press and public men for the most part have maintained a degree of reticence incompatible with their true impulses and the feelings of the people of the Southern States.<sup>4</sup>

I remain, Sir, with much respect,  
Your humble and Ob't Servant.  
Cicero W. Harris.<sup>5</sup>

Charlotte N. C.  
Febr 9th 1872

Hon. Lyman Trumbull

Dear Sir

Having once asked & rec<sup>d</sup> a favor come again to you, this time to crave the favor of one of Prof. Clarence Kings<sup>6</sup> Reports upon the Geology of the Rocky Mts.

I spent 3 years upon the Location of the Pacific Railways & would like one of those Reports.

Senator I have just been upon a long trip from N. Y. to Memphis, Chattanooga Mobile & back viz. Atlanta, & have talked with many of the best men in the South. The people only ask for an honest Administration & were you to accept the nomination you would receive almost the entire vote of the South.

<sup>3</sup> Early in 1872 Trumbull and other leading liberals who favored clean politics came out for the liberal Republican movement. Trumbull was suggested as the candidate and the Cincinnati convention demonstrated that the party would have to make an independent nomination for the machine was certain to push and nominate Grant. Trumbull had been an excellent Senator and would have made a strong candidate, but Charles Francis Adams was the best candidate. A great mass meeting was held and a real delegated convention was worked up which met in Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 1, 1872. They made an excellent platform and proceeded to vote on nominees. On the first ballot Adams had 203, Greeley 147, Trumbull 110, Gratz Brown 95, David Davis 92, and Governor Curtin and Chase each received a few votes. On the sixth ballot Greeley had 332 to Adams 324. After many switches Greeley had 482 to 187 for Adams. Gratz Brown was then nominated for Vice President. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 37-45.

<sup>4</sup> In North Carolina the liberal Republican movement did not gain much headway, though it is true that several men favored the movement and some few worked for it in the states. Perhaps the best known leaders for it were H. H. Helper and Daniel Reaves Goodloe. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> The editor has been unable to identify Cicero W. Harris any more than he identifies himself in this letter.

<sup>6</sup> Clarence King was born in Rhode Island on January 6, 1842; graduated from Yale University in 1862, and the next year crossed on horseback from the Missouri River to California where he joined the geological survey of that state and continued in the work until 1866, chiefly in the high Sierra and gold belt. His palaeontological discoveries furnished the evidence on which rests the determination of the age of the gold-bearing rocks. On his return to the East he organized an elaborate plan for a complete geological section of the western Cordillera system at its widest expansion on the fortieth parallel. The Union and Central Pacific railroads were to run through this region. It was thought that the land should be settled before the roads were actually built. The plans received the sanction of the chief of engineers and of the

This may seem strange to you, but it is *honestly* true. Not because you are as they Expect you to be other than a true Republican, but that they hope for an honest Man.

I sincerely hope, as a long time admirer, & friend of yours, that you will receive the nomination ( & accept the same) of President of a United Republic.

Very Respectfully Yours

J. O. Hudnutt<sup>7</sup>

Warrenton N.C. April 3<sup>d</sup> 1872

My Dear Sir

I write to inform you that I received the Documents you sent me a few days ago and are [*sic*] under many obligations to you for the same

A meeting was held in this place on Saturday the 30<sup>th</sup> ult. for the purpose of appointing Delegates to the Cincinnati Convention.<sup>8</sup> The following are a list of the Delegates Viz, Hon. Daniel R. Goodloe<sup>9</sup> Alex M. Boyd and James M. Ransom. The last two are Colored though they are very intelligent men, both of them

My respects to Mr. Jno. D. Defrees,<sup>10</sup> I will write to him soon.

Yours Very truly

W<sup>m</sup> Cawthorn<sup>11</sup>

Hon L. Trumbull

U.S.S.

Washington

D.C.

Secretary of War, and in March, 1867, after the necessary legislation was secured King was given charge of the expedition. With a large civilian staff of engineers he pursued this work in the field from 1867 to 1872. His reports were published from 1870 to 1878, under the title "Professional Papers of the Engineer Department, U. S. Army," in seven quarto volumes and two atlases. His exposure of the fraudulent diamond-field in 1872 was characteristic. These stones had been purchased in London and carefully "planted" in various parts of the West. In 1878 the national surveys then in the field, organized under different departments of the government, were, at his suggestion, consolidated under the United States Geological Survey, and the directorship was given to King. He accepted with the understanding that he would remain in the work only long enough to appoint the staff, to organize the work, and to outline its policy. He resigned in 1881, and devoted his time to special geological investigations. He held membership in a host of societies and organizations and was a writer of much ability. He had great endurance, but he often had serious breakdowns. Financial losses in 1893-94 temporarily unbalanced his mind to such an extent that he spent several months in an asylum. In 1901 an attack of pneumonia resulted in tuberculosis which caused his death on December 24, 1901. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 545; *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 384-386.

<sup>7</sup>Since J. O. Hudnutt was not a Federal office holder in the state and apparently only a temporary resident in North Carolina, the editor has found it impossible to identify him.

<sup>8</sup>The Cincinnati convention in 1872 was the convention of the liberal Republicans. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 37-44.

<sup>9</sup>Daniel Reaves Goodloe was born in Louisburg, North Carolina, on May 28, 1814; was educated at "old field" school houses and at Louisburg Academy; was apprenticed to a printer at Oxford for some time; published the *Examiner* there for a while, but all he got out of it was experience and debt; read law and practiced in Louisburg for a couple of years; but when very few clients came he moved to Tennessee and then to Washington, D. C. Here he soon fell in with the anti-slavery faction; worked for two or three papers here; and was made chairman of a committee to distribute over \$1,000,000 to pay for the freed slaves in the District of Columbia. The committee sat for nine months and awarded pay for 3,000 slaves. In 1865 he became United States marshal for North Carolina, and located again in the state. He fell out with the Republicans and Grant on account of the carpetbaggers of the state. After giving up his position in North Carolina he returned to Washington where he engaged in writing. In 1900 he was living in North Carolina, but died on January 18, 1902. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 71; *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 390-391.

<sup>10</sup>John Dougherty Defrees was born in Sparta, Tennessee, on November 8, 1811, and died in Berkeley Springs, West Virginia, on October 19, 1882. In 1818 he was apprenticed by his father to a printer in Ohio and at the same time began the study of law. He was

## A LETTER TO THADDEUS STEVENS

Lexington N. C. March 4<sup>th</sup>/ 67

Hon<sup>e</sup> Thaddius Stepens<sup>12</sup>  
40th U S. Congress

Dear Sir, The loyal people of North Carolina, hail the passage of the reconstruction Bill<sup>13</sup> with feelings of Joy & look to it as fully adequate to protect the loyal Men of the rebel States. If carried into effect, to the strict letter of the Bill, and we think that it will fully purge the Govt of disloyalty, Provided the Authorities of the Govt will not enfranchise the rebels too soon, If they can be kept out of power, and are not suffered to have any part in reconstructing the rebel States, we think the elements of Seseession and disloyalty Can be fully eradicated, but should they be permitted to continue in office, hold the reins of State Government, they will have to die the second death, But if the bill as passed by Your Hon<sup>e</sup> body is fully adhered to, and the State Govt suspended, and the rebel legislatures dissolved by the Military Commanders of each district, or your Hon<sup>e</sup> body, we think, then, the persecutions and denouncements against Congress, and Union men, will cease, and not until then and then, Union Sentiments will be respectable in North Carolina, But if they are permitted still to hold offices of the State Govt and legislate for the same, we need not look to the future with much hope, The legislative body of North Carolina have adjourned to day to meet again in May as we understand for the purpose of passing a convention bill by which the State is to be reconstructed Now we only ask that justice be done, and we can speak with confidence without the fear of contradiction, that three-fourths of the present legislative body are diametrically opposed to the Congress of the United States have and will in the future, if permitted by Your Hon<sup>e</sup> body, legislate in that direction which will tend to make Union sentiments dishonorable and Cesessin [*sic*] honorable. And we the loyal people of North Carolina, Who have stood up for the Congress & republican party, having passed through a four years war, and two years unparaleled persecution since the surrender on account of our devotion to the Union, Humbly ask Your Hon<sup>e</sup> body, Not to permit the present rebel legislature to have any part or parcel of reconstruction, for we are Confident they have no sympathy for Your Hon<sup>e</sup> Congress any of its acts, for every man in North Carolina who defended the Howard Amendment or the acts of

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admitted to the bar in Indiana in 1836, having removed to that state with his brother a few years before to establish a newspaper. He was soon elected to the legislature and was several times reelected. In 1844 he resigned his seat in the state senate and bought the *Indiana State Journal*, a weekly periodical published in Indianapolis. He soon made it a daily and edited it for several years. He allied himself with the Republicans after the death of the Whig party; was chairman of the first state Republican committee from 1856 to 1860; was well known by the leading men of the party at that time; and was appointed by Lincoln to the office of government printer which position he filled for many years. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 124.

<sup>11</sup> William Cawthorn was a Negro politician of Warren County, North Carolina. He was elected to the house of representatives of the state from Warren County in 1868 and 1870. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 838, 862.

<sup>12</sup> This letter should have been included with the Thaddeus Stevens letters, published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (1941), 171-195, but it was found later. For a discussion of the Stevens papers in the Library of Congress and a character sketch of the man, see the introduction to those letters.

<sup>13</sup> For a full discussion of the Reconstructilon bill see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (1941), page 183, note 35, and page 193, note 61.

Congress, have been denounced in unmeasurable terms, As being "free Negro equalizers" and "Radicals" especially all the friends of Mrssors. [sic] Stephens, [sic]<sup>14</sup> Kelly,<sup>15</sup> Sumner,<sup>16</sup> Wilson<sup>17</sup> & Others, In fact they are down on the whole republican Party to all interests and Purposes.<sup>18</sup>

Now, after the Republican Party has fought down the rebellion, Preserved the Union, and have restored Peace and tranquility to the Nation, We hope Your Hon<sup>e</sup> body will not Permit rebel legislatures to Participate in reconstruction. If they are permitted so to do, "butternuts<sup>19</sup>, , "Cesesh, , Modern "Democracy, , and latter day War Saints, , will hold the Offices of the Country, Union men will be crushed out, But we hope for better things, and we do fondly hope that the latter class may not be permitted to have rule in any way and that they will not be pardoned too soon for premature pardons has only emboldened them, "because judgment upon evil doers is not executed speedily, therefore the hearts of rebels are fully set in them to do evil, , ,

The Bill passed by Congress, has had a salutary effect upon the Country, and has caused Cesesh in some measure to cease to dictate their own terms of the States being restored to her federal relations with the American Union, And we state the matters of fact set forth here, being present four

<sup>14</sup> Thaddeus Stevens (April 4, 1792-August 11, 1868) was born in Vermont and died in Washington, D. C. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1814, he moved to Pennsylvania where he studied law and entered upon his career, which was not so much legal work as politics. He was sent to the legislature four times and then served in Congress from March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1853, and from March 4, 1859, until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1568.

<sup>15</sup> William Darrah Kelley was born in Philadelphia on April 12, 1814; pursued a classical education; was apprenticed to a jewelry establishment; worked in Boston as a jeweler; and returned to Philadelphia where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was deputy prosecuting attorney for the city and county of Philadelphia in 1845-46; served as judge of the court of common pleas for Philadelphia from 1846 to 1856; was a delegate to the National Republican convention in 1860; and served in Congress as a Representative from March 4, 1861, until his death in Washington, D. C., on January 9, 1890. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1171.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Sumner was born in Massachusetts on January 6, 1811; graduated from Harvard University in 1830 and from Harvard Law School in 1833, and engaged in the practice of law, lecturing at Harvard, travelling in Europe, and engaging in politics. He helped found the Free-Soil party in 1848; and then served in the Senate from April 24, 1851, until his death on March 11, 1874. He was the Senate leader in radical Reconstruction. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1586.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Wilson was born in New Hampshire on February 16, 1812; changed his name from Jeremiah Jones Colbath to Henry Wilson; became a shoemaker; taught school; served in the state senate; was an editor; served in the Senate from January 31, 1855, to March 3, 1873; and was Vice President from March 4, 1873, until his death on November 22, 1875. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1713.

<sup>18</sup> In fact the legislature in North Carolina in 1866-67 was composed largely of old-time Whigs and was very conservative. It rejected the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, hence it could do nothing but await events. After Congress took up Reconstruction and took it out of the hands of the President, the legislature could do nothing more until word came from Congress. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 182-190.

<sup>19</sup> *Butternuts* as well as other terms were often used in the South as names of reproach for the Democrats or leaders of secession, and in the North for those opposed to the war. The more general term used was *copperheads*. They were encouraged by the Democratic success in 1862. They urged restoration of the Union by negotiation and not by war; denounced conscription, military arrests, emancipation, and other war measures; and were especially troublesome in the Northwest and in certain other sections of the North. C. L. Vallandigham of Ohio, Alexander Long, Fernando Wood, and B. G. Harris were noted leaders. In 1862 they organized the "Knights of the Golden Circle," changed to the "Order of American Knights" in 1863 and to the "Sons of Liberty" in 1864. They controlled the Democratic party in 1864 and put into the platform a plank, written by Vallandigham, denouncing the war as a failure and demanding peace on the basis of a restored Union. James Truslow Adams, *Dictionary of American History*, II, 57-58.

years in war two years since the surrender, the practical operations. by rebel leaders and rebel legislatures as the statute books will show and facts undeniable

We have the Honor to be

Your Obt Servts

W. F. Henderson<sup>20</sup>

H. Adams

George Kinney

P. A. Long

George Riley.

### THREE LETTERS TO EDWARD MCPHERSON<sup>21</sup>

OFFICE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STANDARD,

Raleigh, Dec. 16<sup>th</sup> 1870

Hon. Ed McPherson,<sup>22</sup>

Clerk House Representatives:

Sir:

Yours of the 14<sup>th</sup> inst., informing that the *Standard*<sup>23</sup> has been selected to publish the acts and Resolutions of Congress, and such public treaties as are entered into between the United States and either nations, has been received. Thanking you for the favor conferred. I inform that I accept the proposition and will publish the laws in conformity with your com-

<sup>20</sup> William F. Henderson "who stole Darr's mule," or "who was acquitted of stealing Darr's mule," as characterized by Josiah Turner, was a unique figure in North Carolina politics. In 1868 he was president of the Heroes of America, and his address to them on August 26, 1868, was a masterpiece and must have been written by someone else, for Henderson was almost illiterate. He was nominated for Congress in 1868, but in the political squabble withdrew in favor of I. G. Lash, the sitting member, and, after seventy ballots in 1874 he was nominated as a sacrifice candidate, for it was known that the Democrats would win. He attended the famous Pool-Holden meeting on June 8, 1870, when it was decided to send Kirk against the Ku Kluxers. He was Holden's trusted adviser and wrote him that Kirk's movement was necessary for the success of the party and for his (Holden's) advancement. He was assessor of internal revenue and offered freedom to any Ku Kluxer who would give evidence implicating J. M. Leach, who had defeated him for Congress. Although he was uneducated, almost illiterate, and not of the type that had any interest in education, he did a notable work in helping to rebuild the University of North Carolina after the close of the war. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, pp. 274n, 281, 364, 367, 497, 505, 580, 601, 623.

<sup>21</sup> These three letters really belong with the McPherson letters, published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 187-208, but as they are in the Edward McPherson Papers, Special Collection, acquired by the Library of Congress after those letters were published, they were not published with those letters. For an account of the McPherson Papers in the Library of Congress and other information about McPherson, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), 187, 188.

<sup>22</sup> Edward McPherson (July 31, 1830-December 14, 1895) was born in Pennsylvania. He attended the public schools and Pennsylvania (now Gettysburg) College. For some time he studied law, but changed to journalism, and most of his life was connected with various newspapers. He served in the House of Representatives from 1859 to 1863, but was defeated in 1862. He was clerk of the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1875, 1881 to 1883, and 1889 to 1891. He was of great assistance to the Speaker in directing him in parliamentary procedure. On December 4, 1865, as clerk of the previous House he called the new House to order and then called the roll. Amidst great confusion and excitement he executed the decision of a Republican caucus agreed on two days before: that the newly elected members from the South should not be seated or even given the status of contestants. He refused to listen to any protests from the newly elected members from the South on the ground that only those whose names he had called would be permitted to speak. In 1860 he was on the National Republican committee; was permanent chairman of the convention in 1876; and was secretary of the Republican Congressional committee in 1880. For some time he served as chief of the bureau of printing and engraving, but soon returned to Gettysburg where he edited a newspaper. He was the editor of the *New York Tribune Almanac and Political Register* from 1877 to 1895. He is best known for his *Political History of the United States of America*

munication. Mr. J.C.S. Harris will be entitled to the compensation. I have notified the Department of State of the acceptance.

Very truly Yours,

J.C.L. Harris.<sup>24</sup>

Hon. Edward McPherson,  
Washington, D. C.

Office "Pioneer"<sup>25</sup>  
Asheville, N.C. Dec. 19/70

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of your communication, notifying us, that the "Pioneer" had been selected for the "publishing such acts and resolutions passed during the Third Session of the Forty-First Congress: and, also, such public treaties entered into and ratified by the United States as may be selected by the Secretary of State"

We shall discharge the duty to the best of our ability, and in accordance with the directions contained in your communication

Respectfully

Pinkney Rollins<sup>26</sup>

Ed & Prop "Pioneer"

*During the Great Rebellion; Political History of the United States During the Period of Reconstruction; Political Manual*, published annually from 1866 to 1869; and *Handbook of Politics*, published biennially from 1868 to 1894. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 159-160.

<sup>23</sup> *The North Carolina Standard* was Holden's newspaper and the organ of his party. It is doubtful if many small newspapers took such an active part in politics during Reconstruction as did the *Standard*. Just before the contest began William E. Pell, a former assistant of Holden, started the *Sentinel*. It soon became the organ of the anti-Holden faction. These two papers carried on a continuous scrap during Reconstruction. Between 1834 and 1870 *The Standard* was a weekly. It was also a daily from 1865 to 1870, and part of the time there was also a semi-weekly *Standard*. It often changed its name slightly. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 118-119, *passim*; *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 507.

<sup>24</sup> Little is known about J. C. L. Harris except that he was connected with the radical Republicans and was made assistant assessor of internal revenue with no other than political duties. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 588.

<sup>25</sup> On May 16, 1866, the *Henderson Pioneer*, backed by some of the leading Republicans in Buncombe and Henderson counties, made its appearance as the organ of the Republican party in that section of the state. It was one of the two papers first designated by Edward McPherson to publish the laws and legal advertisements of the United States. It had a rather short existence. It was a weekly news sheet. The *Asheville Pioneer* was also a weekly newspaper which began its operation in June, 1866, and died in 1879. These papers were under the same men, such as A. H. Jones, Pinckney Rollins, and E. R. Hampton, with the last two men acting as editors at various times. *The Asheville Pioneer* was a large six-column newspaper and usually had four pages and made a good appearance. *Union List of Newspapers*, pp. 498, 502. See also the papers themselves in the Library of Congress; Edward McPherson Papers, Library of Congress, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Pinckney Rollins was nominated by Grant for internal revenue collector for the seventh North Carolina district, on March 31, 1869. The nomination was referred to the committee on finance on April 3, was favorably reported on April 5, and was confirmed on April 7. According to one report he was born in South Carolina and according to another he was born in North Carolina. At any rate he was in North Carolina when the appointment was made and was employed in Asheville at a salary of \$1,500 per annum. In 1873 he was still in the office. For some time he was editor of the *Pioneer* and then E. R. Hampton edited it for some time and Rollins seems to have taken it back. The last number which contains his name as editor is that of August 29, 1874, and the issue of September 5 lists Rollins as editor and proprietor. In this issue Hampton gave his valedictory editorial and Pinckney Rollins, upon again becoming editor and proprietor, issued his salutatory editorial. Hampton was solicitor for a short time. The main purpose of the paper seems to have been to secure political printing. *Senate Executive Journal*, XVII, 1869-71, pp. 71, 74, 79, 87, 99; *United States Official Register*, 1869, p. 85; 1873, p. 83; files of the *Pioneer* in the Library of Congress; Edward McPherson Papers, Library of Congress, *passim*, especially, for December 6, 1873, November 30, 1874.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,  
DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA,

At Chambers at Elizabeth City.

Febry 3<sup>d</sup> 1872

E McPherson Esq  
Clerk House Rep

Sir

Yours of 31<sup>st</sup> Jany- informing me of the Designation by you of the North Carolina Era<sup>27</sup> published at Raleigh N C. in the place of the Asheville Pioneer as one of the newspapers in which to publish the Laws of the U States & notices required to be published by order of the District & Circuit Courts of the U States for the Dist of N Carolina, has been received-

It will be my pleasure as it is my duty to make such orders as may be required under the Act of 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1867.

Your Obt Servt

G W Brooks<sup>28</sup>  
U States Dist Judge

A LETTER TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE

Benjamin Franklin Wade was born in Feeding Hills, Massachusetts, on October 27, 1800; received his early education from his mother; moved with his parents to Andover, Ohio, in 1821; taught school; studied medicine in Albany, New York, 1823-1825; returned to Ohio; studied law; and after admission to the bar in 1828 he began to practice in Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Ohio. He was prosecuting attorney for the county from 1835 to 1837; was in the state senate in 1837 and 1838; was president judge of the third judicial court of Ohio from 1847 to 1851; served in the Senate from March 15, 1851, to March 3, 1869, first as a Whig and then twice as a Republican; but he was defeated for reelection in 1868. He was president *pro tempore* of the Senate from March 2, 1867, to March 3, 1869; was a delegate to the Southern Loyalists convention in Philadelphia in 1866; was considered for Vice-President by the Republicans

<sup>27</sup> *The North Carolina Era* was a tri-weekly from 1871 to 1876; a weekly from 1871 to 1877, and a daily from 1872 to 1873. It was published at Raleigh and was in the hands of the Republicans. *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 505.

<sup>28</sup> George Washington Brooks (March 16, 1821-January 6, 1882) was born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. After attending Belvidere Academy he studied law; served in the legislature in 1852; was in the convention of 1865-66; and allied himself with the Union men. His friendliness with the administration in Washington led President Johnson to name him United States district judge in August, 1865, which nomination was confirmed on January 22, 1866. The conduct of the office until his death was marked by sound judgment and industry. When Holden in 1870 invoked martial law in two counties of North Carolina, proposed to try the offenders by a military court, and treated the state supreme court with contempt, those arrested took their cases to Brooks, who immediately issued writs of *habeas corpus*. This was the first time the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was invoked to protect white men. *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 77.

in 1868; returned to his legal practice in Jefferson, Ohio, in 1869; and was appointed a government director of the Pacific Railroad. He also served as a member of the Santo Domingo Commission in 1871; was chairman of the Ohio delegation in 1876; and died in Jefferson, Ohio, on March 2, 1878.

The Wade papers in the Library of Congress form a small collection in comparison with the outstanding collections of papers. They are mainly from the leading Republicans of his day and a few from the Republicans of the South during Reconstruction. He was not a man to whom the people in the South turned for office or for money for campaigns.<sup>29</sup>

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF NORTH-CAROLINA

Raleigh, Feb'y 13th 1868.

Hon. B. F. Wade—

Sir:

Senator Sherman's Alabama Bill has just reached us.<sup>30</sup> In view of our defeat in that state might it not be well to defer action upon that till after the election in other states? If this is done the inaction policy will be adopted everywhere, otherwise they will do their best to *vote* down the constitutions and may succeed in some.

Please consider the chances.

Yours Respectfully

A. W. Tourgee<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Wade papers in the Library of Congress; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1653.

<sup>30</sup> Alabama went ahead and made her constitution just as the other states, but according to the provisions of the Reconstruction act a majority of the registered voters must vote at the election on ratification. The people were told to register and then refrain from voting. There were about 170,000 registered and only 70,812 voted for the constitution and 1,005 voted against it. After this happened the Reconstruction act was amended so as to provide that only a majority of those voting at the election had to vote in favor of the constitution. Mississippi then voted down her constitution. Nevertheless Alabama, along with five other states, on June 25, 1868, was declared reconstructed. She was in this way saddled with a constitution which her people had failed to ratify. William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>31</sup> Albion Winegar Tourgee was born in Ohio on May 2, 1838; studied at Rochester University, 1859-61; served in the Union Army from 1861 to 1865; settled at Greensboro, North Carolina, as a lawyer, editor, and farmer; favored governing the South as territories and not according to the Reconstruction plan of Congress; prepared the report for the Southern Loyalist convention in Philadelphia on conditions in the South; was an active member of the constitutional conventions in North Carolina in 1868 and 1875; served on the committee to codify and revise the laws of the state; and served as superior court judge by election from 1868 to 1874. He made a good judge except when politics entered in and then he could not be fair. He was made pension commissioner for the state in 1876. He published the *Union Register* in Greensboro from 1866 to 1867, and *The Continent* in Philadelphia from 1882 to 1885. In addition to his legal works he was quite a prolific writer. His best work is *A Fool's Errand, by one of the Fools*. No less than 135,000 copies of this work were sold in 1879. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 143-144; J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina, passim*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

DOWN HOME. By Carl Goerch. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1943. Pp. 375. \$3.00.)

Mr. Goerch does not claim this volume to be a history, although it records many historical facts and gives a historical sketch of every North Carolina county. The first two hundred pages of this very entertaining book are devoted to thirty-eight stories of historical events and personalities, humorous anecdotes, and human interest stories. Many of these sketches have appeared in the columns of Mr. Goerch's paper, *The State*, during its decade of existence and quite a number of them have been discussed by the author in his radio broadcasts. All of the stories make good reading, but those which appeal to the reviewer most are: "The Two Governors," "The Brown Mountain Lights," "Odd Words and Expressions," "The First Airplane Flight," "North Carolina's Hall of Fame," "Most Interesting Thing in Each County," "Good Things to Eat," "Peter Stuart Ney," "Senator Simmons' Own Story," and "The Zipper Story."

In the story of "The Two Governors," John Motley Morehead of North Carolina and J. H. Hammond of South Carolina, Mr. Goerch answers the famous question: "What did the Governor of North Carolina say to the Governor of South Carolina?" The answer is: "It's a damn long time between drinks."

"The North Carolina Hall of Fame" consists of twenty names chosen by R. C. Lawrence, with reasons given for each selection. The list is: Richard Caswell, James Iredell, Sr., William R. Davie, Joseph Caldwell, Nathaniel Macon, Archibald D. Murphey, John M. Morehead, William A. Graham, James C. Dobbin, David L. Swain, Thomas Ruffin, Zebulon B. Vance, Josiah Turner, Jr., Walter Hines Page, Leonidas L. Polk, Walter Clark, Charles D. McIver, Charles B. Aycock, Daniel A. Tompkins, and James B. Duke. Students of North Carolina history may disagree with some of these selections, although most of them will meet with approval. Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Goerch have a right to their opinion and, of course, North Carolina has no Hall of Fame.

In preparing the sketch on "The Most Interesting Thing in Each County," Mr. Goerch says he "put down the first thing that popped into my mind when the names of these counties were suggested." The author is entitled to his opinion, although one

wonders if the Hall of History is the most interesting thing in Wake, the Nash house in Orange, and Fairntosh in Durham.

The twenty-eight page chapter on "Senator Simmons' Own Story" is the longest and most valuable historical sketch in the whole book. This story is based on an interview the author had with Simmons in 1933 and contains some facts relative to Simmons' long public career not available elsewhere. Students on North Carolina history will find this chapter intensely interesting.

The "Zipper Story" was first published in *The State* in 1937 and is one of the most amusing stories ever told or printed by Mr. Goerch.

One of the best stories in the book relates to Aunt Emma, a Negro mammy in Washington, who was asked to explain how she looked so young at the age of eighty-five. The old woman replied, "Well, I'll tell you, Mr. John. Hit's disaway: When I works, I works hard; when I sets, I sets loose, and when I worries, I goes to sleep."

The reviewer wishes he could end his appraisal here and do as Aunt Emma, but he has an obligation to review the latter part of the book, which contains historical sketches of North Carolina's one hundred counties. Mr. Goerch admits that he is laying himself "wide open to a lot of criticism" and he aptly labels this section "A Rather Difficult Undertaking." The task of writing accurate history is extremely difficult for the trained historian; it is almost impossible for the layman.

In the county "summarization," there are sundry exaggerated statements and scores of outright errors. Limitations of space require the sampling method. There are over twenty errors in the dates of the creation of counties. Most of these are errors of only a year or two, but Brunswick is twenty-seven years off and Hertford fifty-seven years. The battle of Alamance was *not* "armed resistance against England" (p. 209). The Regulators were defeated by North Carolina militiamen, not by British redcoats. The title "British Board of Trade and Colonial Affairs" (p. 221) is incorrect. Charles Eden was a proprietary, *not* a royal governor of North Carolina, and the *correct* title of Edenton in early days was The Town on Queen Anne's Creek. (p. 239). *Neither Craven* (p. 247) *nor Hyde* (p. 291) were "original precincts." The original "Craven County" was in present South Carolina. Chatham County did not miss having the State Capitol by *one* vote (p. 237); neither did Fayetteville miss

it by *one* vote (p. 252). Was Lincolnton the site of the *South's* first cotton mill (p. 302)? Was De Graffenried imprisoned by the Indians for six months (p. 275)? Was the *first* normal school in the United States established in Rowan County (p. 343)? Did Williamsboro "lose out by only one vote" as the site for the University of North Carolina (p. 359)? Does research "prove beyond a doubt" that Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina (p. 358)? Whose research? The author calls John Chavis a Negro, but he refers to St. Augustine and Shaw as colleges for "colored students." Why shouldn't these institutions be called "Negro colleges?"

It is easy to explain some of Mr. Goerch's errors. John H. Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* seems to have been one of his chief authorities. When Wheeler's volume was first published one reviewer expressed the opinion that "this book probably has more errors in it than any history book ever written."

In spite of numerous errors of fact, and in spite of the optimistic and uncritical interpretation of North Carolina history, *Down Home* is readable. Some two hundred excellent illustrations add greatly to the value and interest of the book. It is to be regretted that there is no index.

HUGH T. LEFLER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL.

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THE ROAD TO SALEM. By Adelaide L. Fries. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. x, 316. \$4.00.)

Over a period of years Miss Fries has distinguished herself as an expositor and interpreter of Moravian history and culture, producing numerous scholarly and popular contributions too well known to call for further comment here. In these she has consistently shown three characteristics—an authoritative command of information based upon painstaking research, an essentially human sympathy which rises above the sentimental affection one naturally feels for one's own spiritual and genealogical ancestors, and a meticulous respect for fact which makes her work of more than passing value. It is upon the interplay of these three qualities that the significance of *The Road to Salem* rests.

The book itself is essentially an autobiography of a woman and a biography of a settlement. The early *Unitas Fratrum*—better known as the Moravian Church—encouraged the keeping of personal diaries on the part of its members. One of these—richer than usual in historic interest and spontaneous intimacy—forms the core of Miss Fries' narrative. In 1759 Catharina Kalberlahn and her husband set forth for the new Moravian colony on the frontier of Carolina. As a daughter of Henry Antes Catharina had seen the beginnings of the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania; now she was to witness the growth of the southern colony from a stockaded village into a miniature metropolis of the frontier. As her own life developed, so grew the colony—both focussed about devotion to their God and to their church. Miss Fries, as translator of the diary from the German, has woven into and about it additional information drawn from "diaries and other records kept by leaders of the Moravian Church in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. . . . It is not fiction with a background of history, but a recital of things that really happened . . . and, if it were desirable, line and page reference could be given for each item."

Such a work is necessarily both more and less than a historical novel. If, at times, the free flow of the narrative seem interrupted or its dramatic intensity impeded, it is because of the very fidelity of the work and the wealth of authentic information supplied. Much has been written and said about the Moravians in a theoretical or historical way. Here we come to know them intimately, personally—through the living, feeling, and thinking of one of their own. Their ideology, enterprise, and achievements—yes, even their weaknesses—are here brought to focus in the intimacy of a single life.

The great figures of the Moravian Church in America and several of the colonial leaders of North Carolina pass before us, not as historic personages, but as persons who come and go in the course of daily living. The stress of religious ferment in colonial Pennsylvania, the tough hardship of exploration and colonization on the virgin frontier, the baleful threats and horrors of Indian raids, the lawlessness of the Carolina "Regulators," the moral, economic, and political unrest of the American Revolution are portrayed with all the quiet conviction of those who moved among them. Best of all, the life of the Moravians them-

selves stands before us, not as ideology or structure, but as living experience.

Particularly interesting are the diarist's accounts of the ways in which the leaders of the Church and congregation approached and solved specific problems in accordance with their tenets—always bent upon harmonizing their religious traditions with a goodly respect for individual conscience and due regard for the exigencies of the situation. The economic life, the manners and customs, the moral and religious convictions and usages of the settlement are set forth incidentally, but in such a manner as to afford first-hand historical and sociological data. Intimate and direct comments upon the custom of marriage by lot, illustrated by numerous examples, go far toward clarifying this much discussed custom of the group. Finally, as the reader follows Catharina through the years, the time-span of her narrative enables him to watch the subtle but far-reaching changes wrought by times and conditions upon both the ideological motivation and the daily living of her fervent co-pioneers.

EUGENE E. DOLL.

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THE OLD VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN AND OTHER SKETCHES BY GEORGE W. BAGBY.

Edited and Arranged by his daughter, Ellen M. Bagby. (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, Inc. 1943. Pp. xxvii, 308.)

This book is the fourth edition of Bagby's collected writings, "which, while embracing all of the material in the previous volume [the edition of 1938], will have the addition (by special request) of 'The Southern Fool—A tough subject treated in a tender way,' . . . an address delivered before the South Carolina Press Association in 1877." It reprints "A Virginia Realist (Preface to the edition of 1938)" by Thomas Nelson Page, and its "Introduction" was written by Douglas Southall Freeman.

Twenty-five years ago it would have been unnecessary to remind Southern readers, or even well read people of this country at large, who George William Bagby was. Today it may be so. Born on a plantation near Lynchburg in 1828, he was educated, first in "old field schools" of Buckingham and Prince Edward counties, then at Edgehill School, Princeton, N. J.,

Delaware College, and the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania. His early years away from the South doubtless conditioned his lifelong attitude toward home scenes and home-folks. After four years of medical practice in Lynchburg, Dr. Bagby discovered his talent for writing and by founding a daily paper, the *Express*, began his significant career as editor, newspaper correspondent, columnist, free-lancer, and lecturer. High points in that career were the first Mozis Addums letter, published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, which won him a somewhat embarrassing fame; his secretaryship of the Richmond Library Association and the Virginia Historical Society; his editorship of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, at the outbreak of the Civil War; his brief participation as a soldier in the war; his founding, in partnership with A. F. Stofer, of the *Native Virginian*, a "literary and humorous publication"; his production of two of his most famous works, "John M. Daniels' Latch-Key," a biographical study of the editor of the Richmond *Examiner*, and "The Old Virginia Gentleman"; his noble service of interpretation and reconciliation, on lecture tours that took him all over the South and into the North and East. He died in 1883, less than a year after making a plea for reconciliation, peace, and progress to an audience in Trenton, New Jersey.

In the history of American literature, George W. Bagby comes near the end of a line of pioneer humorists, including A. B. Longstreet, William Tappan Thompson, Johnson J. Hooper, Charles Henry Smith ("Bill Arp"), and J. G. Baldwin, who, beginning in the 1830's, founded an authentic, native literature in the South. With them he has much in common—realistic descriptions of the rough manners of our ancestors of the middle years of the nineteenth century, often in dialect and comical spelling. To the vogue created by the earlier writers Bagby owed the success of "Letters of Mozis Addums to Billy Ivvin's," the first of which relates the adventures and observations of a Virginia country bumpkin on a visit made by train from "Kerdsvil, Buckingame Cty, Ferginny," to Richmond. Of similar tenor and technique are such sketches as "Meekins's Twinses." ("Bacon and Greens" recalls a poem with the same title and theme, written by Bakus W. Huntington, an Alabamian, in the early 1840's.) Bagby's studies of Negro dialect, character, and psychology, in such pieces as "Uncle Ben Hollins on Whiskey" and "The Old Virginia Negro," rank him among the earliest masters of that

genre. On the whole, too, he was more idealistic, had a more humane sense of humor and pathos than his brother pioneers. This side of him is best exemplified by the titular lecture, "The Old Virginia Gentleman" and by such other sketches or lectures as "My Uncle Flatback's Plantation," "Christmas," and the lovely idyl "Fishing in the Appomattox." Bagby's familiarity with the more developed social and economic life of Virginia made possible mellow essays than the Deep South men could compass. Examples are "Canal Reminiscences," which looks forward to Walter D. Edmond's Erie Canal stories, and "The Sacred Furniture Warerooms," which looks back to the quaintness of Elia and Old London. A few of the essays, like "How Rubenstein Played," are stunt pieces of pure journalistic virtuosity. Two of the lectures have a special topical interest. "The Southern Fool," attacking such aspects of Southern economy as the one-crop system and the South's banking subservience to the North and East, entitles Bagby to the epithet "a man one hundred years ahead of time." To millions of us today, impressed by the vast dislocations of normal life and the tedium brought on by the present war, "An Unrenowned Warrior," modestly recording Bagby's personal experience as a soldier, will have a lively immediacy of appeal. As a whole, Bagby's sketches, stories, and lectures will not seem so funny, so cleverly and delightfully intimate, so original and authentic to North Carolinians or Texans or Californians or Vermonters as they will to Virginians. A large part of their attraction is exclusively "Old Dominion." But they are the product of a very genuine, honest, and original talent. As transcripts of life in a state that is sentimentally and patriotically dear to all good Americans, they will always amuse and please.

The present edition of *The Old Virginia Gentleman* includes thirty-odd attractive and pertinent illustrations and a bibliography of Bagby's writings. In format, typography, and binding, the book is well up to the high standard of the Dietz Press.

A. P. HUDSON.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,  
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CHAPEL HILL.

GEORGE FITZHUGH: PROPAGANDIST OF THE OLD SOUTH. By Harvey Wish. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 360. \$3.00.)

Lincoln's famous "house-divided" speech, one of the tangible causes of sectional tension in the pre-Civil War days, was inspired in part by an aggressive pro-slavery editorial in the *Richmond Enquirer*. The editorial and other widely quoted statements, such as the contention that "slavery, *black or white*, was right and necessary," were prepared by George Fitzhugh, lawyer and essayist of Port Royal, Virginia, who, angered by the abolitionists, had determined to "meet propagandism with counter-propagandism." Climaxing a defensive trend initiated in Virginia by Thomas R. Dew in 1832, Fitzhugh presented his theories in newspapers and magazines, and in the two bludgeoning volumes, *Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society* (1854) and *Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters* (1857).

To demonstrate the iniquities of a free, capitalistic society, Fitzhugh borrowed the destructive arguments of the utopian socialists, but naturally offered as a remedy the Southern system. In the elaboration of his theories, he ridiculed the eighteenth century philosophers. "Men are not 'born entitled to equal rights!'" declared Fitzhugh. "It would be far nearer the truth to say, 'that some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them,'—and the riding does them good. They need the reins, the bit and the spur." These strangely dark ideas paradoxically sprang from a personality gentle and mild in everyday intercourse. Like Garrison in the North, Fitzhugh was less influential in his own section than his antagonists believed.

Dr. Harvey Wish, who in 1938 reviewed Fitzhugh's career in a pamphlet of two-score pages entitled "George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South," now presents a detailed study of Fitzhugh's writings in this, the current volume of the *Southern Biography Series*. The most distinguished feature of the book is the careful analysis of Fitzhugh's philosophy in its relation to the political and intellectual currents of the time, European as well as American. It is not the author's fault that Fitzhugh's life, other than his writings, provides few items of interest. Conspicuous exceptions are two bizzare events: in 1855 Fitzhugh went North to visit Gerrit Smith and to engage in public debate

with Wendell Phillips; at the end of the War, Fitzhugh served as one of the judicial officers in the Freedmen's Bureau of Richmond.

In several historical essays the author has already proved himself a scholar of commendable industry and increasingly broad understanding. This, his first full-length work, is a biography of superior merit, which may profitably be used by classes in Southern history to supplement William S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*. The illustrations are of interest, the index is serviceable, and the bibliographical essay when used in conjunction with the footnotes is adequate.

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## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Society of County Historians met in the Fred A. Olds Memorial room of the Hall of History, in Raleigh, January 28. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Ellen Rollins, and Miss Nell Hines, all of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, took part in the program. Professor Phillips Russell of Chapel Hill was reelected president.

Mount Vernon Baptist Church, Rutherford County, celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary, February 15-18. The church was founded February 17, 1844.

On February 27 Dr. Charles A. Beard spoke at Black Mountain College, criticizing public officials who sell state information for private profit.

The North Carolina divisions of the Daughters of the American Colonists, the Daughters of Colonial Wars, and the Daughters of 1812 held a joint meeting in Raleigh on February 29 following which separate business sessions were held by the different societies.

At a meeting in the governor's office in March, the Roanoke Island Historical Association was reorganized, with Governor J. Melville Broughton as chairman and Melvin R. Daniels of Manteo as vice-chairman. Tentative plans were made at the meeting for production anew after the war of Paul Green's pageant-drama, "The Lost Colony," which was presented at Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, every summer from 1937 through 1941.

The forty-fourth annual state convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held in Raleigh, March 1-2.

On March 20 Providence (Negro) Church of Greensboro celebrated the seventy-third anniversary of the purchase of the church site and the sixty-eighth anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone of the present brick building. At the ceremonies a \$7,000 mortgage, contracted five years ago, was burned to symbolize the wiping out of all indebtedness against the property.

On April 16 Gum Springs Baptist Church, Anson County, celebrated its one-hundred-tenth anniversary, with Governor J. Melville Broughton the chief speaker.

On April 19 in the governor's office in the state capitol in Raleigh special exercises were held in recognition of the services of Colonel William A. Blair of Winston-Salem, who had served for nearly fifty-three years as a member, and for nearly forty years as chairman, of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare.

The Central Methodist Church of Monroe celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary, May 7-14.

Mrs. J. Melville Broughton, wife of the governor, on May 23 christened the *Donald W. Bain*, new Liberty ship constructed at Brunswick, Georgia. The vessel was named for a former treasurer of the state of North Carolina who was a great uncle of Mrs. Broughton.

The Kiffin Rockwell post of the American Legion is planning for downtown Asheville a memorial to all Buncombe County men and women who shall have lost their lives in the service of their country in the present war.

Dr. Gilbert T. Lycan has been promoted to the rank of full professor at Queens College. A doctor of philosophy of Yale University (1942), he came to Queens in 1943 as associate professor and head of the department of social sciences.

Professor C. H. Hamlin of Atlantic Christian College has published "James Shannon," *The Scroll*, March, 1944. *The Scroll* is a periodical issued by Campbell Institute, a Disciple organization at the University of Chicago. James Shannon (1799-1859) was the leading professional educator of the early Disciples of Christ, and was especially active in Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Missouri. This article deals with his educational work.

New members of the history teaching staff at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who taught in the March-to-July semester, are Dr. George P. Hammond, dean of the graduate school and head of the history department of the University of New Mexico, and Dr. Guion Griffis Johnson, Mr. B. H. Wall, and Miss Ruth Daniel of Chapel Hill.

*A Syllabus of the History of Civilization*, by Lillian Parker Wallace and Alice Barnwell Keith (Raleigh: The Technical Press, 1944), has been revised and put into permanent form by the history department of Meredith College. This syllabus, designed for one semester of the freshman course in history, was used first in temporary form and then revised in light of teaching experiences with it.

The centennial number of *The Christian Sun* (vol. XCVI, no. 7), published at Richmond, Virginia, is dated February 17, 1944. The founder and editor of the paper was Reverend Daniel Wilson Kerr, who was born in Cumberland County, Virginia, July 10, 1796, and died at Pittsboro, North Carolina, May 15, 1850. The first issue of the paper was published at Junto Academy, Orange County, North Carolina, and the printing was done by D. Heartt of Hillsboro. In 1849 Editor Kerr moved to Pittsboro, transferring the office of publication there. The centennial issue contains sketches of early ministers, many of them North Carolinians, and other historical data on the Congregational Christian churches.

*The Greensboro Daily News*, March 5, 1944, contains an article on the origins of place names in North Carolina, by Professor George P. Wilson, professor of English at the Woman's College of the University and executive secretary of the American Dialect Society. These names, the author points out, have many different sources, including Greek, Latin, English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Indian, Biblical, biographical, biological, and personal.

The North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati has deposited with the Sondley Reference Library of Asheville a letter from Colonel Edward Buncombe to Robert Smith, merchant of Edenton, dated January 12, 1770. The letter, which deals with such commonplace matters as Buncombe's need of paint and the condition of the crops, is said to be "probably . . . the only letter in existence written by the man for whom" Buncombe County was named.

The Duke University library is building up a collection of American sheet music. Already a large number of items have been assembled.

Resources of the Duke University divinity school library have been made available to all ministers in the Southeast by the setting up of a fund to provide duplicate copies. Any minister may now borrow two books at a time, each for one month.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has established the historical college collection as a separate unit of the college library. In the collection are printed and manuscript materials relating to the history of the college and persons connected therewith.

"Life, Labor and Society in Boone County, Missouri, 1834-1852, as Revealed in the Correspondence of an Immigrant Slave Owning Family from North Carolina," edited by Lewis E. Atherton, *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 277-340 (April, 1944), is the first of two instalments of letters from Walter Raleigh Lenoir and his wife, who in 1834 had emigrated with their family, slaves, and other belongings, from "Fort Defiance," the old family homestead in the upper Yadkin Valley of North Carolina, to the vicinity of Columbia, Missouri. The original letters are in the University of North Carolina library at Chapel Hill, the University of Tennessee library at Knoxville, and the Lawson McGhee Library at Knoxville.

Miss Nina Troy of Greensboro, formerly a missionary to China, has loaned to the Greensboro Historical Museum a collection of articles used in everyday Chinese life. Previously she had donated 100 permanent articles to the museum.

The state-wide program for collecting war records is being continued. During the three months ending May 25 Miss Charlie Huss, collector of records for the State Department of Archives and History, visited twenty-seven counties and worked with records collectors therein; held conferences with key persons in the program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, State College in Raleigh, the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham, the Agricultural and Technical College (Negro) at Greensboro, and elsewhere; and delivered addresses to Girl Scout Troup No. 13 in Gastonia (March 1), the Lanier Club of Tryon (March 2), the sixth grade of Barbee School, Raleigh (March 7), the collectors of war records in Lenoir County (April 8), the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs in Charlotte (May 17), and other groups. Incoming war

records are being classified and indexed by counties as they are received by the Department of Archives and History, and a diary is kept in which are noted materials received, visitors to the office, trips made, and any other activity connected with the program.

The *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*, volume I, number 8 (March, 1944), "The Development of War Records Projects in the States, 1941-1943," by Dr. Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia, contains information about North Carolina's program for collecting war records. The *Bulletins* are edited by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, and are printed in Raleigh.

The secretary of the Department of Archives and History during the three months ending May 25 delivered the following addresses: "The Treaty-Making Power of the United States," Citizens' Council for the United Nations, Raleigh (March 3); "Preserving Tar Heel War Records," Meredith College (March 8), Raleigh Woman's Club (March 8), and war records collectors of Lenoir County, Kinston (April 18); "The American Scholar and the World Today," Phi Beta Kappa initiation at Wake Forest College (March 27); "This World of Ours," Raleigh branch, American Association of University Women (May 11).

Recent accessions of the Hall of History (state historical museum) include a Nazi headquarters flag captured in southern Italy by two North Carolina men and presented by Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City; "gay-nineties" clothes presented by Mrs. Rosa W. Bullock of Rocky Mount; a colored print of Toisnot Academy at Wilson which served as a Confederate military hospital (1863-65), deposited by the North Carolina Society of the Palatines; and the inaugural dress of Mrs. J. Melville Broughton, presented by her.

Recent accessions to the manuscripts division of the State Department of Archives and History include "Reminiscences of Dr. Paul B. Barringer. Early Lincoln County," by Dr. W. A. Montgomery, 61 typescript pages, given by Dr. W. A. Montgomery of Charlottesville, Virginia; a book of autographs of the members of the North Carolina state convention of 1861, given by Mrs. Oscar Kern Maudlin of Asheville; "The Finney Family,"

by Charles W. Finney, bound volume of 91 typescript pages, given by the author of Oklahoma City; a microcopy of a volume listing North Carolina land grants in Tennessee, the original of which is in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., purchased from the National Archives; and seven maps of North Carolina, 1835, 1839, 1854, 1856, (two different maps) 1857, 1860, one map of North Carolina, undated, one map of North Carolina and South Carolina, 1835, and three maps of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, 1823, 1835, and 1843, all purchased from the Argosy Book Stores, New York City.

Publications received include John Tate Lanning, editor, *A Brief Description of The Province of Carolina On the Coasts of Floreda* (Charlottesville: The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia. 1944); Thomas Ewing Dabney, *One Hundred Great Years: The Story of the Times-Picayune from its Founding to 1940* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944); David Leroy Corbitt, editor, *Addresses, Letters, and Papers of Clyde Roark Hoey, Governor of North Carolina, 1937-1941* (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina. 1944); Aubrey Lee Brooks, *Walter Clark: Fighting Judge* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944); Edward Ewing Brandon, compiler and editor, *A Pilgrimage of Liberty: A Contemporary Account of The Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette* (Athens, Ohio: The Lawhead Press. 1944).

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