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LEONIDAS LAFAYETTE POLK AND THE NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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PART II

POLK AS COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE

When L. L. Polk took the helm as North Carolina's first Commissioner of Agriculture in April, 1877, he was embarking upon an uncharted sea. His new office, in the Briggs Building on Fayetteville Street, Raleigh, was empty; and he had no model to guide him in his work, for the North Carolina Department was, in many respects, unlike any other in the United States. But he did have some strong convictions regarding the basic needs of the state—and the sanguine belief that somehow those needs could be met. He wrote:

We want capital — we want a more reliable labor — we want skill and energy and enterprise — we want manufactories [*sic*] — we want our unoccupied lands improved — we want our mines of wealth developed — we want our vast water-power utilized — we want our educational system put on a firm and prosperous basis — we want the credit of the State restored — we want our people to be independent. . . .¹

We want more State pride — we want a true North Carolina policy — we want this grand old Commonwealth to rise and shake off the accumulated dust of an age of apathy and inaction. We have everything beckoning us on to enjoy the rich reward of active, energetic co-operation.²

North Carolina must arouse from her lethargy and keep step with the progress of the age. An aristocratic nobleman, broken in fortune and wrapped in the folds of a tattered old velvet gown, and relying on the prestige of departed wealth to secure a perpetuation of his former high position, might excite our sympathy, but certainly would not inspire us with that hopeful energy and buoyant spirit so essential to success in life. With our new surroundings, we have not only much to learn, but much to *unlearn*. . . .³

¹ Polkton *Ansonian*, Nov. 15, 1876.

² Polkton *Ansonian*, Jan. 17, 1877.

³ North Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Report on the Work of the Dept. of Agr.* (Jan., 1880), p. 25.

During the . . . years of humiliation and suffering through which we have passed, what have we learned? . . . Under oppression have we learned patience? In adversity have we learned perseverance? In poverty have we learned self-reliance and self-esteem? Under misgovernment have we learned patriotism? In our weakness have we learned the true source of strength and power? . . .⁴

Now was the time for action. The general objects of the Department were six: to compile and distribute statistical and educational information pertaining to agriculture, to analyze soils and fertilizers, to restock streams with fish, to encourage sheep husbandry, to induce immigration, and to foster new industries.⁵

In order to carry out the ambitious program, it was of course necessary that the Department establish some medium of direct communication with the farmers. Polk's first act, therefore, was to organize a corps of trustworthy correspondents, chiefly farmers, in all the counties—and in almost all the townships—of the state. On forms furnished by him, they reported monthly on the condition of crops, livestock, weather, and the like in their respective localities. The Commissioner then incorporated the data into circulars and crop reports, and distributed some 5,000 of them each month during the growing season.

So that he might benefit fully from the experiences of others, Polk also corresponded with the Department at Washington and with those of the various states. By exchange and otherwise he was sent many of their publications, and these soon came to constitute a useful little agricultural library of over 300 volumes. His office likewise received twenty-seven agricultural weeklies and nine monthlies from other states, and twenty-eight weekly and daily newspapers published in North Carolina. Among the periodicals received were *Scientific Farmer*, *Maryland Farmer*, *American Farmer*, *Planter and Farmer*, *Semi-Tropical*, *American Agriculturist*, *Farmer's Friend*, *Turf, Field and Farm*, *Kansas Farmer*, *Prairie Farmer*, and *Home and Farm*. The North Carolina press, it should be stated, gave the Department of Agriculture and its Commissioner almost unanimous support from the beginning.

⁴ Henderson *Gold Leaf*, June 8, 1882.

⁵ The material in the next eleven paragraphs, covering for the most part the Department's first two years (1877-78), is based chiefly upon the following Department of Agriculture publications written by L. L. Polk: *First Quarterly Report* (July 17, 1877); letter "To the People of North Carolina," *Raleigh Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 3, 1878; *Third Quarterly Report* (Jan. 15, 1878); *Fourth Quarterly Report* (April 16, 1878); and "Report . . . for 1877 and 1878," *North Carolina Public Documents*, 1879, no. 8. See also *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 10, 1878. The Polk MSS. in the possession of Miss Leonita Denmark, of Raleigh, are voluminous for this period. (The foregoing references are general and comprehensive; for specific references on individual topics, see below.)

One of the most important functions of the new Department was the regulation of commercial fertilizers. The "fertilizer situation" had become quite serious. An investigation made in 1876 revealed that preparations of one kind or another were being used on no less than thirty-five per cent of North Carolina's cultivated area. Their use had so expanded the acreage of lands suitable for cotton growing that there ensued a heavy increase in cotton production—with all its "one-crop" implications. In perhaps most cases the use of fertilizer was wise because the need for it was great, but farmers were showing a deplorable tendency to depend entirely upon this to the neglect of good stable manure.⁶ North Carolinians were paying about \$3,000,000 a year for the various brands. Many of them were distinctly poor and some were absolutely worthless. Ignorant purchasers were suffering great imposition, and a large amount of hard-earned money was being wasted.

The act establishing the North Carolina Department of Agriculture sought to protect the farmers in two ways. A privilege tax of \$500 annually was imposed upon the maker of each brand of manipulated guano, superphosphate, or other artificial fertilizer offered for sale in the state. And an agricultural laboratory under the supervision of a skilled chemist, Dr. Albert R. Ledoux of New York, was set up at Chapel Hill for the purpose of analyzing samples of all fertilizers, soils, marls, waters, and minerals submitted to it, and recording the results for publication in Department circulars. Together these measures soon succeeded in driving the bad brands from the state, and in bringing about various degrees of improvement in the others. Within a few months' time the number of commercial fertilizers on the North Carolina market had been reduced from over one hundred to only twenty-nine. A group of Baltimore manufacturers who bitterly opposed the law—two-thirds of North Carolina's fertilizer came from Baltimore—tested its constitutionality and found it unshakable. The better manufacturers eventually became friendly to the act, for it served to eliminate their less scrupulous competitors. By 1880 the number of licensed brands had increased gradually to forty-eight.

It is not surprising that the farmers were enthusiastic supporters of the law. They felt that Dr. Ledoux's analyses helped teach them the importance of scientific agriculture, that costly

⁶ Matthew B. Hammond. *The Cotton Industry* (New York, 1897), p. 136; Henry W. Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXIII, (Oct., 1881), 720.

frauds were exposed, that the quality of commercial fertilizers was improved, and that the preparation of home fertilizers was stimulated. At the end of four years, it was Governor Jarvis's opinion that: "If nothing else had been done, the protection given to the farmers against worthless fertilizers, has more than ten-fold over compensated for the labor and expenses of the department." Moreover, it is highly significant that the revenue from the fertilizer tax was the Department's sole means of support, since the General Assembly had made no direct appropriation for the purpose.⁷

Fish culture received due attention. Hatcheries were established at strategic points in the state, and artificial propagation was presently begun. During the first season more than half a million young shad were released in the Tar, Contentnea, Neuse, Cape Fear, Yadkin, and Catawba rivers, and eggs of the California salmon were hatched at Swannanoa Gap in the hope that the species would adapt itself to the cool mountain streams of western North Carolina. At the same time, the Department made an effort to stir up public sentiment in favor of strengthening and obeying the fish and game laws, especially with regard to stream obstructions. Lack of respect for these laws, as well as poor enforcement, had seriously depleted the supply of fish and game, and threatened to nullify all the benefits of conservation and restocking. Cooperative legislation with Virginia was discussed. In this connection, a Virginia correspondent stated a truth that Polk could well appreciate: "The hardest work we have to do is to fight the Legislature, for pelt-hunters and fish destroyers are voters."⁸

Unfortunately for the encouragement of sheep husbandry, dog owners were voters too. Polk's correspondents reported that sheep could be raised profitably in almost every county of the state but for the presence of sheep-killing dogs. They listed one dog to every three sheep, and declared that more sheep were killed by dogs than by disease. No one would discuss the matter in public, said Polk, but he was convinced it should be discussed. In his first speech as Commissioner of Agriculture, and in most of those that followed, he "raised the black flag" against these "worthless curs," advocating that their number be reduced by taxation and by killing so that sheep husbandry might become

⁷ Raleigh *Observer*, April 11, Sept. 4, 1877; *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 10, 1878; *Public Documents*, 1881, no. 1, p. 16.

⁸ John Ott to Polk, May 25, 1878; Polk to Marshall McDonald, March 1, 8, 21, June 18, Dec. 13, 1878, Marshall McDonald Papers, Duke University Library.

practicable. Some success in this line was attained, for the state auditor's report in 1880 recorded a total of 582,648 sheep in North Carolina, a substantial increase over 1870. Polk's attack on the dogs came to be a part of his speeches that audiences anticipated with much relish. "Your visit to Pender was a glorious success," one friend wrote him. "Dogs gone and sheep coming." "At the name of Polk," another said, "every dog in the neighborhood is heard to howl most pit[e]ously, and every sheep blates with joy."⁹

A new fence law was another agricultural reform Polk championed. The practice of decades had been to fence in crops and allow stock to roam at large, but modern conditions demanded that the stock rather than the crops be enclosed. In Polk's eyes, the familiar zigzag rail fences were not worth their high cost. Building and repairing them not only stripped the forests, to leave barren, gullied fields, but consumed the time and energy that farmers might better employ in preparing manure, or pastures, or forage crops. The new plan had been tried in Mecklenburg County with encouraging results.¹⁰

And then there was immigration. It goes almost without saying that the Department was keenly interested in promoting this pregnant cause. A large majority of Polk's county correspondents, in answer to his questions, stated that the freedmen were not improving their condition, that lands under their management deteriorated, and that a good class of white immigrants was ardently desired. The Land Registry and State Museum which Polk had first urged in connection with Grange headquarters he now set up within the Department of Agriculture. By October, 1878, approximately 200,000 acres of land, representing farming, mining, and water-power opportunities in different sections of the state, had been registered for sale. Polk insisted that the owners send him specimens of their garden and field products, so that prospective buyers might see tangible evidences of North Carolina's wealth in natural resources. The Commissioner was glad to forward tags and shipping instructions; and mailing the specimens to Raleigh would cost nothing.

The advantages of advertising the state by means of a convenient bird's-eye view of its products spurred Polk to attempt to get every county represented. Having ensconced the Museum

⁹ Dept. of Agr., *Report on the General Condition of the Agricultural Interests of N. C.* (March, 1878), p. 5; *Farmer and Mechanic*, April 25, June 13, July 11, 1878; *Pub. Docs.*, 1881, no. 9, p. 16; W. M. K[ennedy] to Polk, undated; D. A. Montgomery, in *Farmer and Mechanic*, Mar. 7, 1878,

¹⁰ *Farmer and Mechanic*, April 25, May 16, 23, 30, 1878.

in a large hall adjoining his office, he had neat cases built for each of the state's ninety-four counties, and arranged them alphabetically. The contents of the Museum increased gradually, until most of the counties were at least partly represented. Catawba, a well-exhibited county, cooperated fully by sending specimens of rye, oats, German millet, timothy, feather and orchard grass, flour, corn, Fultz and Boughton wheat, Irish potatoes, white, black, and whippoorwill peas, dried apples and peaches, chinquapins, leaf tobacco, sheetings, copper ore, and alum. Polk also displayed such products before the large crowds at the annual State Fair. And he was responsible for the North Carolina Exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1878; he shipped eight cases of material to Washington and was highly complimented by Commissioner of Agriculture William G. LeDuc.¹¹

A British traveler who visited the State Museum observed that Commissioner Polk seemed to be "an active man," and that his agricultural collection was "very good." About the same time, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer of Chapel Hill wrote Polk: "I am pleased to hear such a good account of your Museum as my daughter brings me—but I must confess I have the impression that she admires *Col. Polk* even more than she does his collection!"¹²

In planning for economic progress, North Carolina leaders confidently expected immigration. The capital, the mechanical skill, and the energy of white settlers from the North and Europe were, in their minds, so obviously desirable for the elevation of the South that they did not wish to contemplate the failure of immigration. One editor expressed the common view when he wrote: "The only hope under Heaven of fully and honorably settling the State debt is by bringing in new men, new money, new enterprise and vigor, and raising the taxable value of the State property, and thereby distributing the burdens over a greater number of shoulders, while at the same time developing those matchless resources which if properly handled would render the debt a mere bagatelle, payable any day before breakfast."¹³ But this was an "iridescent dream." Though the campaign continued on into the 'eighties, immigration and capital were not forthcoming. Those who dreamed passed too lightly over the psychological impact upon the North of certain political-

¹¹ Polk, in Dept. of Agr., *Second Quarterly Report* (Oct., 1878), pp. 9-10; *Observer*, May 12, July 19, 1877; *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 3, Feb. 21, March 14, 21, 1878.

¹² George Campbell, *White and Black* (New York, 1879), p. 301; Mrs. Spencer to Polk, Jan. 7, 1879.

¹³ *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 16, 1879.

sectional questions. The North, moreover, had its own problems to solve—its own Reconstruction. Money and energy were needed first at home, and most of the surplus went to the West. New industries, ranching and mining, and the extension of the railroad empire were far more attractive to the North than investment in the South, where poverty and unsettled political and social conditions prevailed. By 1880 the more prescient leaders of North Carolina and the South were convinced that the immigration campaign was fruitless, and that the advancement of their state and section was their own problem, and theirs alone. As Professor Paul Buck well says: "No lesson was more valuable or more thoroughly learned than that the section's redemption would have to be achieved through the efforts of Southern people. Yearnings for easy escape were frustrated."¹⁴

Polk's faith in immigration was profound, and he never fully relinquished it; but fortunately his faith in the people of North Carolina was even more profound. Despite the apathy and ignorance of so many of the farmers, as Commissioner of Agriculture he performed a remarkable amount of labor in their behalf. He maintained the office of the Department, supervised the Museum, carried on a voluminous correspondence, made quarterly reports to the Board of Agriculture and a biennial report to the legislature, prepared periodic crop bulletins and miscellaneous circulars, furnished material to the press, compiled a 291-page *Handbook of North Carolina*, and delivered numerous speeches to crowds of farmers in all parts of the state. To assist with much of the work, the Board of Agriculture provided a junior clerk and its own secretary—first Thomas J. Robinson, and after his death Peter M. Wilson. Though the Board held meetings, Dr. Ledoux analyzed fertilizer, and the secretary and clerk looked after routine, none the less, under Polk, running the Department of Agriculture was largely a one-man job.

At the end of the first year, the Department had made its existence known to the world. It flattered state pride to know that Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana were each considering the adoption of a law, similar to that passed in North Carolina, creating a Department of Agriculture and featuring a fertilizer tax.¹⁵

¹⁴ Paul H. Buck. *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900*, pp. 150-153.

¹⁵ Polk to Edward A. Oldham, Dec. 30, 1882, miscellaneous MS. file, Duke University Library; Dept. of Agr., *By-Laws . . . of the Board of Agriculture . . .* (Raleigh, 1879); *Observer*, Sept. 9, 1877; *Farmer and Mechanic*, Feb. 28, 1878; *Raleigh News and Observer*, Dec. 3, 1880.

It was natural that Commissioner Polk should frequently forsake his office and carry his message to the people personally. He journeyed to every section of the state to tell the farmers about North Carolina's resources and capabilities, the origin and purposes of the Department of Agriculture, his own work, and his need for whole-hearted cooperation. Halifax, Cumberland, Wilson, Catawba, Alamance, Iredell, Pender, Orange, Cherokee, Buncombe, Anson, Bladen, and many other counties heard his two-hour addresses and received them most favorably.¹⁶

His visits to Chapel Hill and Asheville in 1878 were especially successful. At the invitation of President Battle, Polk spoke to the 379 students of the summer Normal School and the citizens of the University village on the subject "What Are the Demands of Our State and How Shall We Meet Them?" It was reported that not only was he applauded "more frequently and more warmly" than any other speaker the students had heard, but that after his speech he "turned songster." Accompanied by Professor Charles Wilson, he rendered "with much effect" the popular "Ho, for Carolina!"¹⁷ Polk's address to the mountain farmers at Asheville was described by one editor, who disclaimed any desire to flatter, as the best he had listened to since the days of Edmund Ruffin. "It was purely an agricultural speech, intended for the ear of the farmer," this editor wrote, "and aside from its entertaining and instructive value, breathed such lofty patriotism that our heart yearned toward him . . ." As head of the Department of Agriculture, he added, "we have been fortunate in securing a man not only of great ability, but one whose whole heart is in his work." Another editor declared that when the Commissioner appeared before the people of the west, he was perhaps "the first man who had ever come from east of the Blue Ridge to address them upon matters of public concern who did not come to seek their votes, and whose personal interest in their immediate welfare did not cease as soon as their votes were deposited in the ballot-box."¹⁸

One of Polk's greatest assets in the conduct of his work was the full support of Zebulon B. Vance. Peter M. Wilson, who was close to both men, wrote in later years: "Governor Vance liked him, saw his usefulness to himself and to the state, and made

¹⁶ *Farmer and Mechanic*, Feb.-Sept. *passim*, 1878; Robert M. Furman to Polk, July 18, 1878.

¹⁷ Kemp P. Battle to Polk, July 9, 1878; *Farmer and Mechanic*, July 25, 1878; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 159-160.

¹⁸ Asheville Citizen and Asheville Pioneer Republican, quoted in *Farmer and Mechanic*, Aug. 29, Sept. 5, 1878.

him one of his 'pets'—the name given to those who were in the governor's inner circle by those who were on the outside. The governor informed the Board of Agriculture of his wish that Colonel Polk be commissioner and—by singular chance—the Board found itself quite in agreement with his wish." Vance and Polk occasionally shared the same speakers' platform, and their thought on agricultural subjects was very much alike.¹⁹

Irvin S. Cobb once said: "What North Carolina needs is a press agent. She has practically everything else."²⁰ Polk believed this in his day, and while Commissioner of Agriculture attempted in several ways to fill the role himself. To portray the state to natives, visitors, and possible immigrants, he prepared a comprehensive *Handbook of North Carolina*. He compiled the contents in three months, and published the book in March, 1879, timing it to appear while the General Assembly was in session. Copies were distributed to the counties on the basis of their white population, and were sent to other states and countries.

The *Handbook* contained a mass of interesting and useful information in convenient form. There was a brief historical sketch of the state from Sir Walter Raleigh to the convention of 1875, with lists of governors and other officials for the whole period; a section on political and social conditions, in which the government of North Carolina, race relations, natural resources, and "Our Future" were discussed; a full account of the University, the denominational and military schools, and the institutions for women; a list of native North Carolinians prominent in other states; and the roll of Tar Heel inventors. There were pages devoted to towns, railroads, mills, churches, asylums, and newspapers. Professor W. C. Kerr, the State Geologist, contributed a physiographic description and a detailed map of the state.

One of the most valuable sections was that on the counties. For each county, information was given as to the date and manner of its creation, its geographic location, the county seat and its distance from Raleigh, a brief description of the surface, products, fruits, timbers, lands, schools, and manufactures of the region, and the names of the county's Department of Agriculture correspondents. Writing to Polk, a teacher said of the

¹⁹ Peter M. Wilson. *Southern Exposure*, pp. 159-160; *Observer*, July 6, Oct. 26, 27, 1877; D. A. Montgomery to Polk, May 12, 1878; *Farmer and Mechanic*, May 23, 1878; *Pub. Docs.*, 1879, no. 1, pp. 4, 7-10; Vance to Polk, April 14, 1879, March 8, 1883.

²⁰ Irvin S. Cobb, *North Carolina* (New York, 1924), p. 11.

Handbook: "I take it to school and require one child each day to read a history of one county, and then we discuss it. . . . one little fellow of eight summers said 'Oh! Miss Sallie we have just learned a heap, and did not have to read much.' I know you will appreciate the compliment from the little school boy. You certainly have given us a good history of the State in a condensed form."²¹ Prominent also, of course, were the chapters dealing with agriculture—statistics on crops, production, use of fertilizer, and farm animals, notes from correspondents regarding outstanding achievements in agricultural production, and accounts of fish culture, silk culture, bee keeping, and fruit growing.²²

The *Handbook*, based upon many different sources, was one of the best fruits of the Department's first two years. In spite of various errors, gaps, and imperfections, it proved to be very popular, and so much in demand that it stimulated the production of similar publications in the 'eighties and 'nineties.

The great object of the Department of Agriculture was to benefit the mass of North Carolina farmers. To reach them, however, through circulars and correspondence and speeches was difficult at best. Therefore, shortly after the work was well begun, it was determined that a weekly agricultural journal, "entirely disconnected with politics," should be established to keep the farmers in touch with the Department's activities.²³ The paper was to be a commercial enterprise. The Department would provide the publishers with a ready-made list of probable subscribers in return for free access to the paper's pages, while the farmers who subscribed would receive more and better reading matter than the rather expensive circulars could ever give them. If the venture were successful, all parties concerned stood to gain. The 8-page, 48-column paper which appeared every Thursday was named the *Farmer and Mechanic*, and was regarded primarily as the organ of the Department of Agriculture. Its managing editor was a Confederate hero and experienced journalist who had asked for the job, Randolph Abbott Shotwell.²⁴ The contributing editors included Professor Kerr, Dr. Ledoux, Mrs. Spencer, John D. Cameron, John S. Long, C. B. Denson, and Nat. A. Gregory. October 10, 1877, was the date

²¹ Sallie Robinson to Polk, Feb. 28, 1880.

²² In this connection, see W. C. Kerr's important "Report on the Cotton Production of . . . North Carolina, with a Discussion of the General Agricultural Features of the State," in *United States Census of 1880*, VI, 527-615.

²³ *Observer*, Sept. 18, 1877.

²⁴ Shotwell to Polk, Sept. 15, [1877].

of the first issue, and immediately the *Farmer and Mechanic* became a constructive force in North Carolina journalism. The typography and make-up were unsurpassed in the state, and the paper seemed saturated with a spirit of intelligence and service. Most of the paper was devoted wholly to agricultural matters, but a good deal of space was also given to state and local news, personal items, the "Ladies' Department," and advertisements. The section on the work of the Department of Agriculture was of course edited by Polk.

After a year or two it was possible to estimate the value of the Department. To do so necessarily meant to pass judgment upon the Commissioner as well. Peter Wilson, who as Secretary of the Board of Agriculture was closely associated with Polk in his work, has written:

. . . [The Commissioner] conformed to no pattern save of . . . [his] own cutting. . . . L. L. Polk, although a state official, was really the spokesman for a class; for a class which at that time needed an advocate and which [Walter H.] Page described in his imperishable phrase, "the forgotten man." . . . By nature, he was a stirrer-up of friendly strife. There was nothing vicious about him, but he was entirely upon his side of the fence and was honestly convinced that all others were trespassers. So, in the ten years succeeding flagrant and honorable warfare, when he saw or thought he saw that the land owner and tiller had an inferior position in the economic scheme, his indignation magnified the injustice. . . .²⁵

Of his personality and accomplishments, another contemporary wrote:

Col. Polk comes nearer being a steam locomotive than any man we know in official station. With a keen analytical brain, a restless, nervous temperament, an eye that is always dancing like a racehorse, and a . . . spirit of *push* and go aheadativeness in him, he keeps every one around him moving at fiery speed. The work which he has already accomplished . . . is marvellous. Going against wind and tide, with a new and difficult system to organize, with unexpected obstacles meeting him at every step, . . . [and with the farmers themselves lacking in understanding and initiative], he has nevertheless made great strides on the road to success.²⁶

These statements express fairly the feelings of friends and associates. The establishment of the Department and the appointment of Polk to head it won genuine popular approval, and both press and public were in sympathy with the labors of the first two years. Ex-Governor W. W. Holden, that provocative personage, wrote Polk as follows: "Dean Swift says that 'he

²⁵ P. M. Wilson, *Southern Exposure*, pp. 158-159.

²⁶ John S. Long, in *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 24, 1878.

who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one blade grew before, is worth the whole race of politicians put together.' The work in which you are engaged is of prime importance, and I trust your efforts may be crowned with entire success . . . the administration of Gov. Vance deserves much praise for the attention it is giving to Education and Agriculture. . . . May God bless and protect the old ship of State, no matter who may hold the helm!" Solid support was likewise given by the Grange, which maintained a paternal interest in Polk and the Department.²⁷

Beginning in 1879, however, dissenting voices arose in some quarters. A forceful gentleman of Greensboro, D. W. C. Benbow, doubted whether the Department of Agriculture—with all Polk's energy, Kerr's knowledge, and Ledoux's skill—was of much practical benefit to the mass of poor and ignorant North Carolina farmers. Most of them, he asserted, knew nothing of the Department's work, and could not read Polk's circulars even if they should receive them—and few did. The printing of these costly circulars should cease. Instead, the Department should publish at its own expense a weekly newspaper for distribution among the agricultural classes. There was the *Farmer and Mechanic*, to be sure. Yet many farmers were either unable to pay the subscription price, were just plain stingy, or else were stubbornly prejudiced against "book farming." In spite of his reluctance, said Benbow, the farmer *must* be educated and enlightened. He should be told in specific terms how to farm, when to plow and seed, what fertilizer to use, and so on.²⁸

Further opposition to Department policy came from a startling source: Randolph Shotwell. The editor of the *Farmer and Mechanic*, an individualist and a man of strong feelings, broke with the Department of Agriculture in August, 1879. He announced then that the paper would no longer be the official organ of the Department, but with himself and J. W. Dowd as publishers would become truly independent. "The department has ignored the use of its pages," he explained, "preferring to spend large sums for printing circulars elsewhere, which nobody cared to read." The burden of Shotwell's attack was "extravagance." He pointed to the good salaries paid the Commissioner and the Secretary "for the mere duty of answering letters of enquiry." He charged that the cost to the taxpayers of printing Polk's

²⁷ Holden to Polk, July 18, 1877; N. C. State Grange, *Proceedings, 1878*, pp. 18, 21; Charlotte *Southern Home*, Feb. 14, 1879.

²⁸ Benbow to Polk, March 29, 1878, Jan. 20, 27, Feb. 13, Nov. 30, 1879.

Handbook and Kerr's *Geological Survey* was \$4,000 and \$5,000 respectively, and that the money spent by the Department during its first three years amounted to \$77,000, exceeding its fund on deposit in the State Treasury. Polk answered, of course, and Shotwell headlined his letter "**Polk once More Penning in Behalf the Salary Bureau.**" The Commissioner protested that neither the Department nor the Treasury was financially responsible for Kerr's report; that the three-year expenditures of the Department came to only \$61,000; and that the account in the Treasury had never been overdrawn. State Treasurer John M. Worth corroborated each of Polk's statements. At this, Shotwell was forced to hedge; he concluded the exchange by telling his readers, "you will see how near we came to the facts." He argued that, in any case, the whole Department could be run successfully on \$6,000 a year, an amount then being received in salaries by Polk, Kerr, and Ledoux alone.

Positive that the *Farmer and Mechanic* "must cease to be an 'organ' or die," Shotwell transformed it into a political paper, reducing the size and type, changing the material and make-up, increasing the amount of general news, and stamping it indelibly with his own personality. His war memoir, "Three Years in Battle, and Three in Prison," was a serial feature. During the campaign of 1880, when Shotwell hoped to win the Democratic nomination for state auditor, the paper became overweighted with the details of petty politics and lurid "outrages"; but from that year until 1885, when the *Farmer and Mechanic* merged with the *State Chronicle*, it was lively and clever. In this later period, incidentally, Shotwell was quite friendly to Polk—so friendly, in fact, that Polk's eldest daughter asked him playfully, "What do you pay Shotwell a week for the puffs he gives you?"²⁹

Echoing the criticisms of Benbow and Shotwell were a number of editors and anonymous letter-writers. One called upon the legislature to "stop that 'rat-hole,' the Agricultural Department . . . and by all means cut down the salaries of persons employed therein." Another, who demanded to know just what good the agency had done since its beginning, emphasized: "We do not want to be told of the museum, of the mammoth pumpkins, potatoes and other *lusus naturae*. We are tired of hearing of these, and of being told how many tobacco seed, or fish spawn, have been sent out. We do not want to hear any more about

²⁹ *Southern Home*, Aug. 15, 1879; *Farmer and Mechanic*, March 4-25, May 20, 1880, and 1880-1885 *passim*; David Schenck to Polk, March 25, Polk to Schenck, March 28, 1878; Lula Polk Harris to Polk, Feb. 25, [1882].

Prof. Ledoux's skill as an analytical chemist. . . ." A third declared: "I am convinced that the whole Department—Agricultural, Chemical, Fish Hatchery, and whatever else may be attached to it,— is a * * * * * on the farmer, and I enter my protest against it." Others attacked the printing of circulars, the establishment of the *Farmer and Mechanic*, the operation of the fertilizer law, and the employment of an immigration commissioner.

These critics passed strictures upon Polk, also. Because of his driving executive activity, they called him the "Military Commissioner," and his system "Military Agriculture." According to them, he said often that he labored solely in the interest of the farmers, yet he received \$2,000 and clerk hire for wasting their money on fish and printing and other non-agricultural matters! He was not a real farmer at all, but a Democratic officeholder with political ambitions. One anonym avowed that the principal part of the Commissioner's work consisted of "blowing a Jeems-(k)-Polk horn."³⁰

It was no accident that the opposition to the Department of Agriculture, particularly with respect to expenditures, reached its height while the General Assembly of 1879 was in session. This Legislature, meeting with the memory of what the Democratic majority called "carpetbag finance" still vivid, was making the watchword "retrenchment and reform." Stringent economy in state finance and the consequent crippling of needed social services were the unfortunate—if perhaps necessary—results of the Southern reaction to Reconstruction. In this atmosphere there was much reason for friends of the Department to fear that it might be injured, and indeed for Polk to fear for his very place. Another looming factor was the change in governors. After serving half of his four-year term, Zeb Vance resigned during the early part of the session to go to the United States Senate. His support of Polk and the Department had been a strong sustaining influence. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas J. Jarvis, about whose sympathies there was some question.

As had been expected, several changes were made. This General Assembly of 1879, which Professor Hamilton describes as "a hard-working, serious body and one of the best legislatures in the history of the state," first abolished the position of State

³⁰ Raleigh *North Carolina Farmer*, II (Jan., 1878), 173; Raleigh *Protest*, quoted in *ibid.*, (March, 1879), 248; *Farmer and Mechanic*, Sept. 17, 1879; Statesville *Landmark*, Sept. 12, 1879; Raleigh *Signal*, March 10, 1880; Raleigh *News*, June 20, 1879, March 9, June 3, 1880.

Geologist held by W. C. Kerr. Then the Department of Agriculture was divided into three equal sub-departments, filled by Polk, the Commissioner, Kerr, the Geologist, and Ledoux, the Chemist. Finally, Polk's monthly reports were dispensed with, and all his clerical assistance was eliminated.³¹

Thus hamstrung in the name of economy, the Department's usefulness was reduced; and the influence of Polk's position was immeasurably lessened. In the months that followed the legislative session, a perturbing conviction fixed itself in the minds of Polk and his friends. It was that Governor Jarvis and President Battle, two of the three members on the executive committee of the Board of Agriculture, were attempting to reorganize the Department to serve certain ends of their own. Jarvis, they said, was intent upon building a political machine, with his eye on 1880 and beyond, while Battle was trying to augment the University by weakening the Department of Agriculture. And both, by their tacit hostility, were hoping to drive the sedulous Polk from office and substitute a more congenial man.³²

Previous to becoming president of the University of North Carolina, Kemp P. Battle had been a lawyer, a business man, and state treasurer. His contacts were of the best, and his political influence surprisingly strong. When the evidence pointed to him as the moving spirit behind the reorganization of the Department of Agriculture, Polk asked him to clarify his position. Polk explained that when the Legislature took away his clerk it necessarily closed the greater part of his correspondence with the farmers, and worked great hardship in the conduct of his office; he wondered if the Board could not find a way to give him clerical assistance. Battle replied as follows:

. . . I know that the Gen. Assy *intended* to cut off your clerk. They passed an Act to that effect, understanding what the Act meant.

Now I believe it is *illegal* for us to give you a clerk. Moreover I feel sure that if we evade it, the dept^t will be crippled, if not abolished, at the next session. . . .

I wish I could see how to give you aid as clerk. But I see no way to do it without breaking the law and incurring the danger of injury to the Board, *and to you*.

I am aware that you & perhaps others think that my mind is bent

³¹ K. P. Battle to Polk, Jan. 15, 1879; James R. Thigpen to Polk, Jan. 22, 1879; Polk to J. I. Scales, Jan. 27, 1879; James W. Albright to Polk, Feb. 1, 4, 1879; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina since 1860*, p. 199.

³² Sydenham B. Alexander to Polk, March 17, 1879, Sept. 14, 1880; Edward R. Liles to Polk, June 19, [1879]; Jonathan Evans to Polk, Aug. 2, 1879; D. McN. McKay to Polk, June 12, 1880; Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, p. 296.

towards aggrandizing the Univ. The record of facts show[s] that this is not correct. All I want to do is to carry out the law. . . . My position has never been illiberal towards other branches of the Agr. work. Several times I waived my own opinion in deference to yours. . . .

In a second letter, Battle declared that he was not trying to cripple the Department, and that he harbored no personal feeling against Polk. Remarking that his course at Board meetings had always been consistent, he urged that strict economy be observed or else the legislature would hurt everybody. He assured Polk that he would do anything *legal* to help.³³

There was no encouragement for Polk in Battle's attitude. Governor Jarvis was sitting still. The other members of the Board—Thomas M. Holt, W. C. Kerr, James R. Thigpen, Jonathan Evans, and W. H. Cheek, who had succeeded Sydenham B. Alexander as Master of the State Grange—were seemingly partial to Polk, yet could do nothing to improve the situation. The legislative temper was ominous. With these storm signals flying, Polk knew that sooner or later a squall would strike. After three years of operation and the expenditure of \$61,000, the Department was expected by the public to continue forward; but with the scope of the work now so severely curbed, it was difficult to see how much could be accomplished. "Thus reduced," said Polk, "what remained to justify paying a Commissioner a salary of two thousand dollars to hold the office?" So his ambitious plans for immigration and crop diversification and agricultural education, springing from a love for North Carolina and the promise of a new day, were wrecked on the rocks of "retrenchment and reform."

Polk resigned as Commissioner of Agriculture on May 24, 1880. Immediately afterward he joined the daily *Raleigh News* as corresponding editor, in which capacity, he said, "the Department and all the great interests it represents shall continue to have my faithful and earnest support."

The Raleigh papers expressed regret at his resignation and appreciation for his services, and were echoed by the press and people of the state in large numbers. "I don't want to give you up," wrote Jonathan Evans, and the *Raleigh State Journal* growled, "The wit[l]ings who have incessantly prated of 'military agriculture' are perhaps now happy." James W. Albright was incredulous: "What is the matter? Has somebody made you mad? Have you gone crazy—found a gold mine—drew a prize in

³³ Battle to Polk, July 17, 21, 1879.

a lottery—or WHAT?" Randolph Shotwell stated: "We have said more complimentary things of Col. Polk than of any man during our whole journalistic career, Gov. Vance excepted. And we have also censured some features of his conduct; some management of his office. In doing so we invariably qualified our criticisms by admitting that others were in a sense responsible for the action complained of, and that perhaps no man in the State could have done so much for the Department as the gentleman in question . . ." ³⁴

After Polk's resignation, Secretary Wilson carried on until the election of a new commissioner. The Board's first choice was Sydenham B. Alexander. This substantial Mecklenburg farmer was popular in both agricultural and political circles, but he declined to serve. Apparently his analysis of the situation was too much like Polk's for him to find the position promising. In October, 1880, the Board picked Montford McGehee, of Person County, who was to occupy the place for the next six years. He was one of those who had helped push through the bill establishing the Department of Agriculture, and he seemed to fit the requirements of Jarvis and Battle exceptionally well. According to Josephus Daniels, who as a young editor made a detailed investigation of the Department in 1886, McGehee was "a classical scholar who had lost three fortunes trying to farm." He had "married a daughter of Judge [George E.] Badger, had influential friends, and was elected Commissioner of Agriculture to give him a salary. . . ." In 1880 also, Dr. Ledoux resigned as State Chemist and was succeeded by Dr. Charles W. Dabney. Professor Kerr stayed on as State Geologist. ³⁵

Many people throughout the state were surprised at Polk's resignation, and manifested deep concern over the future of the Department. In answer to their queries, Polk made public a letter in which he had discussed the subject. It was wrong, he wrote, for the General Assembly and the Board of Agriculture to cripple the Department as they had. By taking away the Commissioner's clerk, dividing the agency into sub-departments, and discontinuing the monthly reports, they had weakened it beyond the point of real usefulness. Yet the Department should not be abolished, as some were advising. It should by all means be strengthened. North Carolina, Polk argued, was an agricultural state, and its farmers desperately needed the enlighten-

³⁴ *News*, June 6, 8, 1880; *Observer*, June 6, 1880; Evans to Polk, June 3, 1880; *State Journal*, June 8, 1880; Albright to Polk, June 8, 1880; *Farmer and Mechanic*, June 10, 1880.

³⁵ *Pub. Docs.*, 1881, no. 9, p. 2; J. Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 296, 318.

ment and inspiration that such a Department should provide. It had been created for that purpose. In only three years, while in the process of organization, it had saved the farmers over \$200,000 on fertilizers alone, and the masses of the people were not taxed a cent for its support. If it was to be of genuine service to them, however, the Board of Agriculture had to undergo a thorough reorganization.³⁶

Following his experience as Commissioner, Polk became convinced that there were fatal defects in the make-up of the Board. As originally constituted, this body included the governor, the geologist, the president of the University, the master of the Grange, the president of the Agricultural Society, and two practical farmers. Sponsors of the bill setting up the Department of Agriculture had felt that it was necessary to have the influence of Vance, Kerr, Battle, Alexander, and Holt in order to get the bill through. Now Polk firmly believed that the Board of Agriculture, dominated by the three or four members who were not agriculturists, was the greatest single hindrance to the development of a progressive Department.

Randolph Shotwell, one of Polk's strongest allies during the early 'eighties, agreed with him. The present arrangement, Shotwell wrote, "makes the Board a 'close corporation' (chosen to serve *indefinitely*) composed of the Governor (a politician), the President of the University (a teacher), the chief of the Grange (a secret society with only a few hundred members), the State Geologist (whose conduct, work, and money matters are all supervised by the Board of which he is a leading member,—so that he helps to investigate himself!), the President of the State Fair (who may be a Lawyer, or a Manufacturer), and finally *two* farmers, who are *elected by the other members*, and you know that people usually select their friends." Of the seven members, furthermore, two were from Edgecombe County and four resided within a short distance of Raleigh.³⁷

Contrary to general expectations, no important legislation affecting the Department was passed by the General Assembly of 1881. In 1883, however, the movement to reorganize the Board made considerable headway under the leadership of Polk, Shotwell, J. H. Enniss, editor of the monthly *North-Carolina Farmer*, and others. As the best-qualified critic of the Department during the 'eighties, Polk was twice called before the Joint

³⁶ Polk to Rev. W. M. Kennedy, in *News and Observer*, Jan. 21, 1881; *Farmer and Mechanic*, Jan. 27, 1881.

³⁷ *Farmer and Mechanic*, Feb. 14, 1883.

Committee on Agriculture to present his views. His second appearance followed discourses by Jarvis, Holt, Evans, McGehee, and Dabney which clearly showed the members of the Board and the officers of the Department wedded to the *status quo*. Replying to Jarvis in particular, Polk in his speech advocated the plan that the reformers favored most.

The proposed change, said Polk, would have the Board of Agriculture composed of nine members—one from each congressional district—elected by the General Assembly. The burden of Governor Jarvis's argument was that "fitness rather than locality should govern in the selection of the members of the Board." This, Polk asserted, was begging the question, for "*locality is one of the essential elements of that fitness.*" In each district there was not only one man but there were scores of men who were at least as well qualified as, if not better qualified than, the present Board members. In North Carolina this representation by congressional districts would assure the adequate representation of all the leading agricultural interests of the state. No member of the present Board was identified with any of them. The proposition was a fair one, and would win popular support. It should be remembered that the Department of Agriculture was created for the farmers, who constituted seventy-two per cent of the state's population, and they certainly needed a full voice in its management. Personal considerations should be ignored; it was the whole people that the state had to serve. So Polk urged that a sound patriotism rule. "In this matter," he said in conclusion, "I have no axe to grind—no selfish purpose to subserve, but [I speak] as one, who, throughout his whole life, has been identified with the industrial classes of our people . . ." ³⁸

Though the incumbents opposed the new plan bitterly, the General Assembly of 1883 passed legislation in line with the suggested reforms. What the more conservative officials thought of Polk at this time could be seen in an article written by Commissioner McGehee. Purporting to be a full history of the Department and its work, the long account nowhere mentioned Polk's name. There was much about the beginnings of the Department, but sole credit for the accomplishments of the early years was given to the Board, which McGehee assigned many virtues. Nothing was said about there having been a former Commissioner. ³⁹

³⁸ *North-Carolina Farmer* extra, Feb. 19, 1883; Winston (later Raleigh) *Progressive Farmer*, Jan. 12, 1887.

³⁹ *Pub. Laws, 1883*, pp. 454-456 (ch. 291); Dept. of Agr., *Bulletin*, May, 1883, pp. 1-10

In 1881 the Department of Agriculture moved its quarters from the Briggs Building to the newly-purchased National Hotel property, and the chemical station was transferred from Chapel Hill to Raleigh. All through the decade the Department for the most part followed the tack taken by Polk with respect to land registry, immigration, handbooks, fertilizer analyses, geology, fish, and the rest.⁴⁰

This agency of the state government should have touched the lives of the farmers closely and beneficially. Yet during the 'eighties it was not popular. Progressives like Polk and Joseph Daniels gave voice to the dissatisfaction of the people when they rebelled at the conservative management of the Department, its political cast, its aloofness from the masses, its energy-wasting concern with non-agricultural matters, and its financial extravagance. Polk proposed that the December meeting of the Board of Agriculture be thrown open to properly qualified representatives of the farmers for free discussion, and that the Commissioner of Agriculture be elected either by the legislature or by the people. Daniels, the twenty-three-year-old editor of the *Raleigh State Chronicle*, recommended in his bold and independent exposition that the funds of the Department come directly from the State Treasury on an appropriation basis rather than from the more variable fertilizer tax. Even the *Raleigh News and Observer*, commonly an apologist for the Board, admonished: "Let us have done, for a time at least, with far away things and let the energies of the department be devoted to building up agriculture here at home."

In 1887 Montford McGehee, whom the reformers thought archaic, was succeeded as Commissioner by John Robinson, Board member from Anson County, whom they regarded as equally unsatisfactory. It seemed to them then that the Department was doomed to remain in its old rut for a long time to come. At this same time, Syd Alexander received an appointment. He wrote Polk: "I have not accepted the place on the Board of Agriculture, as yet. But the more I think of it the more I think I ought to accept, for if any damn thing ever needed a friend, it does now."⁴¹

Polk's profound interest in the Department of Agriculture did not cease with his resignation as Commissioner in 1880. He

⁴⁰ *News and Observer*, Dec. 22, 1880, April 20, 1881; *Pub. Docs.*, 1883, no. 18 *passim*.

⁴¹ *Progressive Farmer*, Feb. 10, 1886, and 1886-1889 *passim*; *State Chronicle*, Jan. 14, 1886; J. Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 318-320; *News and Observer*, Jan. 22, 24, 1886, Jan. 26, 1887, Oct. 23, 1889; Dept. of Agr., *Bulletin*, Feb., 1886, pp. 1-6; Alexander to Polk, June 23, 1887.

remained a sympathetic but trenchant critic of its work until he moved to the national scene in 1890. The following sentence, written in 1882, offers excellent insight into his whole attitude: "I may, in my great anxiety to see our old State move off, overestimate the value & utility of the Dep^t but I sincerely believe if it were run on the proper track, it would & could do more for N. C. in ten years, than has been done in all her past history."⁴²

Nevertheless, Polk was keenly aware of the most formidable impediment to progress: the "Bourbons" were in the saddle. Powerful new leaders of the Democratic party, the Bourbons had controlled the state government since the late 'seventies. For a decade they had secured majority support largely by playing upon the popular dread of "Negro rule" and "Radical extravagance," and by paying fulsome tribute to the departed glories of the "Lost Cause." As in other Southern states, the Bourbons promised to guarantee white supremacy and to practice stringent economy. Their regime in North Carolina was honest and patriotic, but it had the effect of hindering social and economic progress. The party leaders would let no issue arise that might divide the Democratic vote. So intensely did they concentrate upon keeping the Negro out of office and keeping themselves in, that they became virtually deaf to the cries for reform. And by the late 'eighties reform was desperately needed.⁴³

The Department of Agriculture was not modernized until the state government was liberalized. The farmers of North Carolina, organized by the Farmers' Alliance and helped by others who sympathized with their cause, overthrew the Bourbons in 1890. This great agrarian movement—and later the period of Republican-Populist domination of the state—at once chastened and rejuvenated Democratic leadership.

One by one the geologist, the president of the University, the president of the Agricultural Society, the governor, and the master of the Grange were dropped from the Board of Agriculture. Instead, the Board was made up of one appointed representative from each congressional district, a system that pre-

⁴² Polk to Edward A. Oldham, Dec. 30, 1882, miscellaneous MS. file, Duke University Library.

⁴³ Robert D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*, II, 399-401, 411-412, 431; Connor, "The Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth," *American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1930), 47, 50-51; J. G. de R. Hamilton, *North Carolina since 1860*, pp. 164-165, 216-220, 224-225; Benjamin B. Kendrick and Alex M. Arnett, *The South Looks at Its Past*, pp. 106-114; Arnett, *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies*, pp. 10-11; William B. Hesseltine, *History of the South*, pp. 674-679; John F. Crowell, *Personal Recollections . . . 1887-1894*, pp. 100-102; Democratic State Executive Committee, *Democracy vs. Radicalism: Handbook of N. C. Politics* (Raleigh), 1882-1888, *passim*.

vailed until only recently. Beginning in 1900 the Commissioner of Agriculture, like the other chief officers of the commonwealth, was elected for a term of four years by the people. He was to be eligible for reelection. The office of Commissioner, moreover, has gained at last the power and prestige contemplated for it at the start. Not only has the Commissioner's salary gradually been increased from \$2,000 to \$6,600, but today he is the chairman of the Board of Agriculture, which consists of ten practical farmers representing the main agricultural interests of North Carolina. The past fifty years have seen the Department of Agriculture expand remarkably in both size and utility—an expansion commensurate with the remarkable development of the agricultural state which it was designed to serve.⁴⁴

Leonidas LaFayette Polk died in 1892; but he had clearly pointed the way.

⁴⁴ *Pub. Laws, 1887-1939, passim.*

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION, 1860-1880

By Oliver S. Heckman

During the thirty years immediately preceding the Civil War anti-slavery agitation in the North developed simultaneously in political and ecclesiastical realms. The intense feeling which arose over the slavery issue brought about a separation within the ranks of Methodism in 1844. This was followed by the cleavage of the Baptists in 1845, of the New School Presbyterians and Methodist Protestants in 1858, of the Old School Presbyterians, of the Protestant Episcopalians in 1861, and of the Lutherans in 1863. Separation of the churches did not result in more amicable relations between members of the same religious faith in different parts of the country as some leaders had hoped it would but instead more vehement charges and counter charges were passed back and forth with a consequent widening of the breach. The spirit of nationalism which developed in the two sections of the country conditioned the policy which the churches would pursue toward one another during and following the war. The position of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America with relation to the course of action adopted by the Southern States in 1861 is revealed by the following declaration prepared by the Reverend Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky and adopted by the General Assembly of the Church at its annual meeting in 1862.

This whole treason, rebellion, anarchy, fraud, and violence, is utterly contrary to the dictates of natural religion and morality, and is plainly condemned by the revealed will of God. It is the clear and solemn duty of the National Government to preserve, at whatever cost, the National Union and Constitution, to maintain the laws in their supremacy, to crush force by force, and to restore the reign of public order and peace to the entire nation by whatever lawful means are necessary thereunto. And it is the holden duty of the people who compose this great nation, each one in his several place and degree, to uphold the Federal Government and every State government and all persons in authority, whether civil or military to cherish and protect them, it is her bounden duty to resist the revolution in all their lawful and proper acts. . . .¹

Official pronouncements of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, as the Southern Presbyterian body was known, are quite generally devoid of reference to the

¹ John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, VI, 319, 320.

civil and political issues of the Civil War period. Certain of the leaders within the church, however, eloquently voiced their opinions. The Reverend James H. Thornwell, one of the most prominent leaders in the Southern Church and editor and publisher of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, gave expression in the January, 1861, issue of this paper to what must have been the opinion of many of his southern co-religionists.

If . . . the South is not prepared to see her institutions surrounded by enemies and wither and decay under these hostile influences; if she means to cherish and protect them, it is her bounden duty to resist the revolution which threatens them with ruin. . . .

And he further states—

To save the union is impossible. . . . We prefer peace but if war must come, we are prepared to meet it with unshaken confidence in the God of battles.²

Deep convictions of a just and righteous war caused religious leaders in both the North and the South to give their undivided support to the government which ruled over them. Enlistments were encouraged and chaplains were sent into the camps to preach the Gospel. Scarcely had the war commenced when a correspondent of the *Presbyterian*, June, 1861, inquired whether the charities of the Presbyterian Church should be extended to include soldiers in the Southern armies. He pointed out that notwithstanding the inability of Northerners to visit camps and send missionaries, it would apparently be possible to furnish the Southern soldiers with Bibles and religious publications. Such acts he asserted might "soften the asperities which exist" and "hasten reconciliation."³ The difficulties were obvious; nevertheless the Old School Presbyterian Board of Publications authorized the distribution to Confederate soldiers and sailors of many thousand dollars worth of its books and tracts which were in the South at the outbreak of the war.⁴ Aside from this action and the attention paid to Confederate soldiers in the Union army prisons, Northern Presbyterian relief activities were confined mainly to Union soldiers and sailors.⁵

The invasion of the Confederate States by the Union armies brought the military into possession of vacant church properties of all denominations. Some of these properties were used for military purposes while others were given over to persons who

² R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion*, p. 159.

³ Communication from "E-S," *Presbyterian*, June 29, 1861.

⁴ *Presbyterian Encyclopedia*, p. 644.

⁵ Lewis G. Vandvelde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861-69*, p. 428.

were loyal to the Union. In Louisville, Kentucky, a body of loyal Presbyterians in 1864 succeeded with the aid of the military in obtaining possession of a church of their own denomination which previously had been in control of persons disloyal to the Union government.⁶ A similar incident occurred during the same year at Memphis, Tennessee. When the latter incident was brought to President Lincoln's attention he wrote the commanding officer as follows:

I am told that the military . . . put one set of men out of and another set into the building. This, if true, is most extraordinary. I say again, if there be no military need for the building, leave it alone, neither putting anyone in or out of it, except on finding some one practicing treason, in which case lay hands upon him, just as if he were doing the same in any other building or in the streets or highways.⁷

Reports of churches within the Union lines in possession of disloyal trustees as well as unoccupied ones came to the attention of the War Department. Orders authorizing agents of the respective churches to take over churches of their denomination within the Union lines. The following order issued upon application of the secretaries of the Board of Domestic Missions and the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions illustrates the manner in which Northern Presbyterians planned to reoccupy the South:

To the Generals commanding the Military Division of the Mississippi and the Departments of the Gulf, of the South, and of Virginia and North Carolina, and officers commanding armies, detachments, and posts. . . . The Board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions, enjoy the entire confidence of this Department, and no doubt is entertained that all ministers who will be appointed by them will be entirely loyal.

You are expected to permit such ministers of the Gospel bearing a commission of the Board of Domestic Missions, or the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, who may convince you that their commissions are genuine, to exercise the functions of their office within your command, and to give them all the aid, countenance and support which may be practicable, and in your judgment proper, in the execution of their important mission.⁸

⁶ P. J. Hamilton, *The Reconstruction Period*, p. 470.

⁷ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, X, 99.

⁸ *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XV, 97.

It was the purpose of this order to pave the way for the re-occupation of the South by Northern Presbyterians and with the consent of the people to reclaim the churches which had been held by this denomination before the war. The obtaining of this order from the War Department brought a sharp resolution of censure from the Presbytery of Louisville, Kentucky. It was declared by that body that the Board of Domestic Missions had

transcended in an alarming degree the powers with which they were vested as the agents of the Church of Jesus Christ, to the State as is contrary to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, contrary to the ancient testimonies of the faithful witnesses of the Church in all time past, contrary to the whole teaching of the Word of God.⁹

It was further asserted that the order was a "practical surrender of the freedom of the Commonwealth of Christ and denial of the supreme knightly authority of Messiah in his own kingdom."¹⁰

Under the terms of the War Department order five churches in the vicinity of New Orleans were placed under the direction of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church.¹¹ A few churches in other places in the South came into possession of the Board but Southern Presbyterians refused to attend services or to have any association with Northern missionaries who came among them. As a consequence, churches which were obtained through the military were soon turned back to their original owners.

The advance of the Northern armies into the South brought thousands of Negroes within the Union lines where they sought protection from their former masters, food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities. Officers, soldiers, and chaplains brought forcibly to the attention of the North through letters, sermons, and direct appeals the necessity of relief for these people. As far as was possible the army gave food and shelter to the Negro refugees who were within the lines, but such assistance was sporadic since the army was constantly on the march. A more sympathetic and far-reaching service than the military could provide was needed. As some in the North interpreted conditions, food, clothing, homes, sympathetic understanding, medical care, secular and religious education, and profitable employment

⁹ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XV, 97.

¹⁰ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 681.

¹¹ McPherson, *The Political History of the United States*, p. 544.

were needed to transform the Colored people into intelligent, patriotic, and useful members of society. A program directed toward this end was started immediately following the outbreak of the war by nearly 125 non-denominational agencies with headquarters in Northern cities. These philanthropic agencies collected money and supplies and administered their benefactions on a non-sectarian basis. Cooperating with these societies were some regular church organizations and a great many ministers and church leaders.¹² It was not unnatural that the churches should take a prominent place in the relief work of the societies, since many of their leaders had expressed themselves with the deepest conviction against the slavery system.

When the Northern Presbyterians failed in their plan to disintegrate and absorb Southern churches with the aid of the military and the War Department order, they turned their attention to the Colored race. Early in 1864 the *Home and Foreign Record*, official publication of the Boards of Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, declared in an editorial

if the leaven of sound doctrine is not cast among them they will go off with some monstrous error to destruction, some fearful heresy will crystallize these masses of degraded souls and they will become a unit in the propagation of another gospel. Let the church, yea everyone who loves the Lord Jesus, come to the help of the Lord.¹³

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at its annual session in 1864 authorized the organization of the two committees to be known as the General Assembly's Committees for the Education of Freedmen. These committees were authorized to receive, control, and disburse all funds contributed for the establishment and support of schools among the freedmen or for the support of missionaries. They were also directed to appoint teachers and missionaries, fix salaries, determine the character of books to be used in the schools, and propose plans for extending the work. One committee had its headquarters at Philadelphia and the other at Indianapolis.¹⁴

The operations of the Committees were confined largely to localities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee where Southern Presbyterianism was deeply rooted. No churches

¹² Luther P. Jackson, "Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina 1862-1872," *Journal of Negro History*, VIII (1923), 3.

¹³ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVII, 240.

¹⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XVII, 322.

were organized during the first year; yet it was stated that large numbers of freedmen were found who before the war had been Presbyterians and still manifested a preference for that denomination. The advisability of urging the Negroes to migrate to the North was considered but the experience of non-sectarian societies in giving effect to a similar proposal in Rhode Island and Michigan had not proved entirely satisfactory and as a consequence it was dropped. Other objections to the plan were the general aversion of the freedmen to emigrate into the North, repugnance to the separation of families, cost of transportation, and the probability that their welfare would not be promoted best in this manner.¹⁵

In 1865 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church directed that the Eastern and Western Committees for the Education of Freedmen should bring their work to a close and that all money and property in their possession should be transferred to a single body known as the General Assembly Committee on Freedmen.¹⁶ Soon after the work of reorganization had been completed, the Boards of Church Extension, Domestic Missions, and Publications offered it their hearty cooperation so far as was consistent with their peculiar duties. The American Bible Society demonstrated its interest in the new Committee by donating 2,000 Bibles for distribution. The Board of Publications commissioned as colporteurs such of the Committee's missionaries as were recommended and the Board of Church Extension gave generous aid in the erection of churches under the direction of the Committee's missionaries.¹⁷ The Committee found, during its first year, that the state of Southern society was so unsettled and the Negroes moved about so much that it was practically impossible to locate any missions with hope of permanent success. It also discovered that prejudice and lawlessness made it unsafe to locate missions or schools where military protection was not afforded. The Committee, therefore, determined to sustain and enlarge the work where it had been begun and to take possession at other points as fast as circumstances would allow.¹⁸ Funds were solicited through circular letters sent out to all Presbyterian ministers and churches and

¹⁵ *Report of the Eastern Committee for the Education of Freedmen Appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America at Their Meeting in Newark, New Jersey, 1864. Presented to Their Meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May, 1865. p. 8. (Hereafter cited as Report of the Eastern Committee.)*

¹⁶ *Annual Report of the General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1866, p. 3. (Hereafter cited as Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen.)*

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen, p. 4.*

¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen, p. 5.*

to a large number of financially well-to-do communicants. A special appeal was made for one member of each presbytery to act as the advocate of the cause, to urge presbyterial and synodical action, and to secure collections from the churches. *The Home and Foreign Record* also helped to keep the matter before the people by publishing letters and accounts from missionaries and teachers in the South, while representatives of the committee visited the various synods from time to time to give an account of the work.¹⁹ The Committee on Freedmen adopted, as a rule, the plan of selecting ministers and teachers on the basis of church membership and Christian character. Sufficient teachers with excellent qualifications were easily found, but there was difficulty in securing ministers. Very few ministers were willing to undertake the work except as an experiment and for a limited time, which leads one to inquire whether the relatively high salaries and comfortable living accommodations which were afforded Presbyterian ministers in the North were not conditioning factors.²⁰

Missionaries were urged to make all proper efforts to render their missions self-sustaining, with the idea that this policy would develop a spirit of self-reliance. Pupils were required to pay tuition and buy the books they used, as far as their circumstances would allow. The Committee declared that the idea of free schools sustained by Northern charity had been carried so far as to interfere materially with a rapid development of the spirit of self-reliance. Although financial demands on the freedmen were small, there was obtained in this way, for the year 1865-6, a total of \$1,500 for schools and \$1,600 for churches.²¹

The helpless condition of the freed people made a strong appeal to certain leaders in the Northern Presbyterian Church. Education was recommended as the means of preventing them from becoming a disturbing element in society and as a way of raising their standard of living. With education, the gospel was to be implanted as a purifying and elevating influence. It was contended that they could not be neglected by the church without guilt before God, nor could they be intrusted "to the tender mercies of the wicked." On the contrary, it was maintained that they must be regarded as "fellowmen however lowly their condition; as having immortal souls, and interest broader than our continent and more lasting than time." It was further

¹⁹ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, p. 6.

²⁰ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, pp. 7-8

²¹ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, p. 17.

asserted that the Presbyterian Church could, "better than any other association, secure their real elevation through the means of grace."²² Left to themselves, it was said, the freedmen would seek a "religion without knowledge, a piety without intelligence, and an education in which there was no religion."²³ Some Northern Presbyterians objected to their church entering the Southern field. They contended that the Colored people were not susceptible to the culture necessary to make Presbyterians of them. It was also maintained that the church had no mission, in God's province, to the freedmen, and that effort by Northern Presbyterians would merely engender more bitter feeling among the Southern people.²⁴

There were in 1866 nearly 14,000 Colored members of the Old School Presbyterian Church in the Southern states. The Committee on Freedmen definitely declared that it neither intended to interfere with the Southern church in its work, nor meant to alienate any of its members. But it modified its position somewhat by holding that it recognized the right of Colored members and all others to choose whether they would be communicants of the Old School Assembly or not. The Committee felt that Colored Presbyterians should be allowed all the privileges within the church organization that were accorded to others. It would recognize no scheme of evangelism that did not concede the right to teach the freedmen to read the Bible and to raise ministers from their own members, clothed with all the authority of ministerial office. The mere fact of membership in Southern churches was not to be regarded by the missionaries as a bar to organizing churches under the care of the Northern Presbyterian General Assembly, where this was desired, or to establishing schools for religious education, where they were needed.²⁵ The Southern Presbyterian Church proposed that the Northern church turn over to it the funds for the education of freedmen so that the work might be carried out according to its views. Needless to say, the Northern church objected to the proposal, on the ground that the freed people would not accept Southern Presbyterians as teachers and ministers in any great numbers and that the proposed policy would involve supporting a schism. The Committee gave assurance, however, that it would avoid collision with Southern Presby-

²² *Report of the Eastern Committee*, 1865, p. 13.

²³ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, 1867, p. 19.

²⁴ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XX, 223.

²⁵ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVII, 192. See also *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, 1867, p. 13.

terians in the work among freedmen as far as possible.²⁶ The Southern Presbyterian Church realized that it had lost its hold on its Colored membership, but this was believed to be only temporary. It was thought that these people would in the course of time discover white Southerners to be their true friends, who cared most for their souls.²⁷

These hopes of the Southern church were never realized. Social ostracism of the Northern worker undoubtedly served somewhat to strengthen his hold on the Negro, for in this way he was brought to social equality, or the appearance of it, with those among whom he worked. Since the Southerner, on the other hand, could not readily adjust himself to the level of the Colored people, his efforts were generally fruitless. In one instance, a Southern minister who had been absent from his congregation for five years obtained authority from the military officials to repossess his church. At the time of his return, he had 30 White and 300 Colored communicants. The Colored members were given the choice of occupying the galleries or leaving the church. The Negroes left, much dismayed by the alternative. This instance represents the general policy of Southern Presbyterian ministers in handling their Negro members after the war.²⁸

The Committee exercised care in locating schools so that churches might be planted in the same communities with them and with a reasonable prospect of growth. School and church might then work together, one furnishing an enlightened leadership, the other a thoroughly religious influence. Those in charge were convinced that the work would eventually fall into the hands of Negro ministers and teachers and the only safe training for these future leaders was thought to be that in which the Bible would be kept foremost. For this reason, almost every minister taught in the day school, and every teacher taught in a Sunday School.²⁹ Gradually Colored men were inducted into important church offices. Those who looked forward to the ministry were made licentiates after a short period of training. One minister would often have three or four licentiates under his direction, consequently it was possible for him to have under his charge several churches with regular Sunday services. Catechists who wished it received training likewise for church

²⁶ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, 1866, p. 15.

²⁷ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XIX, 128.

²⁸ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVII, 216.

²⁹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XVIII, 442-443.

leadership. Conventions of elders and deacons were held at appointed times by the ministers in order to instruct these subordinates in their official duties and to bind the churches together.³⁰ Thus leaders were trained and the influence of the church was widened. The Committee on Freedmen was diligent in its efforts to keep before the church the duty of Presbyterians to the Negroes. Its *Annual Report* for 1870 contained the following appeal:

The love [the church] should bear to fourteen thousand colored Presbyterians, and their descendants, demands this; her obligation to preach the gospel to the poor demands it; the signal success already attending her labors among this people encourages her to proceed; her historic patriotism urges to the advance; and the highest interest of four million people so long oppressed; of the uncounted multitudes of the land from which they sprang; and as well, the honor of Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men and died that they might live, pleads that the Presbyterian Church in these United States shall not withhold from this work more than is meet, nor be slow to act, when the King's business is requiring haste . . . while this people is still as clay in the hands of the potter—ready to take form at will—and especially while they manifest so strong religious tendencies, our church should at once seize and use the golden opportunity for doing good to souls and bring honor to the Master.³¹

The Committee declared in the same report that its work was the means of "enlightening the ignorant; uplifting the lowly; gathering sheep into the fold of the good Shepherd—from dark mines culling jewels, black indeed—but which should nevertheless be brilliant in the diadem of the Redeemer."³²

The New and Old School Presbyterians in the North united in 1869 to form one Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This led to a union of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions on Freedmen (New School), with the General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen (Old School), with the title of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen. Up to this time the New School Presbyterians had supported a few missions in eastern Tennessee, in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and at Charleston, South Carolina.³³ An approximate average of \$15,000 a year had been expended in the years from 1865 to 1869.³⁴

The Presbyterian Church was not particularly adapted to

³⁰ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, 1867, pp. 14, 15.

³¹ *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen*, 1870, p. 20. The name of the committee was changed by the General Assembly in 1870.

³² *Annual Report of the Committee of Missions*, 1870, pp. 20, 21.

³³ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, New School*, 1869, p. 319.

³⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1869, p. 319.

making converts among the Colored people. The services did not generally allow the emotional expression which Negroes desired so much and which they might enjoy in the Baptist and Methodist churches. The Committee in charge of the work realized that the Presbyterian service was different from that which the Colored people had been accustomed to, but they believed that the response they won, while less demonstrative, was more enduring.³⁵ In this conclusion there may have been some truth, for cases of discipline were reported as averaging less than one to each church.³⁶ The freedmen were always eager for church organizations of their own. When a minister from the North went among them and proposed the establishment of a church, he found many willing to assist him. Not infrequently the Colored people would provide the labor to get the structure under way. They also contributed liberally of their means, but they could seldom raise enough money among themselves to complete the work. Missionaries with churches partly built made ardent appeals to the Committee to provide funds to finish them. The Board of Church Extension and the Committee on Freedmen gave proportionately as their means would allow for the work. In spite of many hindrances to the growth of the Presbyterian Church in the South, marked progress was recorded. In 1874 the Synod of Atlantic had 34 ministers, of whom 14 were white and 20 Colored, 98 churches, and 6,600 members; the synod in that year included presbyteries in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. In commenting on this achievement, *The Southern Presbyterian* gave conditional approval:

It gives us unfeigned pleasure to see them cared for by the Northern Presbyteries, although we are not prepared to imitate or approve their policy in all respects. Our deliberate and conscientious judgment is, that the difference of race constituted a necessary and proper ground for the separation of white and black Presbyterians who are both equally free and independent.³⁷

Letters from missionaries in the South contained mingled sentiments of affirmation and denial of religious improvement among the Negroes. Some maintained that there was much religion among them but little morality. In a few instances it was contended that there would be manifest improvement in religion,

³⁵ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen*, 1867, p. 8.

³⁶ *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XIX, 176.

³⁷ *Southern Presbyterian*, February 5, 1874.

morals, and standards of conduct if Colored parents were more diligent about having their children baptized. However, the opinion of missionaries was unanimous on one issue, namely, that there was a most pressing need for religious education among the freedmen. Whatever the inconsistencies or failings of the freedmen, Presbyterian missionaries, as those of other sects, attributed to the demoralizing influence of two centuries of slavery.

Teachers wrote home glowing accounts of the progress of pupils in their schools. A teacher in Tennessee reported that many of his pupils could give the "whole Bible account of the creation, fall, flood, sufferings of Christ, etc." and added that prayer meetings were held every night for a week and that there seemed to be a general awakening from sin.³⁸ The schools, as a rule, were large, sometimes numbering nearly 300 pupils to a teacher. In such instances the more advanced Colored pupils taught beginners, and thus a larger number received instruction than would have been possible otherwise. During the years immediately following the war teachers were frequently implored by their pupils not to take a vacation during the summer months, and some yielded to the entreaties.³⁹ Because there was a constantly changing student body and irregular school attendance, the teacher was certain to weary sooner than the pupils. During the first years of the Committee's efforts in the South, the schools were taught almost entirely by Northern teachers. But as the Colored people became better prepared, fewer teachers from the North were commissioned, and gradually instruction passed into the hands of Negroes. The change in teaching personnel was not accompanied by change in supervision or ownership of school property.

Schools of a more permanent character than the elementary parochial institutions began to be opened in 1865. These offered a higher training than the other schools under the jurisdiction of the Committee. Wallingford Academy at Charleston, South Carolina, was opened in 1865, followed by Scotio Seminary at Concord, North Carolina, 1866; Biddle Memorial Institute at Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1867 (after 1876 known as Biddle University); Goodwill Parochial School and Brainerd Institute at Chester, South Carolina, in 1868; and Fairfield Normal Institute at Winnsboro, South Carolina, in 1869. Six other schools

³⁸ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVI, 264.

³⁹ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVIII, 119.

of similar standing were opened during the 1870's. Thus by 1880 the Presbyterian Church had twelve well established institutions under its jurisdiction. Before these schools were established, some thought was given to sending advanced students who were preparing for the ministry to Lincoln University, near Philadelphia; but transportation was held to be too costly, and it was believed that training at Lincoln University would not meet the particular needs of the students. In order to provide training for the ministry, the Presbytery of Catawba in 1867 appointed the Reverend S. C. Alexander to establish a theological class at Biddle Institute at Charlotte. It was expected that the students would be able to carry a course of study at the same time that they served as catechists and licentiate among their people.⁴⁰ The General Assembly gave encouragement to young men planning to enter the ministry when it authorized the Presbyterian Board of Education to relax the rule requiring that no one should be engaged by it unless he had spent at least three years in the study of Latin.⁴¹ All of the permanent institutions under the jurisdiction of the Committee were designed with the purpose of training Colored preachers, catechists, and teachers. It was hoped that missionaries would go forth from these schools to enlighten the dark corners of Africa. A few schools like Scotio Seminary at Concord, North Carolina, and Mary Allen Seminary at Crockett, Texas, were more particularly devoted to the education of Colored girls in religion, the arts and sciences, and homemaking.

The Presbyterian institutions of learning were located in densely settled Negro areas and along railway lines so that they might be easily accessible. Thus situated, these schools drew heavily on the surrounding countryside for their students. When vacations came, an open field for missionary labor was near at hand. The populous Negro settlements within easy reach of the schools were regarded as of great importance in affording opportunities for training future ministers and teachers. In such regions teachers could give supervision and friendly direction to those about to enter their own profession. The Bible was taught in all the schools as an essential. Religious services were also conducted each morning, with some part of the Scriptures read and explained. Portions of the catechism were also memorized as part of the daily program. It was claimed

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Committee on Freedmen, 1867*, p. 16.

⁴¹ "Report of the Board of Education," *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1868*, p. 21.

by the Committee that the teaching of the catechism was not motivated by sectarian consideration, but rather by the desire to impress the students with scriptural doctrines. The mingling of religion with general academic training was intended to fit the student for the cares and responsibilities of life.⁴² Such institutions as Biddle, Brainerd, and Fairfield offered training along agricultural and industrial lines. A farm was connected with each of these schools, and the work on it was done by the students under the direction of a scientific farmer. Work on the farm, it was hoped, would train students in self-help and at the same time give them a practical acquaintance with improved methods of agriculture in the South.⁴³ Courses of study varied somewhat at the different institutions, but at all of them two departments were conducted, namely, the preparatory and the normal departments. The preparatory department was invariably the largest in student enrollment; the normal and the theological came next in order of size. The normal department drew a large body of students because teaching positions were easily secured, with relatively good pay, and scholastic requirements were not rigid. Students enrolled in the theological departments of the five leading Presbyterian institutions seldom comprised more than ten per cent of the total student bodies.⁴⁴ This was probably due to the high scholastic requirements for entering this profession. Like most church institutions of that day, these schools were constantly in need of endowments, scholarships, buildings, and supplies, including furniture, books, and laboratory equipment. Appeals were frequently made in the North for these things, but contributions were generally small.

Temperance societies were organized by the missionaries among the Colored people as a means of raising moral standards.⁴⁵ Children and young people were encouraged to join the Band of Hope, a junior temperance society, whose various insignia of pins, badges, banners, and ribbons made a strong appeal. It was part of joining these organizations to take a pledge to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, from the use of tobacco in any form, and from all profane and vulgar

⁴² *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1878, p. 18.

⁴³ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1880, p. 17. See also the *Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XXXI, 203.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1874, p. 9; 1876, p. 9; 1877, p. 10; 1878, pp. 21, 22; 1879, p. 19; 1881, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the Freedmen's Department of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions*, 1867, p. 7.

⁴⁶ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XXI, 112.

language.⁴⁶ One of the chief difficulties of the temperance societies was that while membership grew rapidly, it declined with equal momentum as soon as the organizer left a community. One teacher, on returning to her school after a summer vacation, reported that she could rally only one-third of the previous membership.⁴⁷ The ambitious politician, the country store-keeper, and the rum peddler, each using every wile to dispense his wares, wrought havoc with the societies.⁴⁸ Not only were the freedmen warned against the evil influences of intoxicating liquor; they were also warned against the Catholic Church. Reports were frequently circulated by Northern Presbyterian periodicals that many priests were about to commence work among the freedmen of the South. On one occasion the Committee on Freedmen reported that several Southern cities had been mapped out by the Catholic Church as centers from which their religion would radiate. Moreover, it was declared that priests had already planted sixty-five schools for freedmen at strategic points in the South, where tuition and board were offered without cost to those who would attend.⁴⁹ On another occasion the Catholic Church was charged with attempting to win the freedmen by circulating among them a letter alleged to have been written by Jesus Christ.⁵⁰ In 1878 the Committee on Freedmen reported that the Catholic Church was spending \$600,000 a year in the interests of the Colored people and that there were over 500,000 of them in Catholic schools. It was also pointed out that seven religious orders of men and 36 of women were intrusted with this work.⁵¹ The reports of Catholic activity were doubtless made in all sincerity; yet it cannot be overlooked that this matter presented a convenient argument to be placed before the Presbyterian Church for raising money. The work of the Catholic Church in the South was regarded as a challenge to Protestant evangelization among the freedmen.⁵² In 1877 the Committee, after referring to the dangers which beset Presbyterianism, appealed on the basis of patriotism and religion for funds for continuing its work. Attention was called to the prospective relation of the Negro to the evangelization of Africa. The ignorance and poverty of the Negroes, their religious habits, and their interest in education were advanced as reasons for

⁴⁷ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record*, XXI, 10.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Freedmen's Department of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions*, 1867, p. 7. See also *The Presbyterian Monthly Record*, XXIX, 327.

⁴⁹ *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen*, 1877, p.11; 1878, p.31.

⁵⁰ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record*, XX, 127.

⁵¹ *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen*, 1878, p. 32.

⁵² *Annual Report of the Committee of Missions*, 1878, p. 33.

supporting the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the South.⁵³

In spite of urgent appeals to the churches for money, the Committee did not in any single year prior to 1870 receive contributions from more than one-fourth of the Presbyterian churches. In the decade from 1870 to 1880 the number of churches contributing increased to one-half of the total of Presbyterian churches, but the income did not rise correspondingly. The main reason offered for the failure of the church to contribute more liberally was that the work was not properly presented by the pastors to their congregations.⁵⁴ The General Assembly in 1866 recommended that an annual collection should be taken on the first Sunday in October for the benefit of the freedmen,⁵⁵ but this suggestion was apparently not acted on by many churches. Prior to 1870 the Committee had spent \$244,726, but \$109,462 of this amount was received from the government, the Boards of Church Extension and Domestic Missions, and the freedmen themselves.⁵⁶ The Colored Presbyterian churches in the South contributed liberally to the support of the Committee's work. While 500,000 Presbyterians in the North in 1877 gave on an average of eight cents a member, the Presbyterian freedmen at the same time contributed one dollar a member.⁵⁷ Further evidence of the liberality of the freedmen is contained in the following figures: Their contributions to the Committee up to the year 1875 amounted to \$67,077 and from 1875 to 1885, \$131,631; the total given by them up to 1892 was \$417,908, or \$2.80 annually for each member.⁵⁸ The reports from missionaries and teachers in the South were generally filled with optimism about the Negroes' progress. They were purchasing homes and improving in manners and morals, and their advance was more noticeable to these observers, in the vicinity of Presbyterian churches and schools than elsewhere.⁵⁹

In certain sections of the South hostility toward the work of Northern Presbyterians was greater than in others. In eastern Tennessee there was considerable tension between Northern and Southern sympathizers after the war. The Presbyterian Synod

⁵³ *Annual Report of the Committee of Missions, 1877*, p. 14.

⁵⁴ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XXV, 252.

⁵⁵ *The Home and Foreign Record*, XVII, 240.

⁵⁶ *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen, 1870*, pp. 13, 14.

⁵⁷ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XXVIII, 223.

⁵⁸ *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen, 1892*, p. 6.

⁵⁹ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XX, 155; XXI, 119; XXIII, 290; XXXI, 278.

of Nashville, Tennessee, in its meeting at Huntsville, Alabama, in January, 1866, expressed itself strongly:

Some of our ministers and many of our church members have been driven from their houses for no other reason than that their political sentiments were not pleasing to the mob. We are sorry to say that some of the missionaries of the Northern General Assemblies have excited and encouraged this lawless spirit. Some of our churches have been utterly broken up by this persecution.⁶⁰

A few years later, when the Ku Klux Klan was at the height of its career in eastern Tennessee, ministers of Northern sympathies were threatened and in some instances driven from their churches.⁶¹ In 1867 *The Southern Presbyterian Review* claimed that the ministers of the gospel who came from the North to preach to the freedmen were simply political emissaries figuring more prominently than any other class in the reconstruction conventions, loyal leagues, and other political gatherings. It was claimed that these agents of the Northern church were not preaching salvation to perishing sinners, but merely their own political views; moreover, it was asserted that the Northern representatives stirred up racial antagonisms. Northern Presbyterian missionaries did not go to the more destitute and neglected portions of the South, it was alleged, but to those sections and congregations where most attention had been given to the religious instruction of the slaves; and there they labored with the studied purpose of promoting division.⁶²

The Charleston Presbytery of the Southern church was of the opinion that the Negro churches under the influence of Northern ministers with political interests would become political nurseries.⁶³ *The Southern Presbyterian* admitted that Southern Christians might have been more active in Christianizing the slaves, but added: "Let those alone who have more fully discharged their duty, cast at us the first stone and we shall at least be safe from our traducers." It was contended that the Southern church could accomplish little because of her impoverishment and the distrust excited against her by Northerners. The same periodical stated that the missionaries sent out by Northern Presbyterians worked to disrupt and divide peaceful churches and that they were sent to such cities as Charlotte, North Car-

⁶⁰ "The Church: Puritanism: The Freedmen," *The American Monthly Church Review*, XVIII, 70.

⁶¹ *The Presbyterian Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XX, 249.

⁶² "The Future of the Freedmen," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XIX, 272, 273.

⁶³ *Southern Presbyterian*, May 7, 1868. Reference to the Report of the Board of Domestic Missions. Charleston Presbytery.

olina, and Charleston and Sumter, South Carolina, where Southern Presbyterians had, prior to the war worked effectively among the Negroes. To this, *The Southern Presbyterian* added:

if the object of the Northern church is to avail themselves of our present distracted condition to steal away the hearts of our colored brethren, to entice them from our churches by professions of extraordinary zeal in their behalf, to introduce discord and animosity where harmony and love have hitherto prevailed—if this is their object, they have chosen their ground with masterly cunning, worthy of him who will chiefly rejoice in their wiles. But if the object is to preach the gospel to the poor and destitute, to those perishing from the lack of knowledge, they have miserably failed . . . They expend all of their energies in drawing away our church members from us; in striving to break down what we have built up not in making new conquests from the world; or even in building up the waste places of Zion.⁶⁴

The Reverend S. C. Logan, secretary of the Committee on Freedmen, denied the charge that the Northern Presbyterian Church was drawing its membership from those who were formerly members of the Southern Presbyterian Church. He declared that a survey had been made of church membership at certain pivotal points and that it was found that very few communicants had been members of the Southern Presbyterian Church. He also pointed out that the churches were located so as not to interfere with the work of the Southern Presbyterian Church.⁶⁵

In 1889 the Northern Presbyterian Church had in the South six presbyteries embracing 237 churches, with 116 ministers and 17,480 communicants, and 83 Sunday Schools with an enrollment of 11,175 pupils.⁶⁶ *The Annual Report of the Board of Missions for Freedmen* for 1892 reported that to that time \$1,280,000 had been expended on the work in the South.⁶⁷

The program of Southern reconstruction as planned and carried out by the Northern Presbyterian Church consisted of two main features, namely, that of providing the Colored people with food, clothing, and shelter, and of imparting to them education and religion. Because of the varying rate of readjustment which the Negro made to his status as a free man, no definite date can be given as marking the close of the churches' activities in supplying physical necessities and the beginning of its ministry to the mind and soul. In localities where the destruction

⁶⁴ *Southern Presbyterian*, May 14, 1868.

⁶⁵ *Southern Presbyterian*, March 25, 1869.

⁶⁶ Matthew Anderson, *Presbyterianism. Its Relation to the Negro. Illustrated by the Berean Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. With a Sketch of the Church and an Autobiography of the Author*, p. 124.

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Board of Missions for Freedmen*, 1892, p. 31.

of the country by the armies had been negligible, the Colored people needed less material assistance in the form of food and clothing than they did in regions where the ravages of war were more extensive. Doubtless mistakes were made by the General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen in dispensing charity during its early years but this was due more to a lack of understanding than it was to lack of enthusiasm. The occasional indiscriminate distribution of food and clothing, enthusiasm over the interest of Colored people in education and religion, and demand for their equality with white people in church affairs are evidence of a lack of understanding regarding the ability and character of the Southern Negro. In their enthusiasm to help the Colored people, Northern teachers and ministers were not always discreet and as a consequence incurred the enmity of the native white population.

Following the opening of ungraded elementary schools there came the establishment of more permanent educational institutions, which were known as academies, colleges, and universities. Education on the college level, however, did not begin until about 1875. Although the educational program included the usual academic subjects it was interspersed with religious teachings and church doctrines. Bible teaching and religious exercises held a prominent place in the activities of these schools because the instructional staff included a predominance of ministers. From these educational institutions there radiated the influence and teachings of Presbyterianism.

The support which Northern Presbyterians gave to the relief, educational and missionary work of the church in the South was disappointing. At no time did more than two-thirds of all Northern Presbyterian churches contribute to the work carried forward by the Committee on Freedmen. Since the Committee always operated on a very strict budget, the agents and institutions which it established likewise had to live sparingly. Contributions for promoting Southern educational and religious activity gradually declined as the animosities engendered by the war died away. After 1880 the educational institutions sought and in some instances received large donations for buildings and endowment from people of wealth in the North. Many of the churches and schools organized by the Presbyterian Committee on Freedmen during the period from 1865 to 1880 still radiate a religious and educational influence in their respective localities.

ELECTIONEERING 1802 STYLE

Edited by

Fletcher Melvin Green

Hardened though one of this generation may be to the demagoguery and chicanery of election campaigns he is surprised to find that candidates for office in the early days of the Republic knew and practiced all the tricks of the great game of modern politics. Such was the case, however, as the following account of an election of members to the General Assembly of North Carolina from Wilkes County in 1802 amply shows. The descriptive account was written by William Lenoir, an unsuccessful candidate for the senate, shortly after the election. The account taken from Lenoir's "Memorandum Book from March 1, 1802, to March 15, 1804,"¹ throws considerable light on popular interest taken in elections and the manner of conducting them as well as the methods used by the candidates in appealing to the voters. William Lenoir and James Wellborn, rival candidates for the senate and the chief actors in the drama, were both leading figures in state politics for almost half a century and the bitterest of political enemies. Both were also outstanding figures in the economic development of their section of the state and in the educational life of North Carolina.

William Lenoir was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, May 20, 1751, the youngest of ten children, and was taken to Edgecombe County, North Carolina, when eight years of age. The family was poor and William never had an opportunity for a formal education but, highly intelligent, he picked up a fair education and developed qualities of leadership that early brought him into public notice. He married Ann Ballard of Halifax County, a woman of strong character. In 1775 Lenoir moved to Surry (now Wilkes) County, settled at Mulberry Field Meeting House, now Wilkesboro, and about 1789 built his home, "Fort Defiance," in Happy Valley (in what is now Caldwell County). From then until his death on May 6, 1839, he was active in the political life of his adopted state. Lenoir had signed the Continental Association before removing from Edgecombe and became at once a member of the Surry County Committee of Public Safety and served also as clerk of that body.

¹ The "Memorandum Book" is found among the Lenoir Family Papers of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library. It is in several volumes covering the years from 1772 to the late 1820's.

When the new county of Wilkes was organized in 1777 Lenoir was appointed a justice of the peace, an office he held continuously for sixty-two years except for two years while he was clerk of the Wilkes County superior court. He served as register, surveyor, commissioner of affidavits, and chairman of the county court of Wilkes. He was a member of the house of commons from 1781 to 1784, when he was elevated to the senate. He was again elected to the senate in 1787 and served continuously to 1795, and was speaker from November 1, 1790, to February 7, 1795. He served two terms, 1808 and 1809, on the Council of State and was chosen president of that body. Lenoir was a delegate to the convention at Hillsboro in 1788 which refused to ratify the Constitution of the United States, and to that at Fayetteville in 1789 which did ratify it. In the first convention Lenoir had opposed ratification because of the lack of any guarantee of individual rights and of his fear of centralization. At the second convention he voted for the Constitution, believing that the pending Bill of Rights would safeguard human rights. When it was expected that another convention of all the states would be called to amend the Federal Constitution, North Carolina elected Lenoir as one of her delegates. Lenoir was active in securing the charter of the University of North Carolina in 1789 and served on the board of trustees until 1804; he was president of the board for the first two years of its existence. After his defeat by Wellborn in 1795, Lenoir never again held an elective public office although he was an unsuccessful candidate for the state senate on several occasions and for the United States House of Representatives in 1806. He also failed of election by the General Assembly to the governorship of the state and to the United States Senate.²

Lenoir was active in the Revolutionary conflict and served in several Indian campaigns. He rose through all the ranks to be a general. He was a captain in the Revolutionary Army and was with Colonel Benjamin Cleaveland³ at Kings Mountain, where he was twice wounded. After the war he served eighteen years as major general of the state militia.⁴

² There is a sketch of Lenoir in the *Raleigh Register*, June 22, 1839. It is reproduced in John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851* (reprint edition, New York, 1925), II, 462-465; see also the sketch in Samuel A. Ashe ed., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 219-221.

³ Benjamin Cleaveland was born in Prince William County, Virginia, on May 26, 1738, and died in Oconee County, South Carolina, in October, 1806. He removed to North Carolina in 1769 and settled in what is now Wilkes County. He had a brilliant career in the Revolutionary War. He was chairman of the Wilkes County court and a member of both houses of the General Assembly. *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 69-73.

⁴ See J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir," *Journal of Southern History*, VI, 247-259 (May, 1940).

James Wellborn, Lenoir's bitter political rival,⁵ was born in eastern North Carolina but moved to Wilkes County as a young man. He too served under Colonel Cleaveland and saw service in Indian campaigns in Georgia. In 1812 he was a brigadier general in the state militia. Wellborn married Rebecca Montgomery, daughter of Hugh Montgomery⁶ and twin sister of Rachel who married Montford Stokes.⁷ In 1794 Wellborn, his wife, and her sister stopped at "Fort Defiance," the home of Lenoir. After three days Wellborn departed for Georgia, leaving his wife and her retinue at "Fort Defiance." Wellborn returned to "Fort Defiance" on May 4 where he remained until May 15. Lenoir boarded Mrs. Wellborn and her horse for fifty-five days, Wellborn and his two horses for eighteen days, and three of Wellborn's slaves for some two weeks. Wellborn also sub-leased one of Lenoir's houses from W. Henry Cleton, and had the use of Lenoir's pasture for his stock for several weeks. He complained to the neighbors on sundry occasions that Lenoir had charged him £7 in hard money for his eighteen days board and \$8.00 for "an old smooky cabbin" and pasture. Lenoir resented these charges and angrily recorded in his "Memorandum Book" that he received "in all only £6 in Trade" for the entire group and "for the rent of the cabin and Excellent Pasture, which made his horses fat, I got not a Farthing only my Character Blasted for Extortion."⁸ As a result of Wellborn's charges Lenoir sued and recovered an additional sum. This affair was the beginning of a personal animosity that ripened into a most bitter political rivalry.

Shortly after the above reported incident Lenoir joined the firm of Hillair Rousseau and Company⁹ and made entries for 750,000 acres of lands in Wilkes County for speculative purposes. Wellborn applied to Lenoir for admission in the company but was refused. He then formed a company of his own

⁵ In addition to numerous entries concerning Wellborn in his "Memorandum Books" from 1794 to 1804, Lenoir prepared a forty-one page booklet entitled "James Wellborn's Conduct." It deals with Wellborn's conduct, chiefly political, from 1794 to 1823. The booklet is in the Southern Historical Collection.

⁶ Hugh Montgomery was an Englishman who settled in Salisbury, North Carolina. He acquired title to a large tract of land in Wilkes County from the Moravians.

⁷ Montford Stokes was born in Lunenburg County, Virginia, in 1762. He served in the navy under Commodore Decatur and settled in Salisbury, North Carolina. He married first Mary Irwin and second Rachel Montgomery. He was clerk of the Rowan County superior court; was clerk of the state senate; was a member of the United States Senate, 1816-1823, of the state senate, 1826, and of the house of commons, 1829-1830; and was governor of North Carolina 1830-1832, and Indian Agent at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, from 1831 till his death in 1842.

⁸ Entry of August 10, 1794, "Memorandum Book from March 25, 1794, to August 20, 1795"; see also entries of April 4 and May 15, 1794, and "James Wellborn's Conduct," pp. 1, 2, 22. The main story in these two sources is the same but details differ.

⁹ The company was organized December 22, 1794. Its members were Hillair Rousseau, William Lenoir, James Fletcher, Joseph Herndon, Richard Allen, Benjamin Jones, and Robert Nall. Later Charles Gordon, Sr., Charles Gordon, Jr., George Hulme, and Thomas Isbell were admitted; these four were to get 50,000 acres each. The agreement is found in the Lenoir Papers.

and attempted to enter lands but found that he was too late as they had already been taken.¹⁰ Wellborn, now embittered, complained to William B. Lenoir¹¹ that his father "might as well [have] taken him in as some that I did for he was worth as much & had as much Sense, & that before he had always taken me for his friend but he was then convinced that he was mistaken & that I never was his friend, or I would have taken him in."¹² More pertinent to the political rivalry of the two men "W^m Hulme¹³ at Wellborn's heard him blame me [Lenoir] in the same manner & that he was Angry with me & that was the cause of his offering himself a Candidate in Opposition &c."¹⁴ Lenoir commented upon this as follows: Wellborn "condemns all Speculation & promises to break it up, & urges the necessity of some one opposing me to be elected in the Senate & no other person willing to offer he was obliged in so Early Period of his life to step forward to offer rather than the County should be so imposed on, - & after all that Patriotick Zeal for the good of the Poor & of the County in general, he then said in presents [*sic*] of Jas. Gwyn¹⁵ that if I would come to him and acknowledge I had done wrong, he would give up with both his hands. I therefore mark him down on my Book (not only for a black sheep) - but for a Hipocrite & base & ungrateful Lier & a great Scoundral -."¹⁶

Lenoir refused to apologize to Wellborn and the latter not only opposed but defeated him in the election of 1795. Lenoir persistently maintained that the charges of speculation were responsible for his defeat. He believed, however, that Wellborn was insincere in the charges for, said he, "W. Tribble¹⁷ told me that some time after the fuss broke out about Speculation he was Riding up the road above the C^t house in company with Capt. Robinett¹⁸ & Wellborn & he heard one of them say to the

¹⁰ Wellborn's land speculating company included William Johnson, J. R. Johnson, David Witherspoon, and Jesse Robinett. They attempted to get control of some 400,000 acres of land in Wilkes County.

¹¹ William Ballard Lenoir, 1775-1852, moved in 1810 from Wilkes County to a 5000-acre estate where Lenoir City, Tennessee, now stands. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Waightsstill Avery. Lenoir was an extensive planter, textile manufacturer, miller, and land surveyor.

¹² Entry of August 10, 1795, "Memorandum Book from March 25, 1794, to August 20, 1795."

¹³ William Hulme served in the house of commons 1800-1802, 1804-1808, and 1810 and in the senate from 1814 to 1816; reelected to the senate in 1816, he died before he could take his seat in 1817. His brother was associated with Lenoir, and William seems to have belonged to the Lenoir political faction.

¹⁴ "James Wellborn's Conduct," pp. 3-4.

¹⁵ James Gwyn, 1768-1850, was the son of Captain Richard and Sarah Ransome Gwyn. His widowed mother married Thomas Lenoir of South Carolina, brother of William Lenoir. James Gwyn married Amelia Lenoir and lived at "Green Hill" in Wilkes County.

¹⁶ Entry of August 10, 1795, "Memorandum Book from March 25, 1794, to August 20, 1795."

¹⁷ William Tribble was a captain in the state militia and a business associate of Lenoir.

¹⁸ Jesse Robinett, captain in the state militia, member of the house of commons from 1795 to 1799, was a member of Wellborn's land speculating company and political faction.

other that he should not have blamed the Speculators at all if they had taken in more with them & the other replied nor he should have blamed them nather."¹⁹

Wellborn's political record from his victory over Lenoir to his death in 1839 was much more successful than that of Lenoir. He was reelected to the senate continuously until 1811; and was elected again in 1818-1821, 1823-1824, 1828-1829, 1832 and 1834. He replaced Lenoir on the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina in 1804 and served until 1814.²⁰ Wellborn rounded out his political career as a member of the state constitutional convention of 1835. In his later years he was described by Elisha Mitchel as a "furious Jacksonite and a prompt bold man."²¹

As a member of the senate, Wellborn was instrumental in passing several laws extending the time for registering patents and proving titles to entries of public lands. These acts proved beneficial to him and his associates in land speculation and aroused some hostility to him.²² Thinking to defeat Wellborn on this issue, Lenoir entered the race against him in 1799. But Wellborn wriggled out of the difficulty, according to Lenoir, by denying responsibility for the laws and "in Justification of his conduct respecting bad laws that had been passed &c. said that there was 225²³ Members in the Assembly which words he expressed in the most positive terms Sundry times."²⁴ Wellborn's worst offense, however, was his effort to pack the court in his favor at the retrial of a suit involving his claim to Moravian lands. To do this he "brought up a Committee for some Justices directed to Jos. Herndon,²⁵ Theophilus Evans²⁶ and Thos.

¹⁹ Entry for August, 1797, "Memorandum Book from April 1, 1795 to March, 1802."

²⁰ Lenoir says that Wellborn "with Genl Stokes & the Moravians petitioned the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina promising them \$300 if they would Release their rights to the Moravians &c. & got a Resolution passed for that purpose, but at the next meeting I got it recinded, & I suppose it was by their influence that I was discontinued as a member of sd Board of trustees & Wellborn appointed a member in my place before that he was exclaiming very much against the University and raised his Popularity by it. Since that he has got another Resolution passed in the board of Trustees to bring it before a Committee of said Board in order to investigate the Right." "James Wellborn's Conduct," pp. 13-14.

²¹ Thomas Felix Hickerson, *Happy Valley History and Genealogy* (published by the author, Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 47. There is no adequate biographical sketch of Wellborn. That by John Crouch in his *Historical Sketches of Wilkes County*. (Chronicle Job Office, Wilkesboro, 1902), p. 196, is the best but is unsatisfactory.

²² Lenoir in after years wrote that "Before he was first elected W solemnly promised the People living on the land the Moravians had sued for that he never would do nor say any thing in favor of the Moravians Claim in the Genl Assembly and Declared he had rather the People on Sd land should hold it than for the Moravians to get it & said it would be more to his Interest and continued to say so. till he found it necessary to take an active part in the suit and therefore could not conceal himself any longer but in the mean time he had got a Resolution passed to compell the Judges that had been engaged as Attornies to sit on the trial of the same suits." "James Wellborn's Conduct," pp. 11-12.

²³ In 1800 there were sixty counties with one senator and two representatives each and seven boroughs with one representative each, a total of one hundred eighty-seven members.

²⁴ Entry of March 26, 1800, "Memorandum Book from April 1, 1795 to March, 1802."

²⁵ Joseph Herndon was born near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1751. As a major he commanded the infantry at Kings Mountain. He was a member of the county court, county surveyor, member of

Thurmond²⁷ & their Associates & long before s^d Wellborn went to s^d Assembly Jos. Herndon was dead Theo^s Evans Run away, & Thos. Thurmond never was a Justice.”²⁸ Naturally Wellborn failed in his effort to direct the re-suit before these men but, he was victorious over Lenoir in the election.

In the election of 1802, Lenoir again challenged Wellborn’s leadership in the county. Again Wellborn was victorious, but by only 120 votes. The long period of personal, business, and political rivalry led Lenoir to write a very hostile account of Wellborn’s tactics in the campaign. Unfortunately Wellborn did not leave any papers giving his side of the story. The account given below is, therefore, a partisan, prejudiced one but the background story helps to explain the venom with which Lenoir expresses his bitterness towards Wellborn’s actions and character.

WILLIAM LENOIR, MEMORANDUM BOOK FROM MARCH 1, 1802
TO MARCH 15, 1804

Election Augt 1802 — Votes²⁹

Edm^d Jones³⁰ 499

Wm Hulme³¹ 431

Robt Martin³² 408

Isaac Robinett³³ 275

James Wellborn got 120 more than W L³⁴

The first day of the Election³⁵ at Capt. Dula’s³⁶ Wellborn spoke on the fence³⁷ in favour of his Election & no person interrupted or replied.

2nd day at Roaring River,³⁸ he spoke uninterrupted & Capt. Tible³⁹ attempted to reply & he immediately began to interrupt him; then Majr Jones⁴⁰ likewise -

3rd day at Court-house⁴¹: John Bryan⁴² made a short speech at the Court-

the house of commons, 1780-1782, 1788, and 1793, and of the Hillsboro convention of 1788 and the Fayetteville convention of 1789. He was associated with Lenoir in his land speculations. He died in Wilkes County in 1798, so Lenoir is in error in saying he was dead before Wellborn went to the senate.

²⁶ Theophilus Evans was a member of the house of commons in 1794.

²⁷ Thomas Thurmond came to North Carolina from Virginia before the Revolution. He served as a captain in the militia in Wilkes County.

²⁸ Entry of March 26, 1800. “Memorandum Book from April 1, 1795, to March 1802.”

²⁹ The total vote of more than 807 was a large one considering the high property requirements that prevailed at that time and indicates a high degree of interest on the part of the people, generated no doubt by the political rivalry of the Wellborn-Lenoir factions.

³⁰ Edmund Jones, 1771-1839, married Ann, daughter of William Lenoir. Jones served in the house of commons, 1798, 1802-1805, and 1807-1812; and in the senate, 1822, 1825-1827, 1830, 1833, 1836, and 1838. He was elected to the Council of State in 1822, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1835.

³¹ See p. 241, note 13.

³² Robert Martin was elected in 1803 but served one term only.

³³ This was probably Jesse rather than Isaac Robinett. See p. 241, note 18.

³⁴ W L was William Lenoir. The vote for senator would have been considerably less than for members of the lower house.

³⁵ The election lasted three days, one day each at three polling places. These days were the second Thursday in August, the Tuesday before, and the Saturday after. *Laws of North Carolina* (1799), chap. LVIII, p. 24.

³⁶ William Dula later became a colonel in the state militia.

³⁷ Lenoir used this term in the same sense that “speaking on the stump” is used today.

³⁸ The second day was the second Thursday of August. The polls were opened at Joseph Woodstock’s place on Roaring River. *Laws of North Carolina* (1798), chap. LXXVII, p. 39.

³⁹ William Tible or Tribble was an employee of Lenoir and a captain in the state militia.

⁴⁰ This was Edmund Jones; see above, note 30.

⁴¹ The third day of the election was held on Saturday at the county courthouse in Wilkesboro. *Laws of North Carolina* (1799), chap. LVIII, p. 39.

⁴² John Bryan, 1753-1842, was born in Virginia and settled in Wilkes County, North Carolina, in 1788. He was a major in the Revolutionary Army and a colonel in the state militia.

house door - Jas. Wellborn rose & spoke very contemptible of Mr. Bryan as if he had been an Ediot - till Thos Isbell⁴³ Esq. interrupted him by proclaiming loudly that it was a Dam'd ly &c. A clamor arose and Bryan had no chance to reply -

After the tickets were counted out Wellborn at Tares Store door, E. J. & W. H.⁴⁴ spoke & then I got on the fence & informed the people that I thought they had done me great honor to give me so many votes as I was not a candidate, nor had never promised to serve if Elected at this Election, but then informed that I should have served if they had Elected altho a private life was more satisfactory than any other &c⁴⁵ - That the Grand Jury had voted 10 for me & 2 for Wellⁿ & that a Number of Responsible men had urged me to come forward as a Candidate but I refused but at last told them that as they were free men they might do as they pleased but I'd make no promis to serve them if Elec^d but would do what I thought was right⁴⁶ - and that the important affair of Granville's claim⁴⁷ induced me not to deny serving if Elected - that it was dangerous to send any man whose interest was contrary to our interest and that Wⁿ was interested in Cossart's Claim⁴⁸ which is similar to Earl Granville's Claim as they were both Alians & as Cossart obtained his title from Granville it could be no better, & that Wⁿ had told a ly in saying that the land was Granted to Cossart as Agent⁴⁹ & another ly in saying that in the Demurror I acknowledged the Moravians right⁵⁰ to said land; & that W^m had already deceived

⁴³ Thomas Isbell was a member of the county court and a supporter of Wellborn.

⁴⁴ E. J. was Edmund Jones; W. H. was William Hulme.

⁴⁵ Lenoir seems to have been sincere in this position. He wrote to Benjamin Cleaveland that "One prinl Cause of his [Wellborn] being Eled was for want of an opponnet for altho, I in the most Public manner on the 2nd day of our last Ct declared myself not a candidate & publicly Requested & Advised the people Generally, to Elect some good honest farmer to Represent them, & not to disgrace themselves by send such a man as W. - to whose face it was made appear that day that he had told Several positive lies in order to defame my Char & procure his Elecⁿ - but no other offered himself a Candidate - I believe the principle reason was, that all those that could with any degree of Propriety consider themselves fit, had so great a desire for me to Represent them that they were determined to Vote for me at all events, altho I never told a single man that I would serve if they should Elect me." William Lenoir to Benjamin Cleaveland, August 24, 1795, Lenoir Family Papers.

⁴⁶ This seems to have been characteristic of Lenoir as a candidate for office. In 1790 a portion of the people of Wilkes County wished to be cut off and form a new county. Lenoir was informed by a friend that if he did not declare his sentiments the people would not vote for him. Lenoir later wrote Theophilus Evans as follows: "I replied that I would not promise anything in order to gain Votes; but would chuse to Remain at Liberty to do what should to me appear Right." He instructed Evans to notify the people that he was now willing to favor the division. But "It is not that I am Courting the favour of the New River Gentlemen in order to procure their Votes in a future Election for at this time I know not whether I shall ever be a Candidate at another Election or not; and if I should, as I never asked a man for his Vote yet, & I think it such an imposition on a free man to do it, that I hope I never shall be Guilty of so great an insult on the understanding and liberty of my Countrymen; and I beg leave to observe that those that are most pushing by unfair practices and false insinuations to attain an Honorable appointment are Generally unfit for it; because it is to be Suspected that they have some lucretive view which urges them to be guilty of such ungenerous conduct in acting so much against the True Principles of a Republican Government; & my sincere wish is that all my Countrymen would be actuated by good Sound Principles of Honor and Justice to themselves & Candidates at all Elections and Vote impartially for those they think most faithful and Capable to serve them." William Lenoir to Theophilus Evans, May 30, 1791, Lenoir Family Papers.

⁴⁷ The Earl of Granville retained the title to a vast tract of land in North Carolina after the lords proprietors surrendered the colony to the crown. He granted these lands to various people whose titles were not clear because of overlapping boundaries. There was much litigation over Granville grants in Wilkes County.

⁴⁸ Henry Cossart de Saint Aubin d'Esprez of the Isle of Jersey secured a grant of land in what was to become Wilkes County from Granville on November 12, 1754.

⁴⁹ Cossart was also the agent of the Unitas Fratrum. His son Christian Frederick Cossart of County Antrim, Ireland, succeeded his father and on November 3, 1772, made Frederick William Marshall his agent, who on October 14, 1774, made Reverend J. M. Graff his agent. Graff on July 23, 1778, sold to Hugh Montgomery of Salisbury, North Carolina, some 8,773 acres of land from the Unitas Fratrum grant. On December 13, 1799, Montgomery by deed of gift conveyed these lands to his two daughters, one of whom had married Wellborn.

⁵⁰ The Moravians had secured a grant to Granville lands in 1752 but finding no potter's clay thereon failed to make their payments. These lands were then granted to Cossart and sold by his agent to Montgomery. Hence the conflicting claims.

the people when he promised to do nothing against them⁵¹ - & a resolution had passed at the Gen^l Assembly to direct the Judges that had been imployed as attorneys against us to try said suit⁵², &c. &c. &c.

Wellborn then got in the window & run on in a very black-guard manner by hints, implications, & intimations; that he never kicked the People he was a Republican he was Elected by the Poor men & not by the rich - that he was with the Poor & I in Combination with the rich & that it was dangerous to Elect me because my interest was different from theirs, I had a great deal of land & would do away the land Tax - & he hadn't so many hundred thousand acres⁵³ That I had found out Ezekiel's wheel which was a wheel within a wheel & that I had turn'd it Round till I had found the black spot & had smutted myself & (a Laugh ensued) he said I was a Federalist &c. I denied it⁵⁴, he said he could prove it I called on Him to do it & called on all present; he then said he could prove it by a man that lives close by me who heard me in the Garden talk of voting for Adams &c. I told him it was a ly, that I never had been in favr of Adams from first to last & was displeas'd at some part of his Administration - he made sport of me for being so ignorant to mention the Resolution about the Judges, saying I well knew that there was a law many years before to compell them to try all cases &c.⁵⁵

At the Election at Dula's Frank Pearce talked of not voting for Wⁿ because he was in favour of the Penitentiary bill⁵⁶ on which he denied being in favour of it - then several men said they had heard him publicly declare he was for it, he then said he'd be for it if the People instructed him &c.

Wⁿ Old Tom & Young Tom Coffey Thos Fields & I believe one or two others had a long talk with F. Pearce by the fence, & I suppose he voted for Wⁿ.

Wⁿ in his speech at the Ct - house door spoke in a very ambitious manner as if there was a great many of us combined together⁵⁷ and that we

⁵¹ Lenoir says that Wellborn then "got an Act of the Gen^l Assembly passed for Registering and Validating Cossart's Grants which before was null void & dead for want of being duly Registered & it was Decided so by the Supreme Court - and got another Act passed to Validate by Registration the power of Atty from C. F. Cossart to Marshall, which before sd act was Null & Void - "James Wellborn's Conduct," p. 13.

⁵² In 1794 Lenoir had joined Hilliar Rousseau and Company that entered some 750,000 acres of land in Wilkes County. These lands overlapped the Granville-Cossart-Moravian-Montgomery claims. Wellborn contested Lenoir's rights and Rousseau and Company ultimately lost their lands.

⁵³ The Montgomery tracts to which Wellborn acquired title through his marriage amounted to only 8,773 acres whereas Lenoir and his associates in Rousseau and Company claimed 750,000 acres.

⁵⁴ Lenoir was forced to deny the charge again in 1806 when he ran against Meshack Franklin for Membership in the United States House of Representatives. In a broadside "To the Citizens of the Twelfth Election District, in the State of North Carolina," Lenoir said: "As to his saying I am a Federalist, meaning that I am attached to the federal and against the Republican party in the Government, it is groundless. And as a man's political sentiments can only be known by his words and actions, I refer you to all men of truth, that are well acquainted with my conduct, and they will inform you, that I have uniformly been attached to the Republican party, and have clearly demonstrated the same, by my words and actions, without a single exception. I have uniformly declared myself truly and unequivocally attached to the Republican party, under a belief that the Republican administration was more congenial with the true principles of our Government and the interest and safety of its citizens, and not being a violent enthusiast, have been moderate yet firm, and disapproved the extremes into which the two parties had run; believing that some men were so violently opposed to the adverse party, that they would through ambition oppose their measures without considering the real interests of the government; which excesses I think injurious and dangerous." The broadside is in the Lenoir Family Papers.

⁵⁵ Lenoir was correct, however, and in his "James Wellborn's Conduct," page 12, recorded "The Virtue of the Judges in Refusing to obey sd Resolution saved us from Ruin."

⁵⁶ "A Bill to Amend the Penal Laws" of North Carolina was introduced in the General Assembly of 1797. It was a very liberal and progressive measure for that date but failed to pass. Consequently it was not until 1870, after the constitution of 1868 had made it mandatory, that the legislature provided for a penitentiary. The proposed act of 1797 is printed with the *Journal of the Senate and Journal of the House of Commons (1797)*, pp. 52-56.

⁵⁷ Wellborn's charge of speculation seems to have been his most effective weapon against Lenoir.

had persecuted that Gentⁿ also, pointing to Maj^r Holland,⁵⁸ & then Directed the people to ask J. H.^d and the other Atty^s about Gran^e Claim &c. - I understand that Holland was sent for to Capt. Cleaveland's⁵⁹ to support Wn's Election & was exceedingly ingaged therein -

A Black Sheep

Wⁿ Isbell desired to speak to me & went into the corner between the Court-house & the Clerk's room which was a considerable distance from any other person & before we had been there 3 minutes Wellborn sneaked up behind me (as I stood with my face toward said corner) and said ask Maj^r Holland for information -

The latter gentleman wrote Benjamin Cleaveland that "the name of Speculation that Odium that extinguishes at once every Beneficent act of a man's whole life let them be ever so numerous, Meritorious or Patriotick. This being the case, J. W. who hath expressed much anger agt me for not taking him into our Comy . . . set out on the Popular side & Declared himself an enemy to all Specⁿ, Rode about through the Cy to Musters &c, Treated the people & told them a No. of infamous lies & by that means &c. procured his Elecⁿ greatly to the downfall of the Credit of poor Wilkes." Lenoir to Cleaveland, August 24, 1795, Lenoir Family Papers.

⁵⁸ James Holland, a major in the state militia, a lawyer of some repute, and a trustee of the University of North Carolina, was an ardent supporter of Wellborn's election, and hence Lenoir's bitter political enemy. Lenoir excoriated Holland unmercifully in his "Memorandum Book From April 1, 1797 to March 1802," entry of July 17, 1800, charging him with bribery and extortion as an attorney collecting escheated lands for the University.

⁵⁹ Robert Cleaveland, 1744-1812, was a brother of Benjamin Cleaveland.

AN ITALIAN ACCOUNT OF CHEROKEE UPRISINGS AT FORT LOUDOUN AND FORT PRINCE GEORGE, 1760-1761

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The interest manifested by the Italians of the eighteenth century in American affairs is still very imperfectly known to most of us in the United States, largely because those who are able to trace the relations between the two countries have not yet availed themselves of the opportunity of gathering the material on the subject. Few people, for instance, are aware of the fact that an Italian nobleman published, in 1780, several volumes of letters in defense of America against the attacks of a certain Paw, German author of the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*.¹ Not many persons know that Benjamin Franklin's experiments on electricity were continued in Italy by Giambattista Beccaria and other Italian scientists who convinced a number of their sceptical European colleagues of the accuracy and validity of Franklin's conclusions.² The fact that Alfieri dedicated one of his tragedies to George Washington³ is fairly well known in America but, with the possible exception of a few teachers and some students of Italian literature, practically nobody knows that Alfieri also wrote a series of odes commemorating the independence of America.⁴ And even less familiar to most Americans is the fact that Thomas Jefferson was a member of the "Imperiale e Reale Aceademia Economico-Agraria dei Georgofili" of Florence, even though the certificate of membership is at present displayed prominently at Monticello where this writer saw it not so long ago while visiting Jefferson's home. It seems almost incredible that Imlay's book containing a topographical description of the western territory of North America and a delineation of the laws and government of the State of Kentucky⁵ should have been of any interest to

¹ Conte Gian Rinaldo Carli, *Le Lettere Americane* (Cremona, L. Manini, 1780). A copy of Count Carli's work was sent by the publisher to Benjamin Franklin, who acknowledged the gift with a letter dated Passy, November 17, 1784.

² For a number of letters exchanged between Franklin and Beccaria see V., Eandi, *Memorie storiche intorno gli studi del Padre Giambattista Beccaria* (Turin, 1783), or any complete edition of Franklin's works. J. Priestley assigned a very important place to Beccaria in his *History and present state of Electricity*.

³ *Brutus I.* Dedicated to "The most illustrious and free citizen George Washington."

⁴ *L'America Libera, odi cinque* (Kehn, 1784). The odes are a brief poetic history of the American Revolution and deal with: I. The causes of the war; II. The belligerent countries; III. M. de La Fayette; IV. George Washington; V. The Peace of 1783. A short article on "Alfieri and America" by Virginia Watson, may be read in *The North American Review*, Vol. 196 (1912), pp. 245-253.

⁵ G. Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America . . . To which is annexed a Delineation of the Laws and Government of the State of Kentucky. Tending to show the probable Rise and Grandeur of the American Empire. In a series of Letters to a Friend in England* (Debrett, 1792).

the Italians of the eighteenth century, and yet an Italian periodical⁶ devoted a whole article to this book.

It is generally known that an Italian wrote one of the earliest histories of our Revolutionary war,⁷ but few people know that much detailed material on the subject, enough to fill several volumes, is contained in an Italian periodical publication covering the most important historical world events from 1730 to 1810. The first volume of this publication, bearing the title of *Storia dell' Anno*, or *History for the Year*, appeared in 1737,⁸ and narrates, in orderly fashion, the main historical events for the year 1736. In a "Notice to the Readers," the publisher expresses the hope that the volume may be favorably received by the public, even though some of the information contained in it has already appeared in other contemporary publications. The readers are assured, however, that they will derive great pleasure and profit from reading the events in this volume, free from the superfluities and contradictions commonly found in gazettes and mercuries; and they will find much recondite information gathered from official documents and private letters. The Notice ends with the statement that, if the volume is received favorably, other volumes will follow giving, if possible, the history of the entire eighteenth century, from the year 1701.

In the history for the year 1739, the compiler informed the readers that the three volumes which had appeared so far had awakened so much curiosity that the publisher, having sold every copy, was reprinting them to satisfy public demand. For the superfluities and contradictions commonly found in gazettes the same reason it was decided to compile other volumes beginning with the year 1730 so as to complete the history for the decade 1730-1740. Eventually this was done, and annual volumes continued to appear until 1810. The historical events for the years 1730-1731 appeared in one volume, as did those for the following biennium, each volume containing a little over 300 pages. But beginning with 1734 the abundance of events required a whole volume, and the procedure of devoting a volume to each year was continued until 1797, although the volumes for the years 1757, 1792-1795, are much larger and are divided into two parts,

⁶ *Giornale de' Letterati di Pisa*, Tome 94 (1794), Article II, pp. 27-41. It was my good fortune to discover, while at Harvard last year, that this article is nothing more than a literal translation of a review of Imlay's work, which appeared in *The Critical Review or Annals of Literature* (London), September, 1793, pp. 53-58. This shows that England was probably the main channel through which information on things American reached Italy.

⁷ Carlo Botta, *Storia della guerra dell' indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America* (Paris, D. Colas, 1809).

⁸ *Storia dell' Anno MDCCXXXVI* (Amsterdam, a spese di Francesco Pitteri Librajo in Venezia). *Annals* would be a more accurate translation.

while the events for the year 1796 required an even larger volume divided into three parts, and four volumes, each of five parts, were needed to record the events for the years 1797-98, while a single volume divided into three parts was required for the year 1799 as well as for 1800. In the following year the volume was reduced to two parts, and from 1802 to 1810 the annual volume was reduced to its normal size. Complete sets of this publication may be found at the Library of Congress, the University of Minnesota, and the University of California, Berkeley.⁹ A partial set is at the University of Illinois, and a few volumes are at the New York Public Library.

At some future date the editor hopes to collect and translate into English the material dealing with the American Revolutionary War. The present task, a minor one, is limited to giving, literally translated into English, an account of the Cherokee uprisings, the siege of Fort Prince George, the fall of Fort Loudoun, the Indian capitulation, and the peace treaty of 1761, contained in the volumes covering the history for the years 1760-1761.¹⁰

The account begins with a few brief geographical and historical references to the Indians,¹¹ after which we learn that the Cherokees on several occasions had become very menacing, but that they were especially dangerous around Fort Loudoun where a number of soldiers, who imprudently wandered about the woods too far from the fort, had the misfortune of being seized by the Indians. Although friendly toward the English

⁹ The set at the University of California formerly belonged to Henry Morse Stephens, connected with the department of history there from 1902 to 1919, the year of his death.

¹⁰ *Storia dell' Anno MDCCLX*, pp. 181-195, and *Storia dell' Anno MDCCCLXI*, pp. 156-165.

The part played by the Cherokee Indians, who were at one time disposed to join the French and at other times to co-operate with the English and the Anglo-Americans, was until recently a neglected phase of American history. Neither was much attention given to the fact that the French and the English tried to win the support of the Cherokee Indians. Similar efforts were made by the colonial governors of Virginia and South Carolina who, in 1756-1757, in answer to repeated requests by the Indians, ordered the construction of a fort in the midst of the Cherokee towns of the Little Mississippi River which was named Fort Loudoun, in honor of the Earl of Loudoun, commander of the English forces in America. Fort Prince George, another important fort, had been built in 1753-1754. Several English officers were in charge of the troops in their garrisons at these forts. Troops and Cherokee Indians were on terms of amity for several months in 1757. But the incompetence of Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, some abuses suffered by the Indians at the hands of the English, and the intrigues of the French soon caused discontent, disaffection, and finally open warfare between the Cherokees and the English. In due time the enraged Indians besieged both forts, and on August 7, 1760, the garrison stationed at Fort Loudoun, weakened by desertion and near-famine, surrendered and evacuated the fort. But the concerted action of the authorities and troops from South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and New York soon brought the Indians to terms, compelling them to sue for peace, which was concluded on November 19, 1761. See S. C. Williams, editor, *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (Johnson City, Tennessee, The Watauga Press, 1927), pp. 11-14.

¹¹ We are told that the Indians are a great nation in North America occupying a large stretch of territory bound by the Algonquin Indians and the French established in Fort Montreal at the north, New England and New York at the east, New Jersey and Pennsylvania at the south, Lake Erie and Niagara Falls at the west. Between Niagara Falls, Lake Michigan, and Lake Ontario there were once three Indian nations later destroyed as was another nation located between Lake Erie and Pennsylvania, so that the Indians now have the French on one side and the English on the other. The Indians sided now with the French, and again with the English, always being guided by the advantages they hoped to gain from one side or the other.

at one time, the Indians lately had turned against them so that various important colonies had been completely abandoned, and the agents, as well as several planters, preferred to take to their heels rather than to remain exposed to the fury and the cruelty of the Indians. (From this point, a literal translation is given.)

Upon learning this, the Governor of South Carolina called together the colonial assembly to discuss the matter and to find the necessary means to correct the evil before it assumed more dangerous proportions. Accordingly, a number of messengers were immediately rushed to General Stanwix as well as to the governors of Virginia and Georgia, and to the Indian towns confederated with England, so as to obtain all the help needed to meet the situation. Fortunately, both Fort Prince George and Fort Loudoun were so well stocked with food and ammunition that, in case of an attack, they would be able to offer the most vigorous resistance against the savages: it was equally fortunate that Captain John Stuart,¹² stationed there with his troops, was in a position to march against the Indians and subdue them with ability and bravery.

The preparations which were being made by the English created some concern among the Indians, especially among the Creeks who, fearing that the English might take vengeance upon them, immediately sent to Governor Ellis of Georgia a number of chiefs and Malatschi's son to swear allegiance to the English and to deny, absolutely, any intention or desire of joining the Cherokees. They complained only against His Majesty's agent for giving them so little consideration.

Wishing to discover the real intentions of the Creeks, Governor Ellis thought it prudent to detain the chiefs at Savannah; but having learned that the Creeks actually meant to remain loyal to the English, he gave them presents, and allowed them to go. Before leaving, the chiefs promised to dissuade their people from having anything to do with the Cherokees, and asked the governor to recall the agent for fear that something might happen to him. This request was granted, and the chiefs returned home considerably happier than they were before they came. Governor Ellis conducted himself admirably on this occasion, and is worthy of praise.

But the Cherokees, who had delegated more than one hundred men to Governor Lyttleton¹³ and had at first promised to refrain from hostilities, soon yielded to their arrogance, and began to revolt. Oconostota, "the Great Warrior of Chote,"¹⁴ maintained that, since his visit to the governor was by request, he had come to receive, and not to offer, any propositions. He was informed that the letter written by the governor to the Indians asking Oconostota to come to him was prompted by a request from Mr. John Wann who had written to Governor Ellis of Georgia asking him to

¹² Captain John Stuart eventually formed a friendship with the Indians that was to endure during his lifetime. We shall see later how profitable this friendship was to him. See p. 255, note 30.

¹³ Governor William Henry Lyttleton succeeded Governor James Glen, and was in part responsible for the Cherokee-English war of 1760-1761. See John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tennessee, Southern Publishers Inc., 1938), pp. 115-116. For an excellent account of the events being narrated here, see pp. 61-115; also P. M. Hamer, in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925) 302-322, 442-458.

¹⁴ Oconostota, known as "the great Warrior of Chote," was one of the most prominent chiefs of the Cherokees. His name will appear repeatedly in this narrative. "Determined, brave, and haughty," says Brown. *Old Frontiers*, pp. 45-46). "he was known as 'The Great Warrior,' a title well deserved and worthily borne."

intervene in behalf of the Cherokees and the government of Carolina. Since this desire for intervention had been expressed by the Indians themselves, it was up to them, if they wanted peace, to propose it. The Great Warrior replied that he was not prepared for it, that his hands were empty, and that he would return to discuss the matter on the morrow.

The Indians did return to confer with the governor in the assembly room. The Great Warrior and three others spoke saying that *the Old Hop had send them to make the path straight, to brighten the chain, and to accommodate differences.*¹⁵ They confessed that outrages had been committed by their people, but they claimed that only their irresponsible young men were to blame, and they asked that the past be forgotten. Beyond this they offered no satisfaction. They finally presented the governor with skins and beads, which the governor permitted to be placed at his feet, without accepting them. He promised to give due consideration to their plea, and to inform them when to come for an answer.

They were called back three days later and were told that, although Oconostota and the other Indians of the overhill towns who accompanied him had asserted that they had been delegated to come personally to the governor, he knew, nevertheless, that it was not so, and that they had come only because they had been unable to obtain any ammunition at Keowee. He knew also that, after the departure of the chiefs, a large company of Indian warriors had been allowed to leave Settico and to attack the colonies along the Broad River; and that the Indians of Canasatchee had seized a soldier who had left Fort Prince George with some animals, had led him and his horse to the center of their town, had knocked off his hat, had cut it to pieces, and had ordered him back home to tell his people that war had been declared. The governor added that, because of this, they were no longer entitled to the protection he had promised to their nation; this applied also to the Indians of the lower country because their people at home had placed a company of soldiers in the field, and shot one of the messengers with dispatches for him. He would, however, disregard all this, and protect them still. But he reminded them of the gravity of other outrages and murders committed by their people, and frankly told them that the colonial English had resolved not to endure additional insults and had

¹⁵ The Old Hop was the Principal Chief or Emperor of the Cherokees. He was Moytoy of Tellico's successor, and was called Old Hop by the white men because he was lame. His Cherokee name was Kana-gatoga, which means "Standing Turkey." (See Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 46). The reference to the chain goes back to the agreement signed in London in 1730. "The document recited" (Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 44) "that King George had fastened one end of a chain of friendship to his own breast, and desired the Indians to fasten the other end to the breast of Moytoy of Tellico, and keep the chain bright and free from rust." Induced to do so by Sir Alexander Cuming, a number of leading Cherokees went to London to offer homage to the king, and by so doing lost their freedom. The following amusing account of this episode is found in the *Storia degli Anni 1730-31*, p. 224: "On June 25 [1730], an American king and four other Cherokee princes from South Carolina appeared before His Majesty. Having boarded the man of war Fox, they came to London to offer their homage to the King of Great Britain. On the 29th, three new Knights: the Duke of Cumberland, the Count of Chesterfield, and the Count of Burlington, were initiated in the Order of the Garter, and the American princes were admitted to witness the function, which they watched with amazement, kneeling down every time King George passed in front of them during the function. His Majesty invited them to a sumptuous dinner which followed the ceremony, and entertained them at his expense during their stay in London until September 20, when they left to return to their country, promising to favor all the time the commerce of the English in Carolina. The king wanted them to board a vessel prepared especially for them, had their portraits painted to preserve their memory, and presented them with rich clothes. Before leaving, they went in two carriages to the American Chamber of Commerce, singing songs in their native tongue." According to Brown *Old Frontiers*, p. 43), the Indians who accompanied Sir Alexander Cuming to London were Oukou-naco, "The White Owl," from the town of Tennesay, Kitagista, Oukah-Ulah, Tiftowe, Clogoitah, Kilonah, and Onakanowin. Oukou-naco was later to become the famous Attakullakulla, the Little Carpenter, who played such an important part in the affairs of his nation. See p. 256, note 35.

resorted to arms. He himself was leading a large army in order to seek satisfaction from the Indians. Commercial relations, communications, and peace would be resumed only when the Indians gave the satisfaction demanded. He ended by telling them that, for their own safety, they should return home escorted by him and his army.

Worthy of notice is the fact that, before the Indians left the frontiers, the narrow mountain roads, together with that of Tellico, had been closed, and that, although later they had been re-opened, the Indians threatened their women with death if they continued to go to Fort Loudoun. Paul Demere,¹⁶ captain of the fort, in the meantime, invited Oconostota and two or three other chiefs to come to him, and asked why the Cherokees were killing white people and why they suddenly decided to declare war against the English. He also warned them that he was much better stocked with ammunition than they thought, and told them that the Carolinas, Virginia, and other colonies would certainly not allow them to go on committing crimes with impunity. The Great Warrior answered that the towns of Chote, Tennessee, Toquo, and Timotly¹⁷ were not guilty of the outrages, and that the guilty ones were, as usual, some incorrigible young men who had been informed by the French that the English would no longer give them any ammunition because they wanted to destroy them, and lead them with their wives and children into slavery. The French, on the contrary, not only offered them large quantities of ammunition, but promised them generous rewards for English scalps. Captain Paul Demere attempted to correct this false impression, and explained that the ammunition had been stopped only because he was aware of the bad disposition of the inhabitants of the lower country, and offered to convince them of the truth whenever they should fix a suitable time to go to Keowee.¹⁸

Without loss of time Governor Lyttleton left with his troops, and after a five days' march reached the old town of Saluda,¹⁹ where he encamped behind the rearguard of his regular army, among officers and enlisted men. A diligent watch was kept over the Cherokee hostages he had with him. He added to his army twenty-seven Cherachas, strong young men who were well disposed toward the English, and he expected soon to be joined at Keowee by troops from North Carolina. Meanwhile Mr. Beamer's eldest son,²⁰ who had left the Cherokees only a few hours before and who was a very honest man and the best friend the English had among the Indians, informed the governor that immediately after his departure the Cherokees proceeded to gather all their forces, and were resolved not to sacrifice anybody the governor might request in satisfaction for the harm the Indians had done; on the contrary, they were willing to risk a battle at the Twelve-mile-River, not far from Keowee, even though some of their men had no other arms except bows and arrows, and little ammunition.

¹⁶ Captain Paul Demere, who was to be massacred by the Indians after the fall of Fort Loudoun, succeeded his brother Raymond in command of the fort and arrived there on August 6, 1757.

¹⁷ Chote was the principal town or capital of the Cherokee Nation on Little Tennessee River near the present Von Ore, Monroe County, Tenn. Tennessee means Old Town. The term was frequently applied to any old settlement. Toquo, a town on Little Tennessee River, in what is now Monroe County, Tenn. Timotley, or Tamotley, a settlement on Little Tennessee River in the present Monroe County, Tenn.

¹⁸ Keowee, an important town on Keowee River opposite Fort Prince George, Pickens County, S. C.

¹⁹ Saluda, the extreme eastern town of the Cherokees on Saluda River, South Carolina.

²⁰ According to Hamer in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II, (1925), 316, young Beamer was a Mustee who served as interpreter.

But since plans based on hasty passion are subject to changes when they are examined carefully, as soon as the Indians saw the danger to which they were exposing themselves by facing a force much stronger than theirs, they resolved to sue for peace, and concluded one on very favorable terms. The treaty provided that the Indians should live in perpetual amity with the English, that they should deliver to the English all spies and French emissaries, and should wage war against the French as soon as they were ordered to do so. They were obliged to surrender to the governor two guilty men, and promised to surrender twenty-two others in the future. In place of the criminals not yet surrendered, they delivered twenty-two hostages taken from among their most important warriors.²¹ This took place in December, 1759, so that by the end of the year a transaction of some importance had been brought to a final conclusion.

But Governor Lyttleton and his army had hardly left Keowee before hostilities were resumed. A body of these Indians soon appeared in front of Fort Prince George and, under pretense of wanting to deliver some of the criminals, they attempted to seize the Fort. But the officer in charge was able to frustrate the attempt, and the Indians, provoked by their failure, seized a number of English traders and massacred them. About two hundred Cherokees penetrated into the English colonies as far as Long-Canes and the sources of the Broad River, where they cut to pieces forty colonists who expected no harm on account of the treaty. The situation soon became tragic. There were fires, murders, scalplings and devastation everywhere. Helpless women and children wandered about the woods terrified, and the calamity was such that it would move any man's heart, except that of a savage.²²

Grief was spreading rapidly everywhere when the light infantrymen of Georgia were ordered to be transferred to Augusta; and at the same time Lieutenant Shaw and Ensign McIntosh²³ with a detachment of the independent army left to strengthen the Presidios as well as Fort Moore. Some colonists, meanwhile, proceeded to construct new forts to resist the cruel violence of the Indians while others withdrew to forts already available. The assembly ordered the immediate organization of seven companies of soldiers, each consisting of a captain, two lieutenants and seventy-five men. A reward of twenty-five pounds was offered for each Cherokee scalp, and a decree was also issued whereby Indians taken prisoners were to become the slaves of their captors. Provisions were also made for the maintenance of three colonial companies of soldiers, which had been organized since July, and it was also decided to recruit a regiment of one thousand men to be sent against the Indians.

From the beginning of the uprising the Indians had severed all communications between Fort Loudoun and Charlestown; yet the ability of the officers who were in the fort, and especially Captain Stuart's knowledge of Indians and their ways, were reassuring, as were the fourteen cannon and the two hundred colonial and regular troops stationed at the fort. The

²¹ Hamer, in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 448, says that this number was equal to that of the whites the Cherokees had killed since November, 1758.

²² The attack on Fort Prince George was precipitated by the Indians' desire to free the warriors kept as hostages by Governor Lyttleton.

²³ Lachlan McIntosh, who had treated the Indians kindly and had their confidence, in April, 1759, was succeeded by Lieut. Richard Coytmore.

Cherokee delegate kept on professing his friendship, and claimed he had no hand in the outbreak, but it was evident that the affair had been planned for sometime by the French emissaries and the Indians, and that the latest demonstration of friendship was only a pretense in which the Indians are as well versed as the most cultured people.

All the attempts made by the Indians were directed against Fort Prince George. Having asked in vain for the release of the hostages kept in the fort, they organized themselves into groups varying from twelve to forty men, and began to overrun the country. On January 16,²⁴ two young Indian squaws appeared on the banks of the River Keowee.²⁵ Mr. Doherty left the fort to interview them, but soon there appeared unexpectedly the chief Oconostota who asked to see the commander of the fort, whereupon Lieutenant Coytmore left the fort and came upon the scene accompanied by Ensign Bell and interpreter Foster. Oconostota expressed the desire to go and talk to the governor and asked for a white escort. This request being granted, the Great Warrior moved away pretending to go after a horse, but while the commander was telling him not to trouble himself, Oconostota was seen rapidly to swing three times around his neck a bridle he held in his hand. At this signal some Indians who were concealed nearby fired and mortally wounded Coytmore. Ensign Bell was hit on his leg, and Foster on his hip.

Ensign Miln,²⁶ who had not left the fort, judging that after such a manifest betrayal some precautions should be taken about the hostages in the fort, ordered that they be chained. But the first white man who dared to lay hands upon the Indians was knocked on the head with a tomahawk and received a knife wound in the stomach; another soldier was also knocked on the head with an ax. This outrage so irritated the soldiers of the Presidio that they decided immediately to kill all the hostages.

During the evening several Indians came near the fort firing two shots and uttering some cries as a signal to the hostages with whom they apparently had planned to attack the fort that night and kill everybody in it. In fact, on the following day, upon searching the room in which the hostages had been kept, the soldiers found a bottle of poison and several tomahawks hidden under the ground. The Indians who had been allowed to visit the hostages had apparently smuggled both axes and poison.²⁷

Lieut. Coytmore died on February 26.²⁸ This was also the date on which the Indians made their last attack upon the fort. On March 6 three hundred Indians advanced toward the settlement of Ninety-Six, and two hundred of them attacked the fort for thirty-six hours before withdrawing.²⁹ Losses on either side were insignificant.

²⁴ The correct date was February 16, as given by Hamer in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 449, and by Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 94.

²⁵ This ruse of using women as decoys was bound to be effective since Coytmore had very strong amorous propensities. He, with Ensign Bell, while on a drunken spree, had forced his way into a Cherokee house in Keowee while the men were away and had abused the women therein. The offense was repeated a few days later. See Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 90.

²⁶ Ensign Alexander Miln had taken the place of Coytmore, and did his best to prevent the men under him from killing the Indian hostages.

²⁷ Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 95, note 26, says that the Indians knew nothing of poison, and that the bottle probably contained whiskey. It also seems evident that one of the objects of the Indians in attacking Coytmore and Bell was to punish them for their criminal abuses of the Indian women.

²⁸ Coytmore is supposed to have died the afternoon of the day he was shot. See Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 94.

²⁹ Ninety-Six was the name applied as early as 1730 to the point ninety-six miles from Charlestown. But Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 62, note 3, says that it was so called because it was ninety-six miles from Keowee.

These tragic events were spreading all over the Cherokee territory when Oconostota appeared at Fort Albany and informed the English that the Indians were resolved to gather in a body and oppose any army sent against them; they would also defeat any attempt to help or reenforce Fort Prince George. He told them that the Indians had already planned their operations, according to which they would direct two attacks against Ninety-Six, and another at a convenient place between this settlement and Twelve-mile-River, and would willingly die before yielding to the English. But they seemed to be in favor of peace, either because they were beginning to fear the consequences of their temerity or perhaps because they were again plotting some evil thing. The final outcome of all this was that the Indians eventually took possession of Fort Loudoun, and despite the agreement reached at the time of the capitulation, they massacred many people of the Presidio, and carried away the artillery which they planned to use in their attempt to besiege Fort Prince George.³⁰

Last year we left the Cherokees in possession of Fort Loudoun and getting ready to besiege Fort Prince George.³¹ The English, having surrendered because it was impossible for them to resist any longer against a numerically superior enemy, remained in the vicinity of Fort Loudoun and tried to free the four hundred or more prisoners still in Indian hands. Through Colonel Byrd's³² efforts, the English succeeded in winning the confidence of some of the chiefs who soon came to talk peace. They agreed to return the prisoners provided the English withdrew their army, released in their turn the Indian prisoners, and obtained for them His majesty's pardon. Upon the satisfaction of these conditions, they were also willing to abandon Fort Loudon. But these promises were never kept. On the contrary, the Indians, getting stronger every day, increased the consternation among the white people, and what is still worse is that the inhabitants of the colonies subject to Great Britain, forgetting their duty towards their mother country, their sovereign, and themselves, gave the Indians all the ammunition and provisions they needed.

It now became necessary to subdue the savages. Accordingly, one thousand regular troops were sent from New York with orders to join those of Carolina and Virginia and march against the enemy. But when the Cherokees saw the English army under the command of Colonel Grant³³ they

³⁰ More specifically, what happened at Fort Loudoun was this: After the hostages in the fort had been murdered, the Indians besieged the fort and killed a number of men who had ventured out to seek help. Colonel Archibald Montgomery with 1500 men was ordered from New York to go and chastise the warring Cherokees. He succeeded in destroying a number of Indian villages, but the experiment was proving too costly, and he decided to give it up. Meanwhile Captain Demere, besieged with his men at Fort Loudoun, was finally compelled to surrender on condition that he and all his men, women, and children be permitted to go to Fort Prince George, distant one hundred and forty miles. The Indians granted these terms, and on August 7, the articles of capitulation were signed. On the morning of the 9th the garrison left the Fort and marched fifteen miles to Cane Creek, two miles away from the town of Tellico. Next morning, when the men were getting ready for another day's march, they were fired upon by the Indians. Captain Demere and twenty-three of his men (the exact number of the Indian hostages killed in the Fort) were brutally murdered by the Indians. Captain Stuart was the only officer who escaped. He was seized by an Indian and was taken safely back to Fort Loudoun. "The escape of Capt. John Stuart," says Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 103, "is one of the most remarkable in Indian warfare, and is a tribute to Indian friendship."

³¹ The events narrated from here on are included in the *History for the Year 1761*.

³² Colonel William Byrd was used a number of times to improve the relations between the Indians and Virginia. He did not take a very active part in the Cherokee campaign and resigned in July, 1761, in favor of Colonel Adam Stephen.

³³ After the fall of Fort Loudoun, Colonel James Grant, former aide of Montgomery, was ordered to proceed to Charlestown with two thousand men, and wipe out the disgrace the Indians had inflicted upon the English army. Although he realized that war against the Indians was unnecessary, he carried out his orders to the letter, and punished the Indians very severely before granting them peace.

decided to sue for peace. Various representatives from Oconostota, Standing Turkey, Tistoe, the Captain of the Slaves, (Attakullakulla's brother), and several other chiefs were delegated to meet the colonel and to discuss peace. They confessed it was very difficult for them to trust themselves into English hands, but they were compelled to do so by necessity and their desire for peace.

Colonel Grant assured them of his protection, treated them very kindly, and in the evening led Tistoe and Attakullakulla's brother to the Fort offering them an apartment for the night. But both of them refused the offer, and all the while they were kept in the fort they seemed very restless. Tistoe in particular was preoccupied since he had been chained by the guards once, and had regained his freedom only because Colonel Grant had intervened. Therefore they asked permission to be allowed to spend the night across the river where they had left their horses in charge of another Indian.

They returned on the following day with some beads for Colonel Grant in behalf of Oconostota and their entire nation who wanted the restoration of peace and commercial relations with the white people, as in the past. Other beads together with a pipe and some tobacco were presented to Colonel Grant on behalf of other chiefs who were equally anxious to see peace restored between the English and their people. They informed Colonel Grant that their people were actually afraid to go to him themselves, and asked that Captain Watts⁸⁴ be sent back with them so that their compatriots might be reassured, and might send their chiefs to talk peace.

Captain Watts seemed to be in favor of the plan, and told Grant he was willing to go with the Indians. Permission was granted by the Colonel, and the Indians, happy and satisfied, on August 10 started out with Watts, promising to protect him and to return on the evening of the 23rd. The Indians were also made to understand that peace could not be concluded unless Oconostota himself came to discuss the terms. Fort Prince George was in excellent condition, and since the barracks had already been finished, officers and soldiers were able to lodge there comfortably. While waiting for the envoys to return, some Indians stole a number of horses belonging to the English, but the crime was overlooked, since those poor wretches had nothing to eat.

Because they failed to convince Oconostota, the Indians did not return on the evening of the 23rd. But on the 28th several Indian chiefs and Attakullakulla himself arrived. They were taken into the garden where the Little Carpenter,⁸⁵ who appeared to be the orator, was asked if they had been sent by their people to talk peace. Attakullakulla replied in the affirmative, saying that his people were sorry for what they had done, and were willing to bury the ax and never use it again against their English brothers. Colonel Grant treated them very kindly, and asked them to return on the morrow to hear the peace terms. They returned on the 30th,

⁸⁴ John Watts, or Young Tassel, was a seceding chief in 1777; he was war chief of Chickamaugas in 1792-1794, and died about 1808 at Willstown. See Brown, *Old Frontiers*, p. 547.

⁸⁵ Attakullakulla, or Atagulagu, means the Leaning Wood. He was peace chief of the Cherokees during period of English settlement, and was known to the whites as The Little Carpenter. Since his visit to the king of England as a young man, he tried to maintain peace between the English and his people. He was ever faithful to his English friends, and there was hardly a peace mission in which he did not participate.

and in the presence of most of the officers the following terms were submitted:

I.

"The delivery, within twelve nights, of four heads, or four young Cherokees to be executed in front of the camp.

II.

"The release of Fort Loudoun with all the artillery, etc., and such garrison as the English might deem proper to send from either Virginia or South Carolina.

III.

"The immediate return of all prisoners, horses, etc., taken from the English.

IV.

"For the protection of their traders, the English shall have the right to build forts wherever they please in the territory of the Cherokees, who will also grant all the land needed by the garrisons for plantation and pasture; the Indians shall never cross such land.

V.

"If a Cherokee kills a white man, the chief of his town shall execute the murderer as soon as apprehended. If a white man kills an Indian, the latter's compatriots shall not murder him, but shall deliver him to the commander of the nearest fort, who will send him to Charlestown, and if condemned to die, the Cherokees who wish to do so, may be present at the execution.

VI.

"The Indians shall not prevent, indeed they shall help, the English to arrest any French man who sets foot on Cherokee soil.

VII.

"Traders shall not be molested by the Indians; in case the traders wrong the Indians, these will resort to the governor who will do them justice.

VIII.

"Chicacha and Catawba are considered white people, and are included in these articles.

IX.

"As soon as these articles have been accepted and ratified by the governor of Charlestown, all the Cherokee prisoners who may be in English hands shall be taken to Keowee and released; and traders shall be sent to supply the needs of the Cherokees who will give in exchange skins etc."

The last eight articles were accepted, but Attakullakulla objected to the conditions set forth in the first, whereupon Colonel Grant gave him until the next day to make up his mind. The chief appeared on the 31st to tell the governor that he and his compatriots had considered the peace terms and had found them too severe. They were willing to accept all the articles except the first; and hoped that the severity of the terms would deter the

young Indians from future crimes. The orator also added that the Creeks were as guilty as the Cherokees, and that it was not just that the resentment of the English should fall upon his people.

Colonel Grant insisted upon the acceptance of every article, but Attakullakulla declared that he himself could not accept them without consulting his nation, and asked leave to go. He was told to see the governor of Charlestown before returning to his people, since it was he who had proposed the peace terms, and he alone could modify them if he so wished. Colonel Grant assured Attakullakulla that the Indians left at the camp would be protected until his return from Charlestown. The chief left, and on September 15 had a meeting with the governor at Ashley-Ferry. The colonial assembly also met, and on the 23rd of the same month a second treaty was drawn, the terms of which were substantially as follows:

“The Indians shall deliver to Colonel Grant all prisoners, horses, and other animals still in their possession. Fort Loudoun with its artillery shall be delivered to the English who, in the future, shall be free to build other forts in any section of the Cherokee territory. The Indians shall not allow the French to set foot on their soil at any time. If an Indian kills an English man, he shall be tried and executed by the Cherokees, who will give proof of it. Boundary lines shall be determined, and their prescribed limits shall not be crossed by the Indians without permission. All English and French who took part in the war shall be delivered to the English. The Cherokees shall do no damage to the plantations for the garrison of the existing forts, or for those that shall be constructed in the future. Indians allied with the Cherokees are included in the treaty. Cherokee prisoners shall be released. Peace shall be made and ratified at Charlestown. Commerce shall be resumed, and enough merchandise for the needs of the Indians shall be given to them in exchange for skins. If an English man kills a Cherokee, he shall be delivered to the commander of the nearest fort, whence he shall be sent to Charlestown to be tried and punished according to the law, in the presence of the Cherokees. If the Cherokees receive any wrongs they shall complain to the governor, who shall administer justice to them; and finally, the Cherokees shall do the same justice to the English.”

RECONSTRUCTION LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by

James A. Padgett

PART IX *

LETTERS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER

[Continued]

Greensboro N C June 30th 1869

Genl B F Butler:

My Dear Sir: I have been struck with the boldness and unflaming energy [*sic*] with which you take hold of and prosecute any and all works you lay your hand to And I hope you will pardon me for saying that I greatly rejoiced when I saw you take bold ground against our present reched [*sic*] financial system. It is said, a fool is wise in his own conceit, Yet I am sufficiently [*sic*] conversant with the present, and all other financial systems that have had an existence in this Country and Europe, to justify me in declaring our present, as defective as any that has preceeded [*sic*] it, and that is saying enough in all conscience to any [*sic*] all honest and honorable men, whose hearts and sympathies are for and with the laborer and industry of the country I take the liberty of sending you, herewith a copy of a bill I had the honor of introducing into our legislature, and which was defeated, by a combination of all the bankers in the House by *one vote* after a desperate and protracted contest for three days I regret I have not a copy of the report of the committee, recommending [*sic*] its passage and also a copy of my speech, to send with it Of course the construction of the bill, was intended to meet a local necessity [*sic*] in the state, and will have to be altered some what to make it sutable [*sic*] for National purposes But the principles of the bill are far better suited to National than state purposes. And I can but believe if the principles set forth in this bill were but adopted and applied by Congress we would soon see a different state of affairs in the country I will not assume to be your instructor in financial matters but, *great and important truths that one has forced upon his heart and mind both by observation and practical experience a thousand times and more*, will constrain every well wisher to laboring humanity, to endeavour [*sic*] to call the attention of those who have the opportunity and ability and who it may be, are far better informed in evry [*sic*] respect, to the great *mischief* of the day, to the end that the proper remedy may be applied I do not propose to do more at the present time, than to make a few general statements First- Congress has the right & authority and it is the duty of the National Legislature, to regulate trade Commerce [*sic*] & the currency. The first step to be taken to render direct taxation unnecessary [*sic*], and to secure as large a revenue to the govermt [*sic*] as possible from indirect taxation; is beyond all question for Congress at

* Part IX of this series was erroneously numbered "Part X" in the April issue.

once to pass a uniform & stringent usurey [sic] law say allow not more than 6 per cent per Annum. It is urged they will procure abundant- [sic] they will be violated- Not more than the law against Murder Rape Burglary- They will put the Oppressor in the power of the oppressed- this of itself will be a great check- and there are instances in large commercial marts where the usury [sic] law to a certain extent may be violae [sic] with impunity [sic] Just as there are Cases in which the world will Justify a man in taking the life of another My experience & observation both force me unwillingly [sic] to declare that usurey [sic] laws are an essential and more so, than the statue of limitation fraud &C if we have any wish to check reckless [sic] speculation and protect the producer against the mechenation [sic] and nefarious frauds of this reckless advertisement and speculation 2^d The senorage of banking belongs exclusively to the king This declum [sic] is as old as it is universal And in the early history of this county [sic] and especially [sic] in this state, was it regularly enforced. Indeed up to the year 1814 our Constitution, which declares that no exclusive privilege or monopoly shall be granted to any man or set of men men with out an equivalent being paid to the state therefore was strictly complied with and enforced up to that time evry [sic] bank charter had to pay *one dollar* a year, on each share of the capital stock of the Bank, to the state as a bonus for the charter, and the Legislature annually levied a tax on the capital stock as on other property, and this rite [sic] was unrestricted But the lose charter passed on our Legislatr [sic] had increased the capital stock reduced their tax to 25 cts on the share and paid no bonus to the state, where they were anually [sic] declaring 12 perct dividen [sic] &C I allude to this history to show how rapidly the financiers of the country have and are manovering to absorb all power in their hands so that they may boast as the old banks in this state did, in the Legislature that chartered [sic] them, that they were strong enough to defy the Legislation to refuse just such a charter as they demanded at their hands But you may as some have done allready [sic], exclaim hold my friend- *this power* and insolence of the Banks powers too much against you It is no recommendation to the mamoth [sic] banks - connected with the long lines of Rail Roads you so ardently recommend Now do not be too hasty I beseech you in coming to this conclusion I assert that you and thousands of others are woefully in the dark upon this subject so much so that if you put black for white, and white for black But as the error is as common as it is detrimental [sic] to the public It becomes important that it be exposed and eradicated Of course, I will have Mr Gilbert & other ancient writers on Banking to furnsh [sic] the most of the arguments against small banks and in favor of large one I shall content myself by simply remarking that all banks have the same idracincaces [sic] of character and disposition as much so as have all of the *felon tribes* And just as I would prefer to meet one wial [sic] Bengall Tiger, to ten thousand wild cats- so I would rather make a hell to confine one devil in, than to erect thousands of seperate departments, to confine so many of his imps- It is the little foxes that destroy the tender grapes Or with out a figure I assert that the banks become potent for evil just as they are multiplied in number and their ability and *disposition* to do good is increased, just in the same ratio, precisely as they are increased in strength and power,

brought into honest & honorable competation [sic] with each other and are identified [sic] with the industry Credit trade and comerce [sic] of the country Would to God I could get the people of the country to rise high enough above the prejudices of the day to see feel and act upon this great and important truth I do most earnestly pray you to scan the history of this and all other countries, and see if what I have just said is not true- litterally [sic] true- Toust [sic] just as you multiply the number and decrease the capital of the banks you increase there [sic] political power- degrade the currency, impair the credit of the country cripple commerce trade and manufacturing and oppress and depress the people and the energys [sic] and enterprise of the country The history of the past- my own long expriance [sic] and evry [sic] honest observation beares [sic] me out in this statement I press it upon you to look into the past- any of the past- the present and tell me if it be otherwise. The loss the world has sustained from little swollen state and other banks has been large in all compation [sic] all most- even in the United states the losses have been many hundred millions directly and indirectly And yet great an evil as banks under the most favorable Circumstance may by thoght [sic] to be by some- still they are a necessary evil- and have less services and becomes more dossile [sic] and powerfull [sic], just as all large animals do, as they become conscios of there [sic] power and great strength This much I assert the history of all the large banks of the world demonstrates beyond controversy I am therefore, in favor of large viz mamoth [sic] National Banks to be chartered by Congress & identified with the credit commerce and industry of the Country, in the way indicated in the herewith forwarded For the last hundred years and more our Legislators have been racking their brains to devise some plan, to secure the creditors and public against the frauds and insolvency of the banks, but to a great extent there [sic] efforts have proved all most entirely abortive It would be tedious for me to attempt to enumerate the different remedies devised to give this longed for security to the public The safty [sic] fund system of Mr Vanburen the personal liberty clause to double the amont [sic] of the stocke [sic] in banks & C & C Now no one will deny [sic] but that the principal here *sought to be adopted* is correct [sic] as it is just- but alas [sic] how abortive has it proven to be, Out of all the banks that have failed with this clause in there [sic] Charter, I know of no one in Europe or America where a cent has yet been collected from the stockholders in the bank to make good the losses of the creditors of the banks or any part of them In other words- the world has at last found out that *promising to give security by the stockholder of a bank, who may have all he is worth and more too in the bank* is no security to the public against losses from the banks, but rather an inducement held out to credit the bank and thereby enable them more efficiently to swindle the public Even where the stockholders possess wealth, they living behind the curtain intimately acquainted & thoroghly [sic] identified in interest with it, how easily can & do they become apprised of the condition of the bank and when it is likely to fail, it requires no great persuasion on the part of all such officers to advise there [sic] frieds [sic] to sell out there [sic] stock to a non-resident- or an insolvent at home or on time to save themselves from the penalty, or provisions of the present liability clause in the Charter- What a stu-

pendous fraud- What arrence [*sic*] mockery is this? And yet the principal is just right and proper in itself- and ought to be carried out strictly in the eminently practical way I propose. The truth is the public are far more interested in having the banks all give and deposit security with the govermt [*sic*] for there [*sic*] good behaviour [*sic*] and prompt redemption of all there [*sic*] obligations than they are in having the executive & other officers guardian & C of the Country to give bond and security for the faithful performance of their respective duties. And I assert that my own experience and observation, as well as history warrant me in aserting that the heavier and more valuable the security given by the banks, the greater and higher will be the credit they will enjoy- and as it is upon credit they all live, and grow fat, the better it will be for the banks and the public. This point is so plain I will not attempt to argue it further than to say that it was urged by the friends of the old bankers in this state, in arguing against the passage of my bill, that it will soon attract all the surpluss [*sic*] cash of the state in to its vaults, in the way of deposits, and from the other banks, on account of its suposed [*sic*] superior strength, to the great detriment and injury of the states interest in the old banks- That the income of the roads, the daily deposits maid [*sic*] by the state & private individuals, would give it facility & credit to accomodate [*sic*] the people to an extent that no other banks [*sic*] in the state could hope to do- to say nothing of the amount of specie daily received from the thrugh [*sic*] passage & C & C- This was all agreed- a great public benefit and speaks well for my bill- but the great monopoly- the overshadow and gigantic soleless [*sic*] monster- was to be decided & C & C. Thus they falsely raised the cry- and by the aid of bubes [*sic*] and a system of log rolling managed to defeat it by one vote and ultimately incorporate or reencorporate the two old banks with each a larger capital than the one I proposed, in which all the wealth of the state was fitly and largely represented. These Old monopoley [*sic*] Banks. This incorporated & consolidated mony [*sic*] power identified as it was with the university and our Common schools, was always araed [*sic*] against the credit and labor of the state. These banks as all banks of the kind made there [*sic*] mony [*sic*] by discounting to speculators of all kinds and dealing in state County City Rail Road & other bond & exchange Coton [*sic*] bullion & C & C to the great damage and depression of trade and production of the Country, and this always must be the result that will follow from these opperations. [*sic*] For it is but natural that Banks, like individuals should act in accordance with their nature and interests. Consequently, you will always find the stockholders and officers of all the banks uniting in there [*sic*] efforts to induce the different Legislators to plung [*sic*] the state in debt, to construct Rail Roads in evry [*sic*] direction, and to issue - state bonds therefor, at as high a rate of interest and exempt from taxation, with interest payable in gold, or that which is equivalent there to, in New York- Then when the road is built how earnestly do the banks all combind [*sic*] there [*sic*] efforts and labors to get the roads in some way or other to go in debt and borrow mony [*sic*] at 8 or 10 percent of them, or there [*sic*] individual stockholders and then give them a first second or third mortgage on the roads thus Constructed at the expense of the state and the poor stockholder & labor of the County who are taxed

to build the roads But this field is two [sic] wide and interesting for me to venture further at present, to explore it and make plain all of its hidden [sic] but mighty misteries [sic] and powers Would that I were able to impart all I know and have seen touching the wonderful results that have been produced, and ends accomplished in this way and by this means and this alone The motive power of the banks of the Country, to destroy the credit of the Country to make mony [sic] by speculating upon the Credit of the Country that actually gives them existance [sic] is now precisely the same as stimulate the Bears & Bulls of Wall street The Fisks & Schuylers of the New Haven and the Eara [sic] Rail Road- noteraity [sic] or informing What shall I say then to give you an adequate idea of the honour [sic], with which I contemplate the future of this Country, if this miserable sausidal [sic] policy is continued- It amounts to nothing less, than encorperating [sic] moneyed monopolos [sic], to make war upon the Credit and labor of the Country and more expecial [sic] upon all works of internal improvmt [sic] in the Couty [sic], to the end that they may evey [sic] few years double there [sic] Capital by leading in the depreated [sic] state Couty [sic] City & other bonds issued [sic] the poor defrauded & struggleing Corporations [sic] Now when it is remembered that all the losses from Banks fall upon the public & that they bear almost [sic] exclusively upon Credid [sic], is it not pasing [sic] strange that some steps have not before this taken in other states than Georgia, to protect the Credit of the states Rail Roads and other Corporations against the aggressions and averations [sic] macenations [sic] of the rapatious and all grasping managers of the present banks- morespeially [sic] are we asstonished at this wonderful indifference when it is universally admitted that good roads are the greatest public benefactors and honor to a nation- and especally [sic] are they identified with the toiling millions Rome & the Roman soldiers- the ease & selerity [sic] with which the [sic] moved Compared with the surrounding [sic] nations not only illistrates [sic] but proves all these I have suggested toucing [sic] there [sic] utility - popularity and there [sic] nearness if not identity of interest with the poor especally [sic] the active laboring poor on produsing [sic] classes of evry [sic] Community I would be glad to have you to have you [sic] to turn these thoughts over and over again in your *practical mind* And I assure you need not fear the results when your conclusions are brought before the people No other that I can conceive of, is likely to remedy the existing evils in our system, no other will be likely to be strong enough with the public to overcome the united efforts of the present banks & bond holders, to resist any and all kinds of reform for the good of the people. But I must conclude with this sheat [sic] and can but give you a sumary [sic] of what I would have you do First then I repeat Congress should at once pass uniform usary [sic] laws of a most stringent character In the second place it should at once reduce the interest on the National bonds to 3 or 4 per cent per anur [sic] and have evry [sic] cent paid in the same currency and at such place as Congress should see proper to designate in the differt [sic] states That some dozen or more Mamoth [sic] National Banks should be Charterd [sic] imedately [sic], the Capital stock of which, should consist of the 3 perct [sic] national bond; exempt from taxation- Congress should designate the Certification [sic] of stock in the

R R that would be requird [sic] depositd [sic] by the stockholder in the bank, as Colateral [sic] security to the public & as a pledge of there [sic] good behaviour [sic] & fidelity to the trust committed to them Congress could thus identify the national Credit with that of the representative of the states Credit and at the same time Nationalizing the state roads, while it indesoluable [sic] coupled them with the labor and industry of the Country By doing this the credit of, the state and roads would rapidly improve while by thise [sic] insidental [sic] & protection indirect *fostering* care of the general Government [sic] the roads Could and would gladly enter into a Contract to Carry the United states mail troops and munitions of war for much less than the *Era* [sic] *Rail & Cannalions* [sic] *now do* Interrogate Mr Credwell & C on this point- There can and will be great & yet greater throug [sic] lines of R Roads with out banks & independent of the Governmt [sic] "had we not better bring them into harmonious union with the Credit and production interests travel & transportation of both the states and the general Govemt [sic] than to have them set up for themselves- with the banks as so many hungry [sic] *Vampires* Chartered [sic] and let loose by Congress to pray [sic] upon them and the Credit of the Couty [sic]. I have room but to add that the banks Chartered as I propose should be permitted to discount at any rate thought proper under eight per cent- but they should not be permitted to declare more than 6 per cent on the capital invested in Rail Roads & Banks, unti [sic] they had a surpluss [sic] Capital, in sinking fund equal to 25 per cent of the Capital in the Roads & Banks, in the 3 per cent bonds - and not after this should they be allowed to declare more than 7 or 8 percent [sic] on the capital invested & C & C & C & C & C

Truly Yours

D. F. CALDWELL⁸⁸

Charlotte N. C.
25th July 1869.

My dear Sir

Will you be Kind enough to Send to my adress [sic] one Copy. Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1868 or 1869, or any previous years. We of the South are anxious to arrive at thus [sic] Standard of Farming which our Friends at the North have reached: and hope to do so, thereby promoting the interest of the Country in a way that is above any other. By sending me these books you will do a great good and confer a favor upon

Very Res:

Your Obt Servt

Wm. R. Burwell⁸⁹

Care P. O. Box 113 Charlotte N. C.
To The Hon B. F. Butler M. C.

⁸⁸David F. Caldwell was quite a character in North Carolina history. He was elected to the legislature from Guilford County in 1848, 1850, 1852, 1854, 1856, 1858, and 1864. He was sent to the senate in 1879 to take the place of J. I. Scales. The proclamation setting up a govern-

Shelby N. C.
Sept 2nd 1869

Gen B. F. Butler
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

I am sorry I didn't arrive here in time to send by this mail a copy of my inventory" which I have just computed at Dysartsville- I have received the services of a most worthy and competent man who is assisting me at the Mine and the placers under our joint management will yield us something handsome- He proposed to work the Mine all next year, giving 1/6 of yield from placer, 1/2 yield from float ore and other vein matter and 1/3 of the yield of all produce from the land cultivated by himself- He is a No one miner and has a large experience having worked in Colorado and Montana. His references are good, and I think myself happy in securing his services, but I would not make any positive arrangement until I consulted yourself.

I wrote you July 16th that I would draw for 150, and 92⁵⁰ to keep myself righted at Dysartsville- The 1st draft for 145^{46ct} was drawn July 24th and I drew Aug 31st for 95- which is all the debt I have at Dysartsville So you see I am keeping along on my pittance of a salary hoping to work the redemption finally- I heard from Raleigh and, the following is a copy- Your property claim will receive attention at the next meeting of the board in Sept to prepare for Jany- Now if the property is received I can draw (1/3) one third of the value which will be 8000 Dolls on its being received- which will look as if I am to get 25000 for Dysartsville-

Your Obt Servt

John F. Alexander

Dallas N. C.
Sept 17, 1869.

Maj Gen B. F. Butler.

D'r S'r

I have been informed that you have some gentleman looking after Iron property in the South I did not see them, but take the liberty to address a few lines to you to inform you that from a thirty five years experience in the Iron business I think I know something about the diferent [*sic*] Iron

ment in North Carolina had been prepared before the death of Lincoln. D. F. Caldwell said that he had authoritative information that Lincoln had considered him and Jonathan Worth and finally decided upon the latter, but after the murder of Lincoln, Johnson appointed W. W. Holden. Caldwell was the Democratic nominee for Congress in the fifth district in 1868. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, pp. 634-636; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 108n, 281n.

It is impossible to read many of the words in this letter exactly as Caldwell wrote them. He makes an r with two loops just like an n or u; he makes an e and an i exactly the same and scarcely ever dots an i; an a and an o is made exactly alike and often an a, e, i, o are made exactly alike; and on many words he placed an s which I have left off. In practically every case where he wrote the word banks it looks like "bankes" or "bankis."

⁸⁹ William R. Burwell was connected with the Dunn House in Charlotte, at 13 11th street. *Turner's Third Annual Charlotte Directory, 1889-90*, p. 39.

oars [*sic*.] I know of two Iron Oar [*sic*] veins in *Alabama* that for Quality surpasses any thing I know of in the United States for the manufacture of Steel- one is a large vein of speckled Iron Oar [*sic*] the other is a large extensive vein of Iron and Manganese both accessible and in a fine timbered Country and every vicility [*sic*] for working them.

I had thought of forming a company and working those oars [*sic*] my-self, but the war broke me up and left me without means

I look on them as very valuable and think they should be worked. I tried to smelter the oars [*sic*] in a test furnace (10) ten feet high- they made a fine Quality of metal.

If you notice this I will take pleasure in giving you any information that I can

Very Respectfully

B. B. Babington⁹⁰

My Address is Dallas N. C.
Gaston Co

Shelby N. C. Sept 24th 1869

Gen Benj F. Butler
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

Your fav^r 13th to hand- When I saw you in Washington you told me to do the best I could with your properties, not run you in debt, and dispose of them if I could get a good price. To accomplish this and return to yourself what has been expected, has been my study and labor ever since I came home. Seeing that an office had been opened in Raleigh to dispose of lands on the plan of selling tickets as in a lottery, and that the Company were duly authorized by legislative authority, I wrote the office hoping to get our lands sold under the scheme, but I was told my communication would receive attention at their next meeting, which I suppose has not been held, as I have nothing further from the office on the subject and I see the Company have postponed the drawing which was to take place on the 30th of August. The *Velocipede* a paper issued from the office of Company, was sent to you in a previous letter, and it explained the mode of disposing of properties under the scheme. As I had little faith in the scheme I required before putting our land in for the sale of tickets, that 1/3 of its appraised value should be advanced, which would have been sent to you before sending forward the deeds which were in your hands, not mine. Aside from this I bonded 8000 acres of land adjoining yours, which will assist in the disposal of this mine, since lands have advanced. I also bonded 20,000 acres of farming lands lying on Wilmington Charlotte and Rutherford Railroad in the heart of the cotton district and sent list and price to Gen Marston asking him to make an effort to sell them at an advance or margin of 1 to 2 dollars per acre which would give 20 to 40 thousand Dollars to be

⁹⁰ Since B. B. Babington was a miner who moved from place to place and was living in Dallas, North Carolina, which, in 1930, had a population of only 1,489, the editor was unable to find out anything more about him.

divided among yourself and him allowing me a small per cent for my labor. The price of these lands was, 5, 6, 6½, 7, 8, 11 & 15 Dolls a acre. The lands are cheap and since I bonded it, adjoining lands have sold at auction at an advance of 1 Dollar a acre over bonded price- If Gen M. could be prevailed on to interest himself in these lands we might soon have a colony of New England men with their culture and energy making the land bloom. They are really desirable lands for any gentleman who wishes a good farm with comfortable dwellings in a mild climate. Enclosed I send two letters one from August and the other from Lane, the former proposes to advance through his house in Balto 3/4 and Lane wishes to have the furnace, pan, and mining appurtenances put up on the Blair Mine and included in the stock Company, shall I let him have it? With the balance on cotton I can buy ship draw until I get 100 to 150 Bales- Will you authorize me to help if so, send me check for 2000 Dollars which will be a plenty under such arrangements to last the season- Can I draw for half my salary- Will return to Mine Monday and forward gold was waiting an order to do so-

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Servt

John F. Alexander

N.B. Please return enclosed letters.

Elizabeth City N. Ca Oct 9th 69

Dear Sir:

Your note to me saying that you would be in Washington 1st inst. was forwarded to me at New York- I should have proceeded at once to Washington but receiving no reply to a telegram on 2nd to Lowell, inquiring if you were at Washington, I was forced by urgent business to come home-

I have made arrangements to use 135 shares of the stock, by way of proxy- if necessary I go to Raleigh on 11th inst. and a letter directed to me there or at Norfolk Va will reach- I regret not having met you at Washington-

Truly yr friend

C. L. Cobb

Hon B F. Butler
Lowell

Monroe Union Co. N. C.
Oct 13th 69

John F. Alexander Esq^r

My dear Sir:

I have been in S.C. for some time past- Your's is just recd- At last day breaks! I wrote you that I had put a portion of the Blair into the Dubin Co. - that our Stock was out &c. &c. & that we had done some work on the

Blair. Next week we go to work on the Dubin Mine in earnest- the necessary funds having been raised &c. &c. We also have the use of the Challenge Stamp Mill just north of Monroe, & Griffith is coming with additional aid- All will be under the direction of Mr. West.

I now write to know if we can arrange with you for your furnace- Fire Brick Skeleton- Blower &c to be delivered at Harrisburg Depot- for to be paid in Stock at a liberal rate & so interested in our works? I wish an answer as soon as possible. Mr. West will come on now very soon, & by your aiding us we can aid you-

I made some promises at the Blair depending on you for at least a portion of the funds for which we will arrange.

I wish to see you- Next week we draw down the water & shall be taking out ore the week following. I shall need the Furnace *very soon*. After that I might see you- You must write me at Monroe. We *may* ship some ore at first to Newark N. J. in case we take it out sufficiently pure & our assays prove right - they now range from \$200, to \$814- and \$853 gold pr Ton! The pure Enigerows Galena runs as high as \$853⁹¹ This is astonishing- We shall soon know.

What about the Saw Mill &c can you sell for Stock?

Dont fail to write & send me word as to *Furnace &c especially*- The check I need *now* - Do you wonder!

Truly &c

S. E. Lane⁹¹

Shelby N. C.

Oct 15 1869

Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

As the Post Office at Dysartsville⁹² is discontinued I came to this point to communicate with yourself and find your fav 6th . . I deeply regret that my letters are now understood. I have read and reread my letter of the 24th to yourself, and I must confess that I cannot see in it the obscurity of which you complain, save in the sentence; "Enclosed I send two letters one from August and the other from Lane &c," just here I should have perhaps explained about Mr Lanes wishes, and I would have made the explanation, had I thought you were ignorant of them and knew nothing of himself. But, I supposed Gen Marston had informed you all about him- Mr. Lane came to North Carolina to put up *Mat* furnaces, which were to be worked on the Swansea plan, and Gen M- requested that I should go to see him- I went, and Mr Lane asked me, if you and Gen M had a furnace that could be used- I told him, "yes; but, before I let it go I should like to know how you propose paying for it." He replied by putting it into a stock company- I took it for granted that you knew all about it, and was surprised to find

⁹¹ Since S. E. Lane was another wandering miner, in an out-of-the-way place, the editor could not identify him.

⁹² Dysartsville in McDowell County was then and still is a very small village.

you wholly ignorant of the matter. Of this I am blameless, my motive being to look after your interest only.

Enclosed you will find another letter from Mr Lane with this explanation of the Blair property This property 12 Miles from Charlotte was leased for 90 years by Mr Lane, who, to make his lease good, was to be at work on it some time in last month, but before reducing the ores, it was necessary that he should build a furnace- hence my negotiations- The remark "our stock" in the enclosed letter alludes to these negotiations in regard to the furnace &c, waiting your approval. Bear in mind that in this transaction I was seeking only to comply with my promises to yourself when I met you in Washington to do the very best I possibly could do with your property. As the articles were lying idle at Dysartsville because of the enormous expense to work them on the ores of that Mine, I thought it would be to your interest to recommend a disposition Mr. West is a gentleman from Swansea.

Had you consented to let the property go I should have gone and made the negotiations and referred them to yourself for approval, before delivering over any of the property.

Please instruct me how you wish to act in regard to your property, for if my actions are not in accord with your wishes let me know it. It was not *my desire* to have you enter into a cotton speculation, I only thought it would be to your interest to make purchases and I am of the same opinion- Middling upland 18 cents- I am sorry that my wishes could not be complied with in reference to a draft for half my salary, and that I am informed that the best you can do, is to allow me one half the 1st January. What does this mean? Are my endeavors to be met by the withholding of my salary? I am now in debt for supplies furnished my family, and I see no chance of living 3 months by going further into debt. If you desire to dispense with my services I am ready at any time to turn over the mine and property of the enclosed inventory to my successor.

You ask what I am doing at Dysartsville. While I have been waiting for you to instruct me whether I should rent it to "the man" or not we have both been at work on the mine preparing a fall on the Gurley Creek below the gate, to follow the creek up to the hill marked *deposit mine* on the enclosed pencil sketch- The shaded part along the creek shows the work we did and the distance to the hill is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile- The bed of the creek being old-worked-grounds- by washing the tailings as removed, yielded 34 dwts Amalgam, which went to the hands for their labor I having no funds to pay them, which I regret as I desire of all things to forward to yourself. On reaching the hill I have ever reason to believe it will pay, but I must have the money to pay my hands so that I can forward the gold. Does this meet your approbation? Taxes on both Mines have been due for two weeks, amount 200 Dolls, will you instruct me how I am to pay them. The collector will not wait until Jan'y 1st. There is no outstanding debts against the company and this bill is no making of my own.

The man does desire to lease the Mine, look at letter Sept 2nd and say must I turn it over to him or not.

At Shelby I am doing nothing- I cannot work without increasing debt and my instructions are not to contract any. I tried to get a Chlorinator

built at an expense of 300 Dolls, parties not willing without half cash Hands asked ¹⁵⁰ to 200 which I refused to give. The chlorinator could have reduced 20 tons a week with 5 hands. What will you have me do, more than I have done Please instruct. I can rent the Mine if you wish it on customary toll 1/5th given, to yourself. Should I not hear from you in ten days I shall be compelled to draw on you for 400 Dolls- 200 of which has to go to pay taxes. I send you without instructions to Lowell the bullion on hands, and will forward from Express Office duplicate receipt-

I trust my letter will be sufficiently explicit so that you may have no further annoyance in understanding fully the condition of your affairs-

I presume from your remark about the Velocipede that you did not receive my letter-

Hoping to hear from you on the receipt of this, believe me

Yours Truly

Jno F. Alexander

N.B. The prices on inventory are those left by Gen Michie-

Inventory of Property belonging to the "*Mountain Mining Company*" at *Dysartsville, McDowell Coy. N.C. October 15th 1869*

MINING & MISCELLANEOUS PROPERTY

2 Dwelling Houses, Store, Corn Crib and Blacksmith Shop..	\$1050.00
1 Mill & Furnace House	100.00
1 Smelting Furnace	3000.00
1 Chilian Mill	250.00
1 Bogadus " & Belt	200.00
1 Turbine Wheel & Shafting	375.00
1 Large Circular Saw & fixtures	350.00
1 Trestle & Flume	450.00
1 Overshot Wheel	75.00
1 Small rubber Hose } Damaged	100.00
1 Large " " }	
2 Flasks Quicksilver 203/30- 173- 90 ^c	155.70
2 Small Cirular Saws \$10- \$5	15.00
1 Lathe & Fixtures	20.00
14 Saw Mill Files	1.40
1 Can Lubricating Oil	5.00
9 Crucibles45
2 Stone Hammers	1.00
1 Sheet Zinc	1.25
2 Pieces Sheet Copper	5.00
1 Army Wagon	30.00
1 Wagon Frame	10.00
1 Cart	20.00
2 Pair Harness	10.00

4 Bars Steel	56.00
5 Small Octagonal Bars Steel }	8.40
1 Large " " " }	
18 Window Sashes \$5	90.00
14 Doors	28.00
92¾ Doz assorted Screws	9.25
10½ ps Brads	7.00
1½ Keg. of Nails	15.00
9 Crucibles	45
2 Iron Ladles 30/ 3 Iron Pans 90-	1.20
2 Wheel Borrows \$2.00 2 Crow Bars 1.00	3.00
1 Bottle Sodium	2.00
1 Piece Buckshin 70/ 1 Painters Brush 50/	1.20
2 Plaster Brushes 75/ 1 Log Chain \$2.50	3.25
1 Paper Copper Tacks 25/ 8 Qts Pegs 75	1.00
6 Doz Buckles assorted sizes	4.75
3 Surplus Locks 60/ 8¼ lbs Chalk 50	1.10
2 Tackle Pulleys 2.50 Shalf Rope 2.50	5.00
1 Garden Rake 25/ 2 Weeding Hoes 5075
1 Cutting Knife Blade 50/ 2 Shovels 1.25	1.75
1 Dining Table \$3.00 4 D Room Chairs \$2.00	5.00
1 Rocking Chair \$1. 13 Miners Lamps \$1.50	2.50
6½ Sacks Coarse Salt	9.00
2½ Fine	3.50
7 Picks (Worn)	3.50
8 Extra Barrow Wheels	4.00
	\$6491.40

CARPENTERS TOOLS

1 Tool Chest	\$15.00
10 Planes	10.00
2 Hand Saws \$1.00 1 Tenant \$1.00	3.00
2 Steel Square 37/ 2 Tri Ditto 37/	2.25
1 Guage 37/ 2 Drawing Knives 75/	1.87
7 Augers 25/ 1 Brace & 13 Bits \$5.00	6.75
15 Chisels 25/ 1 Oil Stone 25/	4.00
1 Trowel 25/ 1 Grind Stone \$2.50	3.00 [sic]
1 Adze \$1.00 1 Do. (Broken) 25/	1.25
2 Axes \$1.50 1 Spirit Level \$1.50	3.00
2 Spirit Levels (Broken) 1.00	2.00
1 Cross Cut Saw	5.00
10 Hand Saw Files	1.00
1 Screw Driver 25/ 1 Tape Line 40/65
19¾ Sheets Sand Paper	1.00
	\$59.77

BLACKSMITH'S TOOLS

1 Tool Chest	\$3.00
1 Anvil (Large) \$10.00 Do Small \$5.00	15.00
1 Pair Bellows \$7. 1 Portable Forge \$20	27.00
2 Sledges \$1.25 1 Swage 75/	3.25
2 Hand Hammers 75/ 5 Sett Do 2.50	4.00
7 Pair Tongs 50/ 6 Do (Broken) 25	5.00
1 Kit Horse Shoeing Tools	3.00
1 Vice \$10- 2 Screw Plates & Dies 5.00	20.00
3 Nail Tools 50/ 4 Screw Pins \$2.00	2.50
2 Half round sets 75/ 5 Rasps 25/c	2.00
6 Sieve Dies \$2.00 2 Centre Punches 50	2.50
1 Drift Pin for Picks 50/ 1 Eye Wedge 25/75
3 Pairing Knives \$1.00 1 Shoe Hammer 37/	1.37
1 Clinching Iron 38/ 1 pr Pincher 2563
1 Ratchet Drill	5.00
1 Riveting Hammer 20/ 30 Files flat 3.00	3.20
10 Files Half round \$1. 1 Rat tail 10/	1.10
150 lbs Scrap Iron	5.00
	\$104.30

RECAPITULATION OF INVENTORY

<i>Mining & Miss's Property</i>	\$6491.40
<i>Carpenters Tools</i>	59.77
<i>Blacksmiths Ditto</i>	104.30
	\$6655.47

The drawing of the land gave all the details such as veins, roads, shafts, mountain ranges, worked ground, tunnels, hills, level land, etc.

Charlotte, N. C.
Nov. 10th 1869

Hon B. F. Butler
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

I came here to make arrangements to ship the furnace, and I proceed today to Dysartsville to take it down- In carrying up the fall at Dysartsville I made 50 Dwts of gold, and I will be on the *hill* in a week or so if no accident happens- I drew on you for 500 Dollars which I can't do without until Jany and I hope you will honor the draft- What gold I make will be forwarded to you in December. We have no mail at Dysartsville, but I shall write you fully on my return to Shelby-

Your Obt Servt

John F. Alexander

Shelby, N. C.
Dec 18th 1869

Dear General-

I expected, on my return from Dysartsville, to find among my mail an answer to at least one of my letters, but I find none- How shall I interpret your silence?

In my mail, I find two letters asking whether my services can be obtained next year by other companies. These must remain unanswered until I hear from yourself- Although my present position has been wholly unremunerative to myself; yet, when I remember the difficulties through which I have had to pass, and the readiness and kindness with which you supported me in them I hope I am made of sterner stuff than to fly from the obligations I am placed under with the business on hand.

A reaction must come and come quickly to the mining interest of this country and when it comes we shall be prepared for it. Already, one or two new companies have begun work in our section and they will be operating by the 1st of Jany.

The Dysartsville Mine will, on the opening of next spring, show such an amount of deposit and good working ground as must command the confidence of any company desiring heavy deposit operations.

With 8000 acres of land all in one body and the water brought 90 feet on the mountain sides which are cut down at its base to expose the gold bearing deposit for nearly 3/4 of a mile- I am sure some company will buy it-

As soon as the weather will admit of my doing the out door work I shall make a perfect map of the whole and exhibit the same in New York and Boston, and shall be assisted in the sale by Mr G. H. Chapin⁹³ of Boston to whom I shall write-

Neither Mr Lane or myself can conclude our arrangements until one of his Company return from Chicago.

I wrote him to meet me on my return from Dysartsville, which letter he did not receive until the very day in which he was to meet me- So we have appointed the Tuesday after Xmas as the day on which we are to meet- He still remains sanguine and wants the furnace- My accounts would have been forth coming but I am waiting on the conclusion of this trade before closing them up- I can assure you of one thing we have no outstanding debt and the Company is regarded by all the most worthy of Confidence among the host of Companies operating here- Hoping to hear your wishes in regard to myself and wether [*sic*] I must remain on I am

Your Obt Servt

Jno F Alexander

To Gen B. F. Butler
Washington, D. C.

⁹³ George H. Chapan served during the Civil War in the volunteer army, and was appointed a brigadier-general on July 21, 1864. On March 13, 1865, he received the brevet of major-general and was mustered out of service on January 7, 1866. Appleton, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 581.

Shelby N. C.
January 11th 1870

Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

On my return from Dysartsville I found your fav [sic] Dec 22nd the only letter I have had since October- As the outgoing mail does not give me sufficient time to make up and send forward my monetary statement and accounts I shall forward them by Thursday's mail-

On account of the weather which always impedes operations at this season of the year I have done very little mining in the past two weeks. The accounts will show for themselves the outstanding debts of the Company- and that is very small.

Your Obt Servt

J. F. Alexander

Dysartsville N. C.
January 28th 1870

Maj Gen Benj F. Butler
Washington, D. C.

Dear General-

For two weeks passed the travel in this country has been impeded by reason of the heavy rains which made the fords impassible and destroyed all the bridges between this point and Shelby.

I have cut off from any communication with yourself, but I hope to have a long letter when I arrive at Shelby wither [sic] I go to send forward my stewardship for the year-

You will find that we have been as economical as we could possibly be under the circumstances and I am happy to state that no outstanding debts or any debts against the company.

The papers here announce that Congress has passed the Census bill. If so and agreeable to yourself I should be pleased to have your influence in behalf of myself and have me appointed the Supervisor of the Census for the 7th District of North Carolina.

I think I am thoroughly competent to discharge the duty for the government [sic] and by so doing I could determine facts which might be of incalculable value in the future political campaigns. If this work would cause any interruption to the progress of your work I would not ask it, But I know I could do this duty without compromising your interest.

Hoping to hear from you soon- I am your, Obt Servt

Jno F. Alexander

M. Mining Co.

1870	In a/c J. F. Alexander		
	Jany 1 st	Balance July 1 st 1869	523.89
	"	Services to Jany 1 st 1870	600.00
	"	Expenses as agreement	250.00
	"	Taxes Assessed on land &c	169.50
			<hr/>
			1543.39
	By Cash paid laborers	190.00	
	" 600 rods water race	75.00	
	" Gold—	77.77	
	" Draft paid Nov 10 th	500.00	842.77
	Balance due Jany 1 st 1870		<hr/>
			\$700.62
	E.&O.E.		<hr/>
			\$700.62

Shelby N. C.
Feby 1st 1870

Dear General,

The above account shows the statement of the whole indebtedness- I undertook to carry forward the work on my salary and have done so meeting all expenses.

I think the Taxes are too high and went before the commissioners and asked them to release me from such high assessment which they have promised to do.

The gold yield was scarcely anything. I did not expect to secure much in going over the old work.

Since July the whole work has been to carry up the fall and run my water as was shown in the sketch already forwarded- The receipt from old workings have been-

July 7- Dwts 5 gr	Oct 16 Dwts
Aug nothing	Nov 38 "
Sept 10 Dwts 5 gr	Dec 20 "

Total 92 Dwts @ 84.50. \$77.77

I shall push the work forward and I think I shall be making a good report of the new Hill, in less than a month-

Your Obt Servt

Jn^o F Alexander

Gen B.F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Shelby N.C.

Gen. Benj. F. Butler

Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

I came to this point from Dysartsville and found your favr 28th. I am sorry my letter and accounts were not understood.

Explanation of Corn Account- From the funds to purchase cotton, there was a balance due you of 255 Dolls and 2 cents, which the cotton account will show. With this balance I purchased Corn and sold it on your account How I sold the Corn- Knowing that I could get a better price in S. C. I hired a four mule wagon and sent it thither. I paid for the wagon 4 Dollars a day and the board of its teamsters, which was not to exceed 50 cents a day- The wagon was out 20 days, the account will explain the rest.

The balance Sheet- Why charged to myself- Please remember that I wrote to you and made this proposition that I would operate the Mines on my salary and an addition of Five hundred Dollars- You answered go ahead but keep within expenses- As this was the only expense you were to incur I kept the books as my own accounts making all the Gold obtained debtor to labor and whenever I shipped to yourself you became debtor to Gold, in this way I balanced my gold account which shows it is Debtor 87 Dollars on the balance sheet- debtor to whom- to yourself and shows I have it in hand- while the credit to yourself of 71 Dollars, shows that this amount has been drawn on the gold on hand, hence you do not see these drafts credited to yourself on my individual account- against yourself- This statement will explain why the balance sheet is to your credit on my account-

Enclosed is the notice of protest which explains all I know of it- At Shelby I am doing nothing, because I cannot operate the Mine with losing yourself money- An arastar will not work quantity, and unless the Sheby ore is worked in large quantities it will not pay- At Dysartsville I have been running my mill and opening [*sic*] placers. I have not been able to keep my mill constantly at work for the want of paying ore- Some days the yield was not 20 cents a ton. I have done no heavy work in placers on account of the great depth of the grit and the scarcity- of water- I had to move over 30 feet of earth to reach the grit bearing gold. I have made an effort to put the Mine in the scheme disclosed in the Velocepede at 25000, have nothing from it-

I shall send this letter to you as soon as reced.

I am determined to work these Mines off of your hands even though you should lose 5 or 6 thousand Dollars better this, than that they should be stopped and their reputation destroyed- and yourself be the loser of them as Mines-

I hope this will be satisfactory and meet your approval

Your Obt Servt-

Jno F. Alexander

Shelby N. C.
Feby' 24th 1870

Dear General-

I have just rec'd your fav 1st. I am obliged for your kindness also the speech on reconstruction of Georgia.

I sent forward my account a month since and I am so much in need of the balance due me to keep my business straight that I shall draw on you for a part of the balance.

The Mine is pusing forward the ditching and I hope to make a vigorous effort the opening spring.

The weather has been a great draw back but I have followed orders and made no debts except on my individual account- I will write you fully on the 25th-

Your Obt Servt
J. F Alexander

Maj Gen B. F Butler
Washington D.C.

Shelby N. C.
March 11th 1870

Gen. B.F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General.

I wrote and sent forward my account and statement, but I have heard nothing from you for more than a month.

I advised you that I should draw for a part of my balance due me on services, I delayed hoping to hear, now I am forced to draw on next Monday the 14th for 450 Dolls to meet my expenses. I have no standing debt against the company and I am proud of it.

I shall have both mines running this year on the smallest possible amount. It shall not exceed the amount of last year. Did I not have faith in being rewarded for my services I should stop at once.

I have so arranged at Dysartsville that I shall have my water on the Hill by 1st April, and how good soever this grit may be my plan is not to wash it all out unless by far richer than any other working, but to expose over a mile of gold grit before washing. After it is exposed, I shall wash down its length to the depth of six inches in the grit and its height, which will give me by actual calculation the whole amount of gold in the mine opened provided the average for the 6 in. washed down remains uniform for every other 6 inches. Although early in the season miners are visiting our section from the North and those who have seen your mine are, if they speak their real views pleased with it.

I shall try to send you weekly since the mails are so arranged a statement of my progress. I hope in the future you will forward my salary at the end of each month so that I may have it to pay my hands.

Very respectfully Your Obt Servt

Jno F. Alexander

Shelby N.C.
Mar 29th 1870

Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

I was detained by reason of high waters from giving you, my promised weekly letter- The weather during this month has acted very much against our operations, although we have made some progress towards having things in readiness for an exhibition- I am compelled by reason of the illness of my family in Virginia to absent myself from my work for a week to visit them, and if I find it convenient I shall call to see you and arrange for our cooperation to bring the mines into conspicuous notice.

I received a letter from Jones of New York saying that a Mining Engr from England representing capitalist there would visit our country as soon as favorable and make an examination of our mining interest with a view of purchasing- I shall be ready to receive him, and show him a good operation-

Enclosed I send you an address now circulating in the State.

I hope you will not forget me should the census bill pass.

With great respect I am,

Your Obt Servt

Jn^o F Alexander

Dysartsville N. C.
Apl 29th 1870

Dear General-

I shall finish my work for the Englishman Mr Richards as soon as I return to Shelby and forward the map to yourself with my report- I am confident if his company instructs him to visit our interests that he will purchase. The Mine opens well and within the next two weeks I shall know whether the mountain will justify the expenditure I have made to carry the water 90 feet on its sides. In prospecting I always got from 4 to 5 colors, which means small pieces of gold like the clippings of needle points, the large pieces were like the head of a pin in size. So far as I have progressed, I certainly feel much encouraged at my prospects- I shall soon have completed my plan to expose the greatest possible amount of alluvial washings, and have the sand in good working condition so as to be ready to the test any miner may give it who wishes to purchase.

Some points on the veins I am opening for exhibition, as I can not mine them at their present depth without an additional expenditure of money.

On the bonded mountain, as you will see by the map to be forwarded, there is a vein which shows visible gold, but this vein will not pay without cutting through immense dikes, which to pass through will require a

great expenditure of labor and money. I shall visit the Shelby Mine after next Tuesday and if convenient to yourself I should be pleased to hear from you at that point-

With great respect I am

Your Obt Servt

Jno F. Alexander

To Gen B.F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Shelby N. C.
June 15th 1870.

Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C.

Dear General-

I have just arrived here from Dysartsville and send annexed my account and statement of work or the opening and its yield over worked ground- Referring you to my letter of Mar 11th you will see from the increased yield that I have at this date reached the deposit which I thought was in the ditch, leading in the hill- The grit looks fair but as it was opened for exhibtion at present I should not be justified in working it out- I shall leave nothing undone to carry out the plan of sale- I am sure if any company, or their agent visits our place they, or he will be shown a good mining tract of 10,000 acres at least figures. If no sale is effected by August I shall pipe out the gold and ship to yourself.

I have had the taxes on mine reduced and there is no other debt against the company.

As my account with my merchant who supplies me with food is now due I have drawn on you at sight for 500 Dolls which you will please honor-

Your Obt Servt

John F. Alexander

M. Mining Co.

1870		In a/c J.F. Alexander	
June 1 st	Balance from Jany 1 st		700.62
" "	Services 5 Mo's		5,00.00
" "	Texas assessed		70.00
" "	Taxes assessed		70.00
			<hr/>
			\$1270.62
		Credit	
Mar 21 st	By draft	500.00	
June 1 st	" balance due	770.62	
		<hr/>	
			\$1270.62

Statement of Labor performed.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apl	May	Total	per day	Paid
D. Whitener	24	20	22	20	20	106	.75	79.50
L. Whitener	10	16	20	17	18	81	.50	40.50
Dave Whitener	15	12		2	8	37	.50	18.50
Ike Hardy				1	5	6	.50	3.00
Ed Weaver					7	7	.50	3.50
Hedr. Taylor	11	10	20	18	15	74	.50	37.50
K. Taylor	1	2	1			4	.50	2.00

Gold received

Amt in	Jan	9 Dwt	14 grains
" "	Feb	9 "	2 "
" "	Mar	14 "	18 "
" "	Apl	28 "	3 "
" "	May	42 "	5 "
Total amt		103	.18

Elizabeth City N C No 9/70

Genl B.F. Butler
Lowill [sic] Mass.

Sir:

I take the Liberty of writing you (having been a Townsman of your for Some years) on Personal Matters; & will Come to the Matter in hand at once; In 1864 I wrote you from Balto' In rigard [sic] to going to Norfolk Va to do a Small business with a few hundreds of dollars, & has Made Sinne [sic] I got out of Louisiana (Batton [sic] Rouge) whire [sic] I lost all but my Clothes I Stood it, your reply was favorable & I went, & done very will [sic] untill [sic] the return of the Confederates, whin [sic] Persecution Commed [sic]; Capital Combined against all Nothersns [sic] to break them down, & forllowed [sic] it up untill [sic] I was neary [sic] without Customrs [sic], with Rents thribbling [sic] I was Induced [sic] to Come here by the Prisedent [sic] of the North Carolina Land & Lumber Co & Invest what I had Left In Said Co. He—the Prisedent [sic] Promising me 25% the first year & a Saliry [sic] (beaing [sic] a member of the Society of Friends) I believed him fully & Came but after I had got Settled in the work well, I found thing Very diffirnt [sic], not one Promise made me has been fullfilled [sic] & I have been Turned out of the EmPLY [sic] of Co to give Place to a man who has more mony [sic] my all was Invisted [sic] not one dollar for Support of family; I Pledged my Stock & Bought a farm with Timber Enough to Pay for it twice Fold, & Just as I got fairly at work myself & my family, with one Exception was Takin Sick with the malareons [sic] fever of the Country (Vey [sic] Billious fever) & have been Sick 13 weeks; which has Left me without mony [sic] to Stock my farm & get my Timber off, to get means to do it;

I will now come (after this Short History of my life) to the Point, which is to See if you would advance me (on a well authenticated Mort-

gage on the farm the sum of \$1500,⁰⁰ To give me a Start; Mony [*sic*] here Cannot be got for Less than 3% per Month & Real Estate as Security [*sic*]; My farm & Consern worth three (3) thousand dollars after the timber is off; It Contains 150 acres; 93 of which is under Cultivation or was Last Year

The Land & Lumber Cannot healp [*sic*] me for they have all they Can do to keep *above Water*; they have a Large am't of Timbe [*sic*] Land, & other Property but all is badly managed; I wosh [*sic*] I was able to Come & See you; Could tell you some things about Virginia & its *interane* [*sic*] working that would Surprise you; I have the Some [*sic*] or what repre-sents \$7000 in Property here & yet might as well have none, as I Can raise *nothing* from it without giving half away; Be assured Genl I shouldnt have asked this of you wire [*sic*] I not necessiated [*sic*] to do so; I knew of no other to write to with the Means at Comnd [*sic*], If you will do the favour to reply to this you will Confer a greatt [*sic*] favour I am getting old now & 52 yea [*sic*] & wish to get settled [*sic*] down Gen you will Pleas [*sic*] Excus [*sic*] the writing as my hand is very unsteady from weaken [*sic*]

[Signature illegible]

Shelby N C
Nov 17th 1876

Gen B. F. Butler.
Lowell Mass.

Dear General-

I have just concluded an inventory of the property on the Dysartsville Mine, and have arranged to have your property properly cared for during the coming year. Have you heard anything of Richards since I wrote you sending his letter? On next mail day I shall forward you a detail of the operations which were performed by myself during my connexion with the mine, and I hope you will see therefrom that I have used every means at my command to make the mine as selfsustaining as I possibly could under the circumstances. I shall also forward my account and hope you will honor my draft for the balance due me that I may pay off my indebtedness.

I have been sick is the reason I did not write sooner-

Yours Obtly
John F. Alexander

Shelby N. C
Nov. 21st 1870

Dear General.

Acting as I trust for the best interest of yourself I have arranged the easily transported property upon the Mine, so as to have them ready for boxing and shipping if you should so instruct. This property consists of the worn-carpenters tools, blacksmith tools &c

I do not suppose they would sell for much. The present "hard times"

among the people preclude the sale of any property except on time, and to give time to some in the present disorganized condition of things would virtually be giving them the tools.

As you have an inventory of the property I deem its repetition useless. Upon accepting the position of Supt of the Mine I found it to use a homely expression, "over head & ears" in debt. These ravenous debtors were too many for the patience of Gen Marston, and he assured me nothing could be done until these debts were paid, hence he bound me in rigid orders to abstain from contracting any more, which I have scrupulously observed. Today I walk forth among the people proud of my connexion with your mine, and it is no mean feeling when I look around and see the failure and hear the curses of men whose honest labor has been stolen by mismanagement and extravagance, that I leave my work and the Mine to speak for, this the community in which I have operated . Below is a statement of the yield in gold since Jan'y 1870.

Jan'y	total	gold	obtained	9	Dwts	14	grains
Feb'y	"	"	"	9	"	2	"
March	"	"	"	14	"	18	"
April	"	"	"	28	"	3	"
May	"	"	"	42	"	5	"
June	"	"	"	38	"	8	"
July	"	"	"	12	"	0	"
Aug	"	"	"	17	"	18	"
Sept	"	"	"	10	"	4	"
Oct	"	"	"	10	"	0	"

192 Dwts

Account			
Balance from Jan'y 1 st		700.62	
Texas paid		70.00	
Services for 10 months		1000.00	
			1770.62
Credits			
Mar 21 st By draft		450.	
June 17 th " "		500.	
" Gold		172.80	1122.80
			647.82

As I have been sick for several days and as I am not now feeling very well you must excuse me from not making a fuller statement until I am able to sit at my work I shall send you a fuller letter giving the days of able to sit at my work I shall send you a fuller letter giving the days of labor. Hoping you will rest assured that I shall use my best efforts for you while in the State I am respectfully
Your Obt Servt

To Hon. B.F. Butler
Lowell Mass.

John F. Alexander

[To be Continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

HORACE WILLIAMS: GADFLY OF CHAPEL HILL. By Robert Watson Winston. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 309. \$3.00.)

The subject of Judge Winston's biography was one of the most striking and influential characters of recent North Carolina history. As the present reviewer read the story he found himself repeating, "God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Professor Williams was by choice an individualist and a "character" in the community; he chose as his mission the training and emancipation of youthful minds; and he accomplished both in a striking degree during his fifty years as head of the department of philosophy at the University of North Carolina.

Judge Winston has special qualifications for writing Horace Williams's biography. He was his school-mate in earlier years and at sixty became his admiring pupil! He was his neighbor and close friend and had access to his personal papers. He did not share all of Professor Williams' political views nor wholly accept his philosophy. He brought to the discussion of his subject a judicial habit of mind. The style is clear and readable; his choice of incidents is happy, and the composite dialogues with which he illustrates Professor Williams's classroom technique add vividness to the narrative.

Judge Winston delineates conscientiously his subject's shortcomings: his strange lack of social idealism and of consciousness of social obligations; his relentless criticism of his colleagues and neighbors; his lack of friends in the community, except his students. He was a sharp horse trader; a landlord who collected exorbitant rents; almost a miser in financial matters; and he insisted that he had a right to keep a barnyard in the midst of the town, regardless of the comfort and health of his neighbors. Yet he was often generous to unfortunates and with fine public spirit gave the land for the airport that bears his name. By the side of his happy domestic life is the story of his attachment, after the death of his wife, for a scholarly young woman less than half his age, who finally declined to marry him but consented to have him adopt her.

Horace Williams was a mystic as well as a philosopher. He had a fine sense of the central place of the individual in the scheme of things and he had a crusader's passion for individual freedom; he was the uncompromizing foe of intolerant ortho-

doxy in politics or religion. As a consequence the moss-backs in political and social matters and the fundamentalists in religion suspected him and feared him, and moved heaven and earth to oust him from the University. He was nevertheless deeply religious and devoted to Jesus Christ, whom he regarded, however, more as a master-thinker and teacher than as the orthodox God. His genuine religious feeling and his theological training enabled him again and again to confound his enemies; and he was sustained in his position by the loyalty of his students, of the trustees, and of the four University presidents under whom he served.

It was primarily as a teacher that Professor Williams exercised his profound influence over successive generations of students. He felt that the emancipation of the South from its prejudices and narrow ideas could come only when its leaders learned to challenge their inherited ideas and institutions and to question the intellectual presuppositions of their beliefs. It was his great service to his state and country that he was able to train successive generations of its future leaders to think instead of merely "reshuffling their prejudices." Perhaps this is enough to expect in one lifetime. He did not work alone at this task, of course. Walter Hines Page, Bishop Kilgo, and President Poteat were valiant co-workers, each in his own line; but to "Old Horace," as his students affectionately called him, must go a large share of the honor of having prepared the spiritual and intellectual soil for the outstanding progress of North Carolina and the new South.

ELBERT RUSSELL.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL,
DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DURHAM, N. C.

ASHEVILLE, IN LAND OF THE SKY. By Martha Norburn Mead. (Richmond: The Dietz Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 188.)

In 1876 there came from the press of D. Appleton and Company of New York city a book entitled "The Land of the Sky"; or, Adventures in Mountain By-Ways," by Mrs. Frances Christine Tiernan (Christian Reid). A sketch of a journey in the mountains of North Carolina, the book gave to the western part of the State an "unforgettable, aerial, name" and was one of many influences serving to popularize the region as a health and recreational center.

Since that time, sixty-seven years ago, many other books dealing with Western North Carolina have been published. The newest of these is Mrs. Mead's *Asheville, in Land of the Sky*, an attractively printed, illustrated volume written as a sesqui-centennial tribute to Asheville, the hub of a large area that sometimes likes to refer to itself as "a state within a state." Mrs. Mead's book is not a history, nor is it a tourist guide. Rather, its purpose is to give to the reader and to the visitor an interpretative appreciation of the natural setting, history, and cultural pattern of the city. It achieves its purpose, for it gives something of the flavor of the region.

Mrs. Mead was well equipped to write the book. Besides knowing the city and region intimately, she sees with the eyes of an artist and understands with the mind of a scientist. She writes with clarity and appreciation and the book is a contribution to the descriptive literature of North Carolina. In it those interested in Asheville and the Carolina mountains will find information on geology, climate, vegetation, the cultural life of the city, and the customs of the mountain people. Of particular interest are her chapters on Biltmore estate and Flat Rock. Included also are chapters on the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Cherokee Indians, and the beautiful gardens of Asheville. Adding to its value are thirty full-page pictures grouped in the back of the book. They show places in the Asheville region, some scenic, others historical.

GEORGE W. MCCOY.

THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN,
ASHEVILLE, N. C.

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY. Compiled by Howard H. Peckham. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1942. Pp. xi, 403.)

One who undertakes to review Mr. Peckham's book must consider, first, the origins of the Clements Library and the present close relation of it to the University of Michigan; secondly, the characteristics which distinguish this from other American historical libraries, particularly with reference to its holdings of manuscripts; thirdly, the standards by which such a work is to be judged; and, lastly, the success with which the compiler has accomplished his purpose.

Born upon the campus of the University of Michigan, and graduated from Michigan's Engineering School, William L.

Clements early developed a plan to found a library of American history. Success in business made possible the realization of this intention. In 1923 was opened the building which now houses the Library; and the rare books, manuscripts, newspapers and maps were moved thither from Mr. Clements' home in Bay City. In its present status the Library building, with its contents, given by Mr. Clements, belongs to the University, of which it is a separate department. The University keeps up the building, provides a staff, and appropriates funds for the purchase of materials.

Shortly after the opening of the Library, its aims and its scope were interestingly described by the Director, Dr. Randolph G. Adams, in his little book, *The Whys and Wherefores of the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, 1925). Moreover, in a series of Clements Library *Bulletins*, Dr. Adams has written in great detail concerning several of the more important collections. The *Guide* of Mr. Peckham now shows, with respect to manuscripts and manuscript maps, what progress has been made along the lines which Dr. Adams laid down.

One of the marked characteristics of the Library goes back to Mr. Clements himself. He was not merely the giver of a large sum of money for a building and its contents. On the contrary, he was a collector of books and manuscripts, but one who was interested in history rather than in the accumulation of mere rarities. How closely the Library has followed out this bent of the founder Mr. Peckham's *Guide* reveals. Of 172 collections that are described in the 275 pages, by far the largest number represents acquisitions by purchase from dealers in manuscripts. The Library's holdings of manuscripts bought at the sales of the collections of Sir Thomas Phillips are given in a separate appendix. Among the collections listed in the text is one described as that of "American Book Collectors" which, according to Mr. Peckham, "reflects the zeal of collectors and . . . relates to the investigations of bibliographers among rare books, maps and manuscripts." Akin to this are the collections of the Bradford Club, George Binley, Henry Barton Dawson, Peter Force, Lea J. Patch, Henry Stevens and Henry Vignaud. It is entirely fitting, therefore, that among the manuscript collections should be listed that of the founder himself.

This predominance of collections acquired from dealers brings to one's mind at once a similarity in this respect to those of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, as described in

Miss Cuthbert's *American Manuscripts Collections in the Huntington Library for the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

It is, of course, with respect to the administrative and military affairs of eighteenth century Britain and the British North American possessions that the Clements Library has attained its great eminence. In the military side stand out the great collections of the papers of Sir Henry Clinton, of Lord George Germain, and of General Thomas Gage. On the civil side the Library has the papers of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, and of his son Robert; those of William Knox; those of Thomas Townshend, first Viscount Sydney; those of J. W. Croker; and, perhaps the most important of all, those of Sir William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne. Here, again, we may note in passing that the Clements Library collections, in a very interesting way, follow up the similar bodies of material at the Huntington Library; *e. g.*, the Abercromby, Blathwayt, Loudoun, Stowe, Sunderland, and Townshend papers.

While these important collections of English origin are those which have done most to establish the high renown of the Library as a repository of historical manuscripts, the range covered is of course much greater. There are two very large collections of Michigan politicians; those of Senator Lucins Lyon and Senator Russell A. Alger; these are, by the way, among the very few listed as gifts to the Library. There are two collections of anti-slavery papers, those of James G. Birney and those of T. D. Weld and his family.

For the colonial period there are the papers of Sir George Clinton, father of Sir Henry Clinton and governor of New York, and many smaller groups. On the American side of the Revolution are the papers of Josiah Harmar and one important group of General Nathanael Greene. In a collection of twenty volumes described as *Miscellaneous Manuscripts* is found a very large number of distinguished names.

For the critical estimation of such a guide as Mr. Peckham's a far wider basis is now at hand than existed a generation ago. With the very beginning of this century appeared the first extensive list of the manuscripts of the New York Public Library (1901), supplemented in 1915 with Mr. Paltsits' list of that year after the Manuscript Division of the New York

Public Library had been established in separate quarters in the central building. Meanwhile Reuben Gold Thwaites had put forth in 1906 his *Descriptive List of the Manuscript Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*. The *Handbook* of the Division of Manuscripts published in 1918 by the Library of Congress exhibited a new degree of detailed description. It is within the last decade, however, that the most rapid progress has been made. The *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Minnesota Historical Society* by Miss Grace Lee Nute and Miss Gertrude W. Ackermann, set a new standard. Six years later Miss Norma B. Cuthbert's *American Manuscript Collections in the Huntington Library for the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* developed a somewhat different technique. In this same period the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration has produced a notable series of guides, of which some of the best are the lists of the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library of Duke University, and the Library of the University of North Carolina.

With this reminder before us as to the increase in number and the improvement in design of published guides to collections of historical manuscripts in the larger libraries, we may now endeavor to measure by the present-day standards Mr. Peckham's plan and his execution thereof. In a clear-cut preface Mr. Peckham gives the reader all possible help. The work, he tells us, is neither a catalogue nor a subject-index nor a calendar; but is intended to answer five questions which are frequently asked. These are:

"What manuscripts do you possess?"

"What period of time and what events does a particular collection cover?"

"How large is each collection?"

"What writers are represented in such and such a collection?"

"Have you any letters by So-and-So?"

Just what constitutes a manuscript collection Mr. Peckham leaves a matter of some uncertainty. In many guides, and particularly in those of the Historical Records Survey, individual pieces are listed. On the other hand one finds sometimes a rigid limitation like that set by Miss Cuthbert, who excludes all groups that do not amount to forty pieces. Mr. Peckham's nearest approach to a definition is found in the comment upon the collection listed as No. 108—Miscellaneous Manuscripts: "Not more than half a dozen letters by the same writer are to be

found in the lot, and generally not more than one or two."

This would seem to imply that papers of an individual amounting to more than a half dozen pieces would be made and called a collection.

The collections are listed alphabetically. Usually a personal name attaches to a collection, but some are given a geographical nomenclature, *e.g.*, "Battle of Lexington," "France," "Mexico." When of five collections each one appears under "Mexico," obviously some further discrimination must be afforded the reader.

For each collection a descriptive paragraph, usually of marked excellence, gives the name of the person of whose papers the collection is composed; a brief sketch of that person's significance; and information as to the provenance, the period covered, the number of pieces, and sometimes the number of volumes. Frequently one finds valuable information about related material that may be found elsewhere. Indication as to Clements Library manuscripts that have appeared in printed editions is placed in a separate appendix.

Mr. Peckham does not attempt to make for each collection a special topical outline, such as Miss Cuthbert provided for the Huntington Library *Bulletin*. Instead, he gives, in his first appendix, a list of periods and topics for the collection taken as a whole, placing under each subject the number and a key name for every collection that falls within that subdivision. He avoids the useless practice of stating the years actually represented by manuscripts within the period covered by the collection without presenting specific dates. Nor does he content himself with the lists of "important" writers of letters or papers; or of those "represented by ten or more." On the contrary, Mr. Peckham lists every writer of a letter. He does not tell how many letters will be found under this name but leaves it to the reader to make further inquiry. One of the most distinctive features of the book is its index of more than one hundred pages. If this represents a magnificent duplication, the disregard of economy will be viewed with thankfulness by the reader, who can discover in a moment whether a name about which he wishes to know is or is not represented in the collection.

Nearly all the collections consist of original manuscripts. But in the case of a few, such as those of the Papers of George the Third, or the Papers of Charles James Fox, an asterisk denotes that the collection consists of photostat copies of material listed

abroad. That there are in the Clements Library microfilm copies of manuscripts elsewhere, one can hardly doubt; but if so these have not yet been admitted to the company of the elect. On the other hand, one distinct category of manuscripts—that of manuscript maps—is the subject of a special listing in Appendix B, by Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Curator of Maps.

Impressive in format, and well-nigh flawless in typography, Mr. Peckham's *Guide* furnishes an example which may well be followed by every institution so amply provided with funds as to be able to afford the luxury of producing so excellent a book.

. ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS,
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On May 20 the Fairchild Aircraft Corporation celebrated at its Burlington plant the beginning of the manufacture of airplanes in North Carolina with a flight of one of the planes manufactured there. The replica of the plane used in the first flight of the Wright brothers, borrowed from the Hall of History in Raleigh, was on display, and afterward a model of the Fairchild plane was placed in the Hall of History.

Typical of conditions in colleges and universities throughout the country is the situation at Davidson College, as described by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, head of the department of history: "Since the first week in March we have been teaching modern and contemporary world history to units of Air Corps Trainees as a part of their preliminary training at Davidson. We have now 7 sections from a group of approximately 500 students, though all of these do not take history—at least at the same time. It is a 60 hour course, meeting 5 times per week and lasting 12 weeks. The hour requirement and the general subject matter of the course came as stipulations from Army Headquarters but the general treatment and emphasis is left up to the instructor. Needless to say this program has somewhat taxed our instructor resources in history, though not so much so in this field as in Physics or some other subjects. We have about 400 regular college students now as compared with about 600 this time last year."

Messrs. Arthur S. Link and Bennett H. Wall, graduate students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, are serving as instructors in history in the Army Air Crew Training Program at the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh. State College is one of the institutions selected by the War Department for the training of Army Air Crew students. Such students pursue courses in geography and modern European history, along with scientific courses.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, on leave as assistant professor of history at Wake Forest College, has been commissioned to instruct in the Navy Pre-Flight School at Chapel Hill.

Dr. Earl S. Pomeroy, acting assistant professor at the University of North Carolina, has published "The Atlantic Charter and Puerto Rico," *The South in World Affairs*, April, 1943; and

"Election of the Governor of Puerto Rico," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, March, 1943.

Associate Professor E. E. Pfaff of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been granted a leave of absence to serve as executive secretary of the Southern Council on International Relations with headquarters at Chapel Hill.

Miss Charlotte Williams, who for the past two years has been councillor and part-time member of the history department of the Woman's College of the University, has received a Rosenwald fellowship for graduate study at the University of Chicago.

The National Association of State Libraries announces the publication of a *Supplement—Check List of Legislative Journals of the States of the United States of America*, compiled by Dr. William S. Jenkins of the department of political science of the University of North Carolina. During the past two years Dr. Jenkins has acted as director of the Legislative Journals Microfilm Project of the Library of Congress, and has made a search for these journals in libraries, archives, and private collections throughout the nation. The Supplement, according to a statement issued by the NASL, "Lists four classes of legislative journals: printed journals for session marked 'not found' in the Check List and now located; journals in manuscript, for individual sessions where printed copies cannot be found and for periods when they were not published; and contemporaneous reports of the proceedings of the sessions published in newspapers where the original manuscript is not extant." Containing over 500 pages, the Supplement is offered for sale at \$5.00.

A valuable addition to the rapidly growing number of guides to manuscript and archive collections in North Carolina is the *Survey of Records and Minutes in the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches*, compiled by Thomas H. Spence, curator (Montreat, N. C.: Historical Foundation Publications. Pp. 46).

Books received include: Arthur Marvin Shaw, *William Preston Johnston* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943); Fred C. Kelly, *The Wright Brothers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943); Sister M. Grace Madeleine, *Monetary and Banking Theories of Jacksonian Democracy* (Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press. 1943); Harris G. Warren,

The Sword Was Their Passport (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1943); Bingham Duncan, editor, *Letters of General J. E. B. Stuart to His Wife*. Emory University Publications, Sources and Reprints, Series I (Atlanta: The Emory University Library. 1943); Elizabeth W. Meade and others, *Calendar of Maryland State Papers*, No. 1, *The Black Books* (State of Maryland: Publications of the Hall of Records Commission. 1943); William B. Hesseltine, *The South in American History* (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1943); John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1943); and Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943).

The program for the collection of war records, under the direction of Miss Charlie Huss, the Department's collector of records, is progressing. As a result of the drive to secure newspapers, the State Library is now receiving and preserving 170 of a total of 203 newspapers published in the state. Twenty-five camp newspapers are being received, including those from WAAC and Civilian Public Service camps. A file of Civilian Defense publications is being maintained. Collections have been received from the Asheville Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, from the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, and from other organizations. A number of letters from men in the service have been obtained.

The Department has received ten additional volumes of court records from the clerk of court of Orange County, 1786-1857, which include the following: court of equity records; superior court minutes, Hillsborough District; appearance and trial dockets; inventories; guardian accounts; and superior court minutes, Orange County. Also the Department has received from the Genealogical Society of Utah 108 rolls of films as follows: 58 rolls from Rowan County, 27 rolls from Anson County, and 23 rolls from Bladen County. These films include wills, deeds, inventories of estates, and other records.

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