

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA ABOUT 1780

By FRANCIS GRAVE MORRIS and PHYLLIS MARY MORRIS

### Part I Landholdings

There exist among the records collected at Raleigh by the North Carolina Historical Commission a number of tax lists, belonging to the Revolutionary period, from various counties in the State, which appear to be of considerable value in reconstructing certain aspects of the economic conditions of the period since for the first time in the history of the Colony or State, taxation based on property replaced the poll tax. In the April session of the assembly in 1777 there was passed "An Act for levying a tax by General Assessment and other Purposes," which enacted that "a tax of one penny value be levied on each pound value of all the Lands, Lots, Houses, Slaves, Money, Money at Interest, Stock in Trade, Horses and Cattle in this State."<sup>1</sup> Although by subsequent acts passed later in the same year, in 1779, and again in 1782 modifications in the method of assessment and collection were made, property as thus defined remained the basis of taxation until 1784, when fresh legislation re-introduced the poll tax combined with a land tax, other kinds of property being exempted. From the assessments made in the counties from 1777 to 1783, it is therefore possible to gain considerable information about certain kinds of property, particularly lands and slaves, held by the inhabitants at that time. Although by no means all the lists have survived, there are still sufficient to warrant a fairly general survey of the State. In order to make

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<sup>1</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (April session), Chap. II, Sec. 2. The entire act is in *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 6-9.

the picture of landholding more complete, lists of 1784 from five counties have been included in this study.

For the better understanding of the nature and value of these tax lists, it is necessary to say something of the acts of assembly which ordered their preparation. The act of April, 1777, was amended by one passed in the November session of the same year<sup>2</sup> and, as none of the lists studied were drawn up under the provisions of the first act, it is unnecessary to consider it further. The second act repealed the provisions of the first but laid down fresh ones. This was in turn repealed by another act passed in the third session of the assembly of 1778. Only one of the lists studied, from Perquimans, was drawn up under the act of November, 1777, and, since the general principles were the same as those of the succeeding act, there is no need to consider its details. The act passed in the third session of the assembly of 1778, besides repealing the previous act, redefined taxable property and laid down the methods of assessment and of collecting the taxes. As a number of the lists used in this study were drawn up under its provisions, a careful account of it must be given.

Taxable property was now defined as "all Lotts and Lands with their Improvements, Slaves under the age of Sixty Years, Horses, all Cattle from one year old and upward, Money, Money at Interest and Stocks in Trade of every kind wherever the same may be, all Bonds, Notes and other obligations, which bear or include Interest." It was expressly provided that "the words 'Stock in Trade' shall not be construed to extend to any materials which any Tradesman or Manufacturer may have in hand for carrying on such Trade or Manufacture." For the purposes of assessment, the county courts, at their first meeting after the first of April, 1779, and so in all succeeding years, were to divide their counties into convenient districts and were to appoint for each a justice of the peace, who should receive from every inhabitant of his district a true account, on oath, "of all the taxable property within this State which such person was possessed of in his own right, or as Agent, Factor or Attorney for any other Person on the first day of April then last past, distinguishing the ages of the slaves. . . ." Such accounts were to be given

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<sup>2</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session), Chap. XIII. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-113.

to the justices within one month of the meeting of the court and they in turn were to give them to the valuers. The county courts also appointed the valuers, not exceeding fifteen in each county, and assigned three to each district. These were to "value each individual part of the taxable property of every inhabitant of such county (negroes and cattle not excepted) as near as may be to what they suppose the same would separately and distinctly then sell for at public sale for the Currency of this State and make return thereof to the next succeeding County Court . . . such assessors shall make a due, particular and faithful return of all rateable property and in such return shall specify that [*sic*] the several tracts of land belonging to each Individual, the quantity they contain, the County wherein they lie and the Clerk of each County Court shall send a fair copy of all such returns to him made, to the General Assembly annually. . . ."<sup>3</sup> How a valuation was to be made of property outside the county of residence is not clearly stated. Perhaps the procedure laid down in the first act of 1777 was used in practice, although that act had been repealed. According to its provisions any magistrate receiving an account from someone possessing property outside his county of residence was to send an account of it to the court of the county in which the property lay and the valuers of that county were to assess it and return the assessment to the court of the county in which the owner lived.<sup>4</sup> Whatever may have been done in such cases, the majority of the tax lists make it clear what land was held outside the county of residence and that some valuation of it was made. Lands entered in the Land Office were declared taxable even though no deeds had been obtained, provided no caveats had been entered against such entries. This did not, however, affect lands subject to the confiscation law, "all entries of which are hereby declared null and void." Executors, administrators, guardians, agents, factors, or attorneys and persons having possession of property belonging to persons resident outside the State were to render inventories of the property in their care; as likewise was any person holding any land by title of dower, courtesy, or other estate for life or on

<sup>3</sup> The phrase in parentheses in Sec. 5, "negroes and cattle not excepted," is thus printed in the *State Records*, but the provisions of Sec. 8 show that the negative is an error, since by that section cattle and Negroes were to be rated at fixed sums and not at their market value. The corresponding clause in the act of 1782 reads "negroes and cattle excepted."

<sup>4</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (April session), Chap. II, Sec. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

lease for five years or more. In the case of any inhabitant failing to make a return the valuers were directed "to value and appraise to the best of their knowledge" the taxable property of such a person. But sometimes the assessors did not or could not do so and only entered such people as "not given in" or "delinquents." The real estate of persons residing outside the State who did not have any personal property in it was also to be valued by the assessors and a separate return was to be made of it to the county courts. Any freeman aged 21 or over (other than soldiers in the Continental Army) who did not possess property to the value of four hundred pounds was to pay a poll tax equal to the tax on four hundred pounds of taxable property. A married man who did not possess one hundred pounds worth of taxable property was to pay a poll tax equal to the tax on one hundred pounds. Moravians, Quakers, Mennonites, and Dunkards were to pay a three-fold tax, as were all those who failed to take the oath of allegiance; and any one in these groups who did not make a return of his property was to pay a four-fold tax.<sup>5</sup>

In the April session of 1782 another act concerning taxable property was passed. The definition of taxable property was slightly altered to read as follows: "all lots and lands, with their improvements, slaves under the age of sixty years, horses, mules and cattle, from one year old and upwards, and stock in trade." Comparison with the definition laid down in 1778 shows that mules were added and that "Bonds, Notes and other obligations which bear or include Interest" were omitted. Immediately after the passing of the act the county courts were to proceed to the division of the counties and the appointment of magistrates and assessors as in former years. It was laid down that in future years this should be done at the first court after first of April as before. Within one month of the meeting of the court the magistrates were to receive from each inhabitant of their districts an account of "all the taxable property within this State which such person was possessed of, in his or her own right, or as agent, factor or attorney, for any other person, on the first day of April

<sup>5</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1778 (third session), Chap. III. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-204. In *ibid.*, XXV, 588, under "Captions of North Carolina Laws 1669-1790," this act is listed as passed by the January session, 1779. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the third session of 1778 lasted until January, 1779.

then last past, specifying the particular place or places where such lots or lands lie and distinguishing the ages of the slaves. . . .” The instructions to the assessors were modified and made more precise. They were ordered to “value each individual part of the taxable property of every inhabitant of such county, (negroes and cattle excepted) as near as may be to the reputed and usual estimation or value of the property, in gold and silver, having respect to the valuation of negroes hereinafter mentioned; and the assessors shall return into the clerk’s office of their counties respectively, a fair state of the taxable property within their districts, distinguishing the quantity and valuation of taxable property in the following form:

Persons' Names	Acres of Land	Negroes from one to seven, and from fifty to sixty years of age	Negroes from seven to sixteen, and from forty to fifty years of age	Negroes from sixteen to forty years of age	Horses and Mules	Cattle	Stock in Trade	Carriage Wheels	Value of each person's property carried out
A. B.									
C. D.									

“ . . . such assessors shall make a due, particular and faithful return of all rateable property, and in their turn shall specify the names and ages of the negroes and the numbers of horses, mules and cattle, also the several tracts of land belonging to each individual, the quantity they contain, and the county wherein they lie, and the clerks of each county shall transmit a fair copy of all such returns to him made, to the General Assembly. . . .”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, “every wheel affixed to any coach, chariot, phaeton, stage wagon or other carriage of pleasure” was to be taxed five shillings specie for each wheel. Unmarried freemen, 21 years old or over, “except those in the service of

<sup>6</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1782 (April session), Chap. VII. *Ibid.*, pp. 429-434. By Sec. 4 cattle and Negroes were to be rated at fixed values and by Sec. 5 disabled or insane Negroes were exempt.

the Continent or State" who did not possess one hundred pounds of taxable property, were to pay a poll tax equal to the tax for the year on that amount of property. No provision, however, seems to have been made in this act for married men not possessing much property, but the county courts were authorized to exempt aged or infirm persons, as they thought fit, from the payment of a poll tax. The clauses of the previous act concerning lands for which deeds had not been obtained were repeated, as were those concerning estates held by title of dower, courtesy, lease, or estates belonging to persons residing outside the State while the provisions regarding estates in the care of guardians, executors, agents, and the like were but slightly modified. Moravians, Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkards, and all who failed to take the oath of allegiance were to pay, as before, a three-fold tax.<sup>7</sup>

In 1784 the system of taxation was altered, and was made into a combination of a land tax and a poll tax. Taxable property was now defined as "all lands as described by the afore-mentioned Act, [that is, that of 1782] town lots with their improvements, all free males and servants, twenty-one years old and upwards, and all slaves male and female between the age of twelve and fifty years within this State, shall be subject to the payment of public taxes, and the public taxes shall be assessed and proportioned as follows, viz: All lands shall be liable to be taxed by the quantity, and free men and male servants twenty-one years old and upwards, slaves male and female between the age of twelve and fifty years, shall be subject to a poll tax." The method of assessment was once again modified. Within forty days of the passing of this act the sheriff of each county was to summon the justices of the peace and the latter were to appoint one of their number for each captain's district in the county and one for each town. It should be noticed that towns were now to be treated separately. The inhabitants of each district or town were to attend at a specified time and place and make return on oath of "the quantity of land, the particular tracts, the counties in which the same lie with the number of free males and servants twenty-one years old and upwards, the number of slaves male and female between the age of twelve and

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1782 (April session), Chap. VII. Loc. cit.*

fifty years," which belonged to them, together with the number of town lots in their possession. For the first time town lots were to be assessed separately from the counties for the assigned reason that since lots frequently belonged to people living at a distance or outside the towns, they did not come to the hands of the assessors if they were returned by the proprietors only. It was therefore enacted that all property in the towns should be returned by the tenants or occupiers or by the agent of the proprietor; and tenants and occupiers were declared liable for the taxes upon it. Absentee owners were, however, to return such lots in their own account, specifying in whose possession or under whose superintendence they might be. Justices appointed to receive the accounts of property and the assessors in each town were to make fair returns to their county court. The justices were instructed to "distinguish the persons' names, the several tracts of land, the quantity and situation of each tract, the town lots and number of polls white and black in the following manner, viz:":

Persons' Names	Quantity in Each Tract	Situation or Place Where Each Tract Lies	Town Lots	Value of Town Lots with Improvements	Number of Free Polls	Number of Black Polls	Amount of Each Person's Taxable Property
A. B.							

The assessors were to "distinguish the different town lots, the situation and value thereof, with the amount of each person's property in lots, viz:":

Persons' Names	Number of Lots or Parts of Lots	Value of Lots	Amount of Assessment

The provisions concerning lands held by title of dower, courtesy, or lease were virtually repeated.<sup>8</sup>

From these tax lists a considerable amount of information may be gathered about the number of taxables in each county,

<sup>8</sup> Laws of North Carolina, 1784 (April session), Chap. I. *Ibid.*, pp. 543-546.

the size and distribution of landholdings, the number and distribution of slaves, and the number of cattle and horses held by individual farmers, as well as a certain amount of miscellaneous information such as the number of Moravians, Quakers, and other religious sects or the numbers of those who failed to take the oath of allegiance. Someone well versed in the history of family names might also be able to deduce something about the distribution of various nationalities in the State.

So few of the tax lists have survived that it has been impossible to confine the work to any one year; indeed, in very few cases are there lists for more than one year in any given county. There exists, however, at least one list of the period 1777 to 1783 from 21 counties and, though there may be some danger in using lists drawn from different years, it is unlikely that any comparisons which are here made are radically unsound. In order to obtain more information about holdings of land, lists of the year 1784 for five other counties have been included. For this latter purpose, then, returns from 26 counties out of the 48 which existed at the beginning of the year 1784 are available. Table 1 gives a list of the counties as they were at the beginning of that year together with the year of the list used for any particular county, while the map\* shows county boundaries at the same date. As returns belonging to several years have been used, it is fortunate that the creation of new counties or alterations in the boundaries of existing ones are not such as to create any overlapping in the areas covered by the tax lists of different years.<sup>9</sup>

\* See page 122.

<sup>9</sup> The following territorial changes were made during the period, 1777-1784:

Caswell was formed from Orange in 1777, the last act becoming effective June 1, 1777. Laws of North Carolina (April session). *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, p. 24.

Camden was formed from Pasquotank in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Burke was formed from Rowan in 1777, the act becoming effective June 1, 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Part of Burke was annexed to Lincoln in 1782. Laws of North Carolina, 1782 (April session) *ibid.*, p. 472.

The boundary line between Burke and Lincoln was authorized to be established in 1784. Laws of North Carolina, 1784 (October session). *Ibid.*, p. 646.

Nash was formed from Edgecombe in 1777, the act becoming effective at adjournment of the session. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Wilkes was formed from Surry and the District of Washington in 1777, the act becoming effective February 15, 1778. Laws of North Carolina, 1778 (April session). *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 178.

Part of Bladen was annexed to Brunswick in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Part of Anson was annexed to Bladen in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Part of Brunswick was annexed to Bladen in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 148.

It would be impossible to state the degree of accuracy with which these returns were made and no doubt they would hardly satisfy the standard of a modern census. There may have been among the inhabitants some who made false returns, hoping to escape undetected; others, particularly in the frontier counties, may have evaded the law altogether. The lists themselves are not always drawn up with care and sometimes are not in the detailed form prescribed by the acts. But if one remembers these evident limitations, an analysis of these lists provides useful material for a study of the economic conditions of the time.

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Part of Halifax was annexed to Edgecombe in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Part of Duplin was annexed to Johnston in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Washington (now Tennessee) was formed from the District of Washington in 1777. Laws of North Carolina, 1777 (November session). *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Jones was formed from Craven in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 225.

Part of Carteret, was annexed to Jones in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (October session). *Ibid.*, p. 311.

Gates was formed from Chowan, Perquimans, and Hertford in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Franklin was formed from Bute in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Warren was formed from Bute in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Wayne was formed from Dobbs in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (October session). *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Montgomery was formed from Anson in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 232.

Randolph was formed from Guilford in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 234.

Rutherford was formed from Tryon in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Lincoln was formed from Tryon in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (January session). *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Part of Burke was annexed to Lincoln in 1782. Laws of North Carolina, 1782 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 472.

Sullivan (now Tennessee) was formed from Washington (now Tennessee) in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (October session). *Ibid.*, p. 300.

Richmond was formed from Anson in 1779. Laws of North Carolina, 1779 (October session). *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Davidson (now Tennessee) was formed from Washington (now Tennessee) in 1783. Laws of North Carolina, 1783 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 540.

Greene (now Tennessee) was formed from Washington (now Tennessee) in 1783. Laws of North Carolina, 1783 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 539.

Sampson was formed from Duplin in 1784. Laws of North Carolina, 1784 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 642.

Moore was formed from Cumberland in 1784. Laws of North Carolina, 1784 (April session). *Ibid.*, p. 642.

It will be seen that most of the territorial changes were made in or before April, 1779, and most of the tax lists used are later than that date. The list for Perquimans belongs to 1778, the year before which a part of that county was cut off, along with parts of Hertford and Chowan, to form Gates. This division of Perquimans took place before the assessment of 1778 was made. The transference of part of Carteret to Jones does not, fortunately, lead to any overlapping as the lists for both counties belong to 1779 and were made before the act authorizing the transference was passed in the October session. The list for Carteret is dated September, 1779, and that for Jones, although bearing only the year and not the month, was most likely made about the same time. The assessments for 1779 should, indeed, have been carried out before the October session of the assembly began. The formation of Richmond from Anson and Wayne from Dobbs and the transference of part of Burke to Lincoln are of no consequence as no tax lists survive for any of these counties. The creation of Sampson and Moore does not matter since no lists exist for either and the list for Cumberland belongs to the year 1780, before Moore was formed from it.

Table 1 shows the number of taxables actually making returns, the number entered as failing to make returns, and the total number of taxables. Some explanation of the term "taxable" is necessary, as it is here used with a meaning different from what it had under the system of a poll tax such as obtained in the colonial period. These tax lists contain the names of all free adult males whether they had any property or not, for even if they had not they were liable to a poll tax. The lists also contain the names of any females holding property in their own right and of any minors for whom property was held in trust. The names of a few deceased persons, whose estates were in the hands of executors, also appear. The term "taxable" is here used to cover all these and therefore the number of "taxables" is slightly above that of the free males. Since in 1784 taxable property was restricted to lands, town lots, and slaves and excluded cattle, horses, and mules, it is clear that the lists for that year will not contain the estates of females, minors, and deceased persons which consisted only of the excluded classes of property although such estates would have been included under the schedule of previous years. Theoretically, then, the term "taxable" covers a slightly smaller proportion of the total population of a county in 1784 than in earlier years, though the difference cannot be very great as the number of estates of females, minors, or deceased persons liable in either case must have been very small.

It is just possible that some duplication may occur when a person had property in more than one county, so that his name might appear in two lists or his name in one county and that of an agent in another. Yet the number of persons having property outside their county of residence seems to have been so small that any error due to this must be slight. An effort has been made to check any overlapping by searching through the list of a county in which a person, living in another, is entered as having some property. Thus, if John Smith, making a return in Brunswick, states that he has property in Bladen, the list of the latter county, if it exists, has been searched to see if his name or that of any one acting for him occurs. No double entry of this nature has been found, though the check can be only partial

TABLE 1. COUNTIES IN 1783, YEAR OF TAX-LIST USED, NUMBER OF TAXABLES MAKING RETURNS, TAXABLES NOT MAKING RETURNS AND TOTAL TAXABLES

COUNTY	Year of Tax-List Used	Taxables Making Returns	Taxables Not Making Returns	Total Taxables
Anson.....	N. R.			
Beaufort.....	1784	538	0	538
Bertie.....	N. R.			
Bladen.....	1784	1209	7	1216
Brunswick.....	1784	248	1	249
Burke.....	N. R.			
Camden.....	1782	601	0	601
Carteret.....	1779	452	1	453
Caswell.....	1782	1225	5	1230
Chatham.....	N. R.			
Chowan.....	1783	467	0	467
Craven.....	N. R.			
Cumberland.....	1780	812	228	1040
Currituck.....	N. R.			
Dobbs.....	N. R.			
Duplin.....	N. R.			
Edgecombe.....	N. R.			
Franklin.....	N. R.			
Gates.....	1782	578	0	578
Granville.....	1782	1225	22	1247
Guilford.....	N. R.			
Halifax.....	1782	1174	0	1174
Hertford.....	1779	621	2	623
Hyde.....	N. R.			
Johnston.....	1784	681	2	683
Jones.....	1779	367	0	367
Lincoln.....	N. R.			
Martin.....	N. R.			
Mecklenburg.....	N. R.			
Montgomery.....	1782	455	0	455
Nash.....	1782	674	1	675
New Hanover*.....	1782	359	1	360
Northampton.....	N. R.			
Onslow.....	N. R.			
Orange.....	1780	1179	565	1744
Pasquotank.....	1782	643	0	643
Perquimans.....	1778	559	17	576
Pitt.....	N. R.			
Randolph.....	1779	573	308	881
Richmond.....	N. R.			
Rowan.....	N. R.			
Rutherford.....	1782	487	5	492
Surry.....	1782	1802	2	1804
Tyrrell.....	1782	540	6	546
Wake.....	N. R.			
Warren.....	1784	752	0	752
Wayne.....	N. R.			
Wilkes.....	1782	869	4	873

\* Figures complete for only four of the five districts into which the county was divided.

owing to the lack of returns for some counties and to the fact that those which exist belong to different years.

In certain counties the number of taxables failing to make returns is considerable. In the returns for Cumberland, made in the year 1780, there is a large number of names entered, most of which are Scottish, who had not taken the oath of allegiance nor made a return and were therefore liable to a four-fold assessment. Similarly, in Randolph, the majority of those who are entered as failing to make returns were persons who had not taken the oath of allegiance. The large number, 565, who appear to have made no returns in Orange, is mainly due to the fact that the list for one district, though it gives the total number of taxables, gives details for only three of them.

Table 2 gives the number and percentage of taxables in each county who had land, the number and percentage of those who, though not having land, had some other kind of taxable property, and the number and percentage of those who had no taxable property. The percentage in each case is based on the number of taxables making returns, not on the total number of taxables in the county. The term "landowner" does not include those who had only lots in some town. The number and percentage of those who had some taxable property but no land and of those who had no property at all may not be strictly comparable between one county and another, as the practice of the assessors with regard to those who had only small amounts of property, and were therefore liable to a poll tax, varied. Some gave details of small amounts of property, others omitted them and just entered "Poll Tax." Thus in some counties the number of persons apparently having no taxable property may be slightly exaggerated. Since the returns made in 1784 do not give the same details for property other than land as those of earlier years do, it is impossible to draw the same distinction between those who had some property but no land and those who had no property at all.

Table 3,\* showing the average size of landholdings by counties, needs further explanation. The term "landowner" is used in the same sense as in the previous table; that is, excluding those persons holding only town lots. In some counties the num-

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\* See page 120.

ber of landowners entered in this table is smaller than in the previous one, since in a few cases the actual acreage of certain landowners is omitted and some vague term such as "a plantation" is entered. In estimating the average size of landholdings such entries are useless. Under the heading "total acreage held" all the land held by persons resident in the particular county is included whether it lay in that county or not. In other words, land is entered in this table under the county in which the owner or agent made the return and not under that in which it lay.

TABLE 2. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF LANDOWNERS, NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TAXABLES WITH TAXABLE PROPERTY BUT NO LAND, AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TAXABLES WITH NO TAXABLE PROPERTY, BY COUNTIES\*

COUNTY	Taxables Making Returns	Landowners	Per Cent of Taxables Making Returns	Without Land But Having Other Taxable Property	Per Cent of Taxables Making Returns	No Taxable Property	Per Cent of Taxables Making Returns
Beaufort.....	538	412					
Bladen.....	1209	955					
Brunswick.....	248	172					
Camden.....	601	429	71.4	116	19.3	56	9.3
Carteret.....	452	301	66.6	107	23.7	44	9.7
Caswell.....	1225	910	74.3	275	22.4	40	3.3
Chowan.....	467	263	56.3	164	35.1	40	8.6
Cumberland.....	812	579	71.2	184	22.7	49	6.1
Gates.....	578	422	73.0	93	16.1	63	10.9
Granville.....	1225	825	67.4	368	30.0	32	2.6
Halifax.....	1174	808	68.3	311	26.5	55	4.7
Hertford.....	621	443	71.3	129	20.8	49	7.9
Johnston.....	681	531					
Jones.....	268	188	70.1	65	24.3	15	5.6
Montgomery.....	455	348	76.5	101	22.2	6	1.3
Nash.....	674	496	73.6	168	24.9	10	1.5
New Hanover.....	359	255	71.0	49	13.7	55	15.3
Orange.....	1179	831	70.5	318	27.0	30	2.5
Pasquotank.....	643	451	70.2	114	17.7	78	12.1
Perquimans.....	559	388	69.4	113	20.2	58	10.4
Randolph.....	573	443	77.3	118	20.6	12	2.1
Rutherford.....	487	311	63.9	170	34.9	6	1.2
Surry.....	1802	1231	68.3	490	27.2	81	4.5
Tyrrell.....	540	426	78.9	34	6.3	80	14.8
Warren.....	752	525					
Wilkes.....	869	603	69.4	249	28.6	17	2.0

The number of taxables making returns in Jones County is here given as 268 as compared with 367 in Table 1. The returns for one of the four districts into which the county was divided are incomplete, with only the acreage of land given, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish between taxables who may have had no land but had some other form of taxable property and those who had no taxable property whatever. In this table the figures for the other three districts are given. If the first district be included, 253 out of 367 taxables had land, a percentage of 68.9.

To calculate the amount of land held in any particular county is impossible, since the returns, though stating that a person held land in more counties than one, do not always give the amount in each—for example, "John Smith—764 acres . . . Bladen and Brunswick." Actually the amount of land held outside the county in which the return was made seems to have been relatively small. Even where land was held in another county, that county was often contiguous to the one in which the return was made. In many cases the holding may well have been a single tract falling into two counties through subdivision of an earlier and larger county. Thus the number of widely scattered estates seems to have been small.

In Beaufort County the returns of five out of the six districts into which it was divided, though indicating cases in which land lay outside the county, do not specify the amount. The entries

TABLE 3. AVERAGE SIZE OF LANDHOLDINGS BY COUNTIES\*

COUNTY	TOTAL ACREAGE HELD	LANDOWNERS	AVERAGE SIZE OF HOLDINGS
New Hanover.....	236,224	253	933.7 Acres
Brunswick.....	138,214	172	803.6 "
Granville.....	471,375.5	825	571.4 "
Johnston.....	299,836.5	531	564.7 "
Beaufort.....	227,172.25	412	551.4 "
Nash.....	253,713	496	511.5 "
Bladen.....	485,665.25	955	508.5 "
Warren.....	254,114	525	484.0 "
Halifax.....	374,581.5	808	463.6* "
Jones.....	117,152	253	463.1 "
Carteret.....	133,705.5	299	443.8 "
Cumberland.....	250,332.5	577	433.9 "
Caswell.....	380,947.5	907	420.0 "
Surry.....	495,252.5	1205	411.0 "
Orange.....	313,103.75	826	379.5 "
Wilkes.....	228,443	603	378.8 "
Chowan.....	94,124.2	262	359.3 "
Hertford.....	154,205	434	355.3 "
Montgomery.....	111,071.25	348	319.2 "
Gates.....	130,738.5	421	310.5 "
Randolph.....	112,848.5	395	285.7 "
Rutherford.....	88,161	311	283.5 "
Tyrrell.....	117,987.5	426	276.9 "
Perquimans.....	89,105.5	388	229.7 "
Camden.....	72,706.3	429	169.5 "
Pasquotank.....	74,989	451	166.3 "

\* In certain counties the number of landowners entered in this table is less than in Table 2. In some cases the actual acreage of a land owner is not recorded. In calculating the average size of land holdings in any county such entries are useless and have been omitted in preparing this table. In Jones County (see note to Table 2) the number of landowners and the acreage held by them are recorded in all four districts.

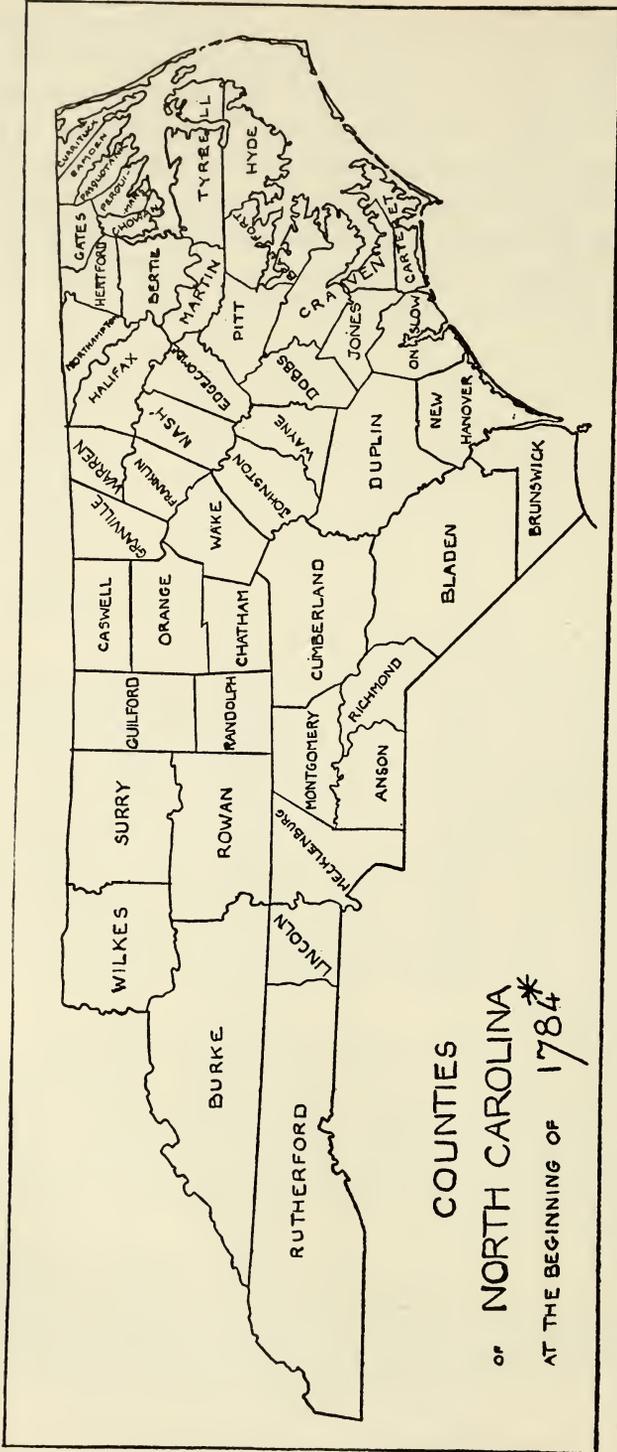
take the form of: "A. 2,000 acres . . . Beaufort and Craven." For the district of Washington, the most important for this purpose, the entries are more precise and give the following results. Twenty-five taxables held land outside the county, two of them had land in two counties other than Beaufort, and two in three. Fourteen had land in other counties, though possessing none in Beaufort, but the majority of these had lots in the town of Washington. These twenty-five had land outside the county amounting to 30,643 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres distributed as follows:

Craven .....	(10)	15,431 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres
Pitt .....	(11)	6,633 acres
Hyde .....	(3)	4,455 acres
Dobbs .....	(2)	2,729 acres
Martin .....	(2)	575 acres
Orange .....	(1)	400 acres
Jones .....	(1)	320 acres
Halifax .....	(1)	100 acres
Total .....		30,643 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres

The figures in parentheses indicate the number of taxables holding land in that county. In the remaining five districts of the county twelve taxables held land outside the county, viz: in Hyde (1 taxable), Edgecombe (1), Onslow (1), Craven (5), Chowan (1), Halifax (1), Martin (1), Pitt (4). There were also four estates returned by executors or guardians which contained land outside the county. One of these latter was an estate of 2,400 acres lying in the county of Mecklenburg, belonging to a deceased person and evidently returned by his executor who resided in Beaufort.

In Brunswick fifteen taxables held land outside the county, of whom five appear to have held no land within it although they made their returns there. There were also two estates of deceased persons with land outside the county. The total amount of land held outside the county amounted to 22,042 acres, distributed as follows:

Bladen .....	(10)	6,909 acres
Onslow .....	(1)	5,320 acres
New Hanover .....	(6)	4,300 acres
Duplin .....	(1)	1,330 acres



\* Based on the map of North Carolina in 1790 in *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900*, edited by W. A. Rossiter, and on the acts constituting the individual counties.

Cumberland .....	(3)	936 acres
Franklin .....	(1)	724 acres
Anson .....	(1)	700 acres
Craven .....	(2)	1,783 acres
Rowan .....	(1)	40 acres
Total .....		22,042 acres

One taxable held land in seven counties outside, one in three, one in two, and the rest in one county outside.

In Carteret eighteen taxables had land outside, four of whom had none in Carteret. Of these eighteen, one had land in five counties outside, two in two counties, and fifteen in one. The total amount of land held outside the county amounted to 9,743 acres, distributed as follows:

Onslow .....	(8)	3,475 acres
Craven .....	(9)	3,918 acres
Anson .....	(2)	1,100 acres
Hyde .....	(2)	500 acres
Tryon .....	(1)	400 acres
Mecklenburg .....	(1)	200 acres
Beaufort .....	(1)	150 acres
Total .....		9,743 acres

In Caswell it would appear that not more than two taxables had land outside the county. One of these had 662½ acres in Montgomery and the other 100 in Orange. But it is, of course, possible that the assessors did not always distinguish land outside the county.

In Chowan there were fifteen taxables, most of whom lived in the district of Edenton, holding land outside the county. Two estates of deceased persons contained land outside the county. Of these, one also contained land in Chowan and the other a house and lot in Edenton. One taxable, besides returning his own estate, also returned for another man one which contained 108 acres in Perquimans only. Of the fifteen taxables just mentioned, four had land in two counties outside Chowan, the others in only one. In all, therefore, there were returned twenty-two estates with land outside the county, as follows:

Tyrrell .....	(6)	3,215 acres
Jones .....	(2)	2,700 acres

Onslow .....	(2)	2,130 acres
Perquimans .....	(5)	1,468 acres
Edgecombe .....	(2)	912 acres
Pasquotank .....	(2)	820 acres
Martin .....	(1)	380 acres
Bertie .....	(1)	114 acres
Camden .....	(1)	105 acres
Total .....		11,844 acres

One taxable, in addition to the land which he had in Chowan, had half a survey in Tyrrell and another had land in Pasquotank called "Ton Island and the Chances." A third returned for another man land in Tyrrell.

In Cumberland fifteen taxables owned land outside the county and in addition two others, acting apparently as agents or executors, returned estates which had land outside as well as within. Of these seventeen estates, one contained land in three counties other than Cumberland and one in two others. The counties, the number of taxables with land in them, and the total amount of land in each were as follows:

New Hanover .....	(1)	3,360 acres
Bladen .....	(7)	1,830 acres
Duplin .....	(6)	1,300 acres
Johnston .....	(1)	847 acres
Randolph .....	(1)	300 acres
Guilford .....	(1)	200 acres
Anson .....	(1)	150 acres
Chatham .....	(1)	100 acres
Total .....		8,087 acres

It is possible that the assessors in some districts failed to distinguish land outside the county and that therefore the above list is incomplete. Two other taxables are recorded as owning lots in Chatham.

In Granville the returns, unfortunately, do not describe, with one exception, any land as lying outside the county. In that one instance a taxable is described as having 150 acres in Guilford. It is unlikely that no others held land outside the county and one must suppose that the returning officers failed to make their returns in the prescribed form.

In Halifax twenty-five taxables owned land in other counties, one of whom, acting apparently as an agent, also returned an estate with land outside. One of these taxables owned land in three counties besides Halifax; the rest in only one county. The counties and the number of taxables owning land in them were as follows:

Chatham .....	(4)	2,762 acres
Nash .....	(1)	2,700 acres
Warren .....	(4)	2,325 acres
Franklin .....	(4)	1,556 acres
Orange .....	(1)	1,275 acres
Bladen .....	(1)	1,050 acres
Wake .....	(3)	795 acres
Northampton .....	(3)	773 acres
Rowan .....	(1)	640 acres
Tryon <sup>10</sup> .....	(1)	640 acres
Wilkes .....	(1)	640 acres
Granville .....	(1)	400 acres
Tyrrell .....	(1)	200 acres
Anson .....	(1)	200 acres
Bertie .....	(1)	100 acres
Total .....		16,056 acres

Two other taxables also owned land outside but in their cases the returns do not specify the exact amount. One is described as having 5,900 acres in Halifax and Warren, the other 780 acres in Halifax and Wake.

In Hertford eight taxables are entered as owning land in other counties but none had any in more than one outside. The details are:

Bertie .....	(5)	1,157 acres
Gates .....	(3)	900 acres
Total .....		2,057 acres

In the returns for the county of Johnston, there is no indication of any land held outside the county. The possibility that the land which appears in the returns was wholly within the county seems to be precluded by the large size of some of the holdings,

<sup>10</sup> Tryon was actually divided into Lincoln and Rutherford in 1779, though the person making the return does not seem to have realized it.

some part of which must surely have contained land lying in other counties.

In Jones thirty-one taxables held land outside the county, one of whom had land in three counties other than Jones and six in two. The counties and the number of taxables owning land in each were as follows:

Burke .....	(1)	15,000 acres
Washington .....	(3)	3,260 acres
Carteret .....	(7)	3,023 acres
Onslow .....	(5)	1,040 acres
Craven .....	(7)	1,032 acres
Dobbs .....	(7)	950 acres
Duplin .....	(4)	690 acres
Cumberland .....	(1)	200 acres
Martin .....	(1)	150 acres
Pitt .....	(2)	132 acres
Halifax .....	(1)	120 acres
Total .....		<u>25,597 acres</u>

One other taxable is described as having 170 acres lying partly in Jones and partly in Dobbs.

In the returns for Montgomery a column is carefully set aside for land outside the county so that one feels fairly sure that all that there was has been entered. Yet only six taxables are recorded as having land in other counties, four of whom had land in Anson amounting to 552 acres, while two are entered as holding 77 acres outside, the exact location of which is not given.

In New Hanover twenty-six taxables, all of whom with one exception were residents of the town or district of Wilmington, returned estates containing land outside the county. Seventeen of these had land in New Hanover itself and all the rest appear to have had houses or lots in Wilmington. Ten other estates containing land outside the county were returned by agents and of these five had land within. Thus there were thirty-six estates returned in New Hanover containing land outside. Of these thirty-six, one had land in four other counties, three in three, seven in two, and the rest in one. The counties, the number of estates with land in each, and the acreage were as follows:

Brunswick .....	(16)	27,544 acres
Cumberland .....	(7)	8,192 acres

Bladen .....	(13)	7,992 acres
Duplin .....	(7)	4,120 acres
Anson .....	(4)	2,006 acres
Onslow .....	(2)	870 acres
Tryon <sup>11</sup> .....	(1)	300 acres
Halifax .....	(1)	280 acres
"Back Country" .....	(1)	640 acres
Total .....		51,944 acres

In addition, one taxable is described as having the "Ferry Plantation" in Brunswick and another as having a "piece" in the same county. It will be observed that the greater part of this land lay in contiguous counties. The large amount recorded as lying in Brunswick is not surprising when it is recalled that the latter county was carved out of New Hanover.

If the returns are correct for Orange, nine taxables seem to have had land outside the county and one, as agent, returned an estate which had 700 acres in Wake and none in Orange. The details are:

Caswell .....	(5)	4,671 acres
Chatham .....	(1)	1,240 acres
Wake .....	(2)	1,000 acres
Mecklenburg .....	(1)	293 acres
Tryon <sup>12</sup> .....	(1)	200 acres
Total .....		7,404 acres

One other taxable is recorded as having a tract of land on the head of New River south of the Virginia line.

In Perquimans thirteen taxables owned land outside. One estate of a deceased person was returned having land outside and there was a similar one in the hands of a guardian. One man, as agent, also returned an estate which was not wholly in Perquimans.

Pasquotank .....	(7)	1,794 acres
Chowan .....	(7)	1,293½ acres
Tyrrell .....	(2)	178 acres
Total .....		3,265½ acres

<sup>11</sup> See note 10, page 125.

<sup>12</sup> See note 10, page 125.

In Surry eighteen taxables owned land in other counties, chiefly in the adjoining county of Wilkes. Only one of them had land in more than one other county.

Wilkes .....	(15)	5,520 acres
Rowan .....	(2)	1,030 acres
Caswell .....	(1)	440 acres
Guilford .....	(1)	200 acres
Total .....		<u>7,190 acres</u>

In Warren twenty-three taxables held land in other counties and one, acting as guardian, returned an estate of 3,764 acres in Chatham. Of the twenty-three all save three had land within the county as well. The returns, however, do not state the exact amount held in other counties. The counties in which land was held, together with the number of taxables holding land in each, were as follows: Granville (8), Franklin (7), Halifax (5), Wake (3), Chatham and Northampton (2 each), Randolph, Caswell, Surry, and Orange (1 each).

In the other counties the returns do not specify whether any land lay outside.

In order to obtain a clearer idea of the landholdings, the number of holdings of different sizes has been calculated for each county and the results are shown in Table 4. Up to 1,000 acres the holdings have been classified into divisions increasing by fifty acres, but above this figure into divisions increasing by 1,000 acres, as the relatively small number of holdings so large as this did not seem to warrant small divisions. In each division the number of holdings is also expressed as a percentage of the total number of holdings in the county. In the last column the results are given for all the counties added together.

The use of such small divisions, interesting and instructive as it is, does not lend itself to the combination of counties into groups with the same conditions of landholding. For this purpose four classes have been established in the following way: Taking the results of the 26 counties together, it was found that nearly 25 per cent of all the holdings are between 1 and 100 acres; about 25 per cent are between 101 and 200 acres; about 25 per cent are between 201 and 400 acres; and just over 25 per cent are larger than 400 acres.

TABLE 5. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF HOLDINGS,  
DIVIDED INTO FOUR CLASSES

SIZE OF HOLDINGS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1-100 Acres.....	3,137	23.2
101-200 Acres.....	3,293	24.4
201-400 Acres.....	3,485	25.8
Over 400 Acres.....	3,597	26.6
	13,512	100.0

This appears to provide a workable basis for comparisons between the counties and for their arrangement into groups.

The counties have been arranged in six geographical groups. (Table 6). It will be seen at once that there is considerable similarity between conditions in the counties of any one group and that each group possesses its own characteristics. The results are also shown graphically in the diagram.

Camden, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Chowan, Gates, and Hertford form a group round Albemarle Sound. Beaufort, Carteret, and Jones form a second group round the lower part of Pamlico and Neuse rivers. The third group includes the counties bordering on the middle and lower parts of Cape Fear River—New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, and Cumberland, all of which lie in the Coastal Plain. The fourth group comprises the counties of Granville, Warren, Halifax, Johnston, and Nash. Part of these counties lie in the Piedmont and part on the Coastal Plain but the figures for these five show a great degree of similarity and have, therefore, been grouped together. The other Piedmont counties are not so easy to combine, but, on the whole, it seems reasonable to put Caswell, Orange, and Surry into one group, for all three of them lie in the northern half of the Piedmont. The remaining four, Wilkes, Rutherford, Randolph, and Montgomery, though not forming a very compact geographical group, have been put together on account of the similarity of landholding. It is unfortunate that no returns exist for Mecklenburg and Lincoln whereby it might be possible to show similar conditions extending continuously from Montgomery through those counties into Rutherford.

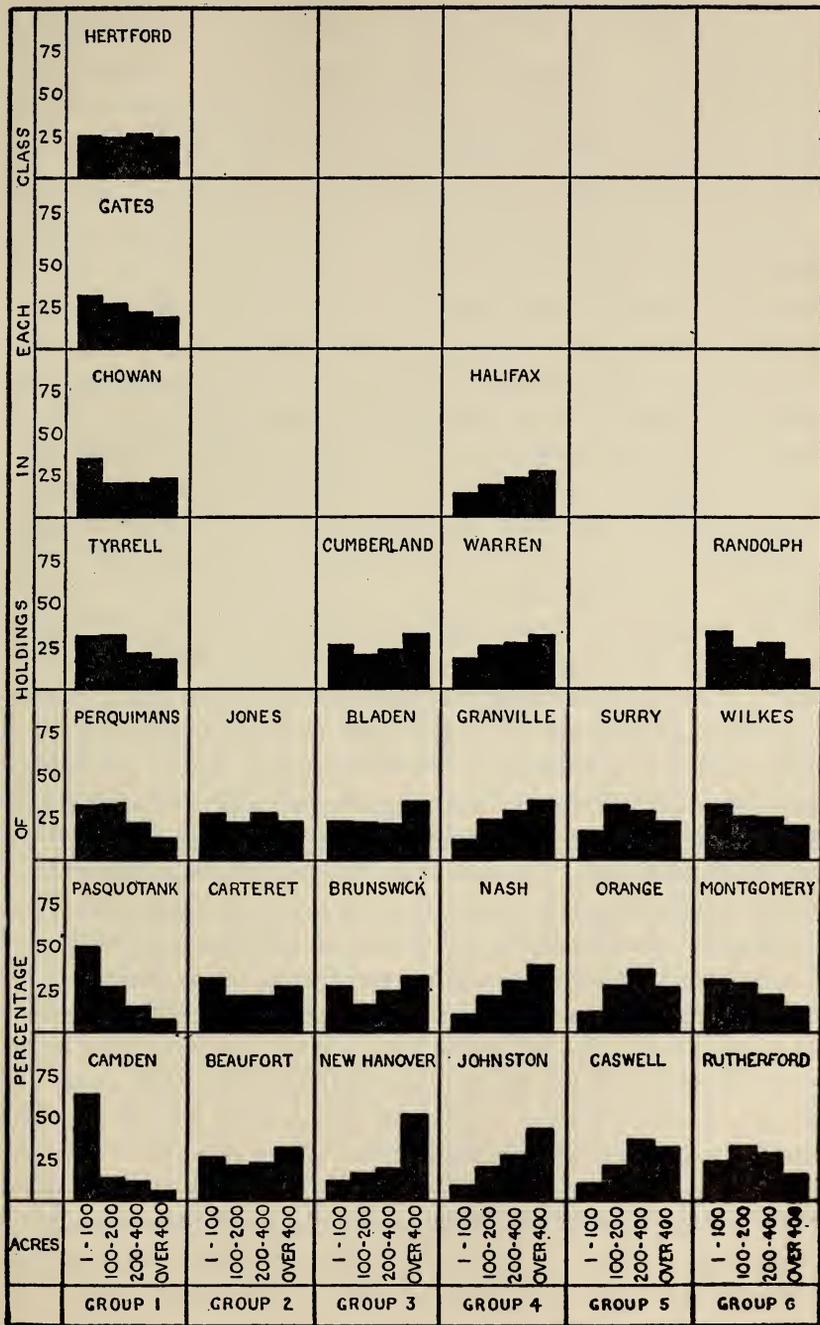
From these returns it is clear that the number of really large holdings was relatively small; holdings of small and moderate

TABLE 6. NUMBER AND PER CENT OF LANDHOLDINGS IN VARIOUS BRACKETS IN DIFFERENT COUNTIES AND GROUPS OF COUNTIES

COUNTY	Under 100 Acres		101 to 200 Acres		201 to 400 Acres		Over 400 Acres		Total No. of Holdings	Over 1,000 Acres*	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent
<b>GROUP 1</b> (Albemarle Sound)											
Camden	272	63.4	79	18.4	53	12.3	25	5.9	429	10	2.3
Pasquotank	227	50.3	122	27.1	69	15.3	33	7.3	451	7	1.6
Perquimans	125	32.2	130	33.5	85	21.9	48	12.4	388	8	2.1
Tyrrell	129	30.3	132	30.9	91	21.4	74	17.4	426	17	4.0
Chowan	91	34.7	55	21.0	56	21.4	60	22.9	262	19	7.3
Gates	130	30.9	114	27.1	96	22.8	81	19.2	421	19	4.5
Hertford	106	24.4	105	24.2	116	26.7	107	24.7	434	27	6.2
	1,080	38.5	737	26.2	566	20.1	428	15.2	2,811	107	3.8
<b>GROUP 2</b> (Neuse and Pamlico)											
Beaufort	106	25.7	84	20.4	94	22.8	128	31.1	412	38	9.2
Carteret	95	31.8	62	20.7	62	20.7	80	26.8	299	23	7.7
Jones	69	27.3	55	21.7	69	27.3	60	23.7	253	20	7.9
	270	28.0	201	20.9	225	23.3	268	27.8	964	81	8.4
<b>GROUP 3</b> (Cape Fear River)											
New Hanover	33	13.0	41	16.2	49	19.4	130	51.4	253	57	22.5
Brunswick	46	26.7	28	16.3	42	24.4	56	32.6	172	29	16.9
Bladen	221	32.1	209	21.9	195	20.4	330	34.6	955	106	11.1
Cumberland	147	25.5	113	19.6	131	22.7	186	32.2	577	47	8.1
	447	22.8	391	20.0	417	21.3	702	35.9	1,957	239	12.2
<b>GROUP 4</b>											
Johnston	49	9.2	109	20.5	142	26.8	231	43.5	531	67	12.6
Nash	53	10.7	103	20.8	146	29.4	194	39.1	496	60	12.1
Granville	94	11.4	196	23.8	246	29.8	289	35.0	825	89	10.8
Warren	96	18.3	132	25.1	138	26.3	159	30.3	525	52	9.9
Halifax	148	18.3	190	23.5	218	27.0	252	31.2	808	73	9.0
	440	13.8	730	22.9	890	28.0	1,125	35.3	3,185	341	10.7
<b>GROUP 5</b>											
Caswell	99	10.9	192	21.2	329	36.3	287	31.6	907	63	6.9
Orange	96	11.6	223	27.0	295	35.7	212	25.7	826	47	5.7
Surry	204	16.9	380	31.5	345	28.7	276	22.9	1,205	54	4.5
	399	13.6	795	27.0	969	33.0	775	26.4	2,938	164	5.6
<b>GROUP 6</b>											
Rutherford	73	23.5	100	32.1	89	28.6	49	15.8	311	8	2.6
Montgomery	105	30.2	97	27.9	77	22.1	69	19.8	348	17	4.9
Wilkes	191	31.7	149	24.7	147	24.4	116	19.2	603	32	5.3
Randolph	132	33.4	93	23.5	105	26.6	65	16.5	395	13	3.3
	501	30.2	439	26.5	418	25.2	299	18.1	1,657	70	4.2

\* The numbers of holdings entered on the right hand side as over 1,000 acres are, of course, included in those over 400 acres. The column "Over 1,000 acres" is only a sub-division of "Over 400 acres" and is inserted to give information about large holdings.

DIAGRAM. PER CENT LANDHOLDINGS IN VARIOUS CLASSES IN DIFFERENT COUNTIES



size predominate. Yet there are obvious differences between various groups of counties. In the earlier settled part round Albemarle Sound small holdings formed the majority. Indeed, in Camden and Pasquotank 75 per cent of the holdings were below 200 acres. Farther up the sound the percentage of holdings in the two larger classes increases until in Hertford the four are almost equal. In the group as a whole 64.7 per cent are below 200 acres while only 3.8 per cent are above 1,000 acres, and, as reference to Table 4 will show, the majority of these did not exceed 2,000 acres. The largest holding in this group was one of 7,837 acres in Gates. Round the Neuse and Pamlico rivers the average size of holdings increased. Less than 50 per cent were below 200 acres while 8.4 per cent were over 1,000 acres. There were several over 10,000 acres, one of 13,360 acres, and another of 15,724 acres, 14,548 of which were in Carteret and 1,176 in Craven. In Beaufort there was one of 20,809 acres, of which an unspecified amount lay in the counties of Onslow, Craven, and Chowan. Jones provides one of the few examples of a large holding in a distant county. One taxable was recorded as having 15,000 acres in Burke, 640 in Washington (now in the state of Tennessee), and only 529 in Jones itself. It is worth remarking that the same man had 36 half-acre lots in Charlotte and 2 lots, one of 2 acres and another of half an acre, in Salisbury. In the counties along the middle and lower Cape Fear, the two larger classes predominated with 57.2 per cent of all the holdings above 200 acres and 35.9 per cent over 400 acres. As many as 12.2 per cent were over 1,000 acres. Yet nearly a quarter, actually 22.8 per cent, were below 100 acres. Small and large holdings do not seem to have been incompatible. New Hanover is exceptional, for no other county had so large a proportion of considerable estates—51.4 per cent over 400 acres. A total of 22.5 per cent were over 1,000 acres. More than half, however, of the holdings over 1,000 acres did not exceed 2,000 acres. There were four over 10,000 acres including one of 12,890 acres, all of it in New Hanover or the adjoining county of Brunswick; another of 12,010 acres in New Hanover, Brunswick, and Duplin; a third of 14,034 acres, 9,092 of which were in New Hanover, 2,000 in Duplin, 1,938 in Cumberland, and 1,004 in Anson. A fourth contained 11,000 acres

but it is not clear whether all of it was within the county, though in the absence of any entry to the contrary it is probable that it was. In Bladen there was one estate over 10,000 acres, actually 14,358. It is impossible from the entry to state whether any of this lay outside the county. In Brunswick there were two over 10,000 acres, one of a deceased person, amounting to 17,624 acres, 5,756 of which were in Brunswick, 900 in New Hanover, and 10,968 in Bladen. The second, also of a deceased person, consisted of 12,254 acres, 5,320 acres of which were in Onslow, 1,973 in Bladen, 1,730 in Craven, 1,280 in Brunswick itself, and the rest scattered in New Hanover, Rowan, Anson, and Cumberland. The same estate contained thirty town lots in different towns in the State. In group four the small percentage of holdings in the lowest class, below 100 acres, is striking, being only 13.8 per cent for the five counties combined. The percentage in the two upper classes; that is, over 200 acres, is even greater than in the Cape Fear group—63.3 per cent against 57.2 per cent. The percentage over 1,000 acres is, however, somewhat lower, and most of the holdings above this figure did not exceed 2,000 acres. Only in Nash and Granville were there any over 10,000 acres—in Nash one of 11,027 acres and in Granville one of 67,437 acres, the distribution of which is not stated. In the group composed of Caswell, Orange, and Surry, the small percentage of holdings below 100 acres is again noticeable. The percentage, however, in the two middle classes is larger than in the previous group and the percentage over 1,000 is much reduced, being only 5.6 per cent against 10.7 per cent. Each had one holding over 10,000 acres, that of Caswell 20,554 acres and that of Orange 10,723 acres. In Surry there was a holding of 73,789 acres, the largest recorded, but listed in the name of Frederick William Marshall, it was the property of the Moravians at Wachovia. In the last group of counties it is clear that the average size of holdings was much smaller, with 56.7 per cent under 200 acres and only 18.1 per cent over 400. Only in Wilkes, where there was one holding of 11,324 acres and another of 12,700 acres, were there any over 10,000 acres. Such is the picture of the conditions of landholding as they appear in these tax lists.

# ECONOMIC SECTIONALISM IN ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

By JOSEPH CARLYLE SITTERSON

Students have long recognized the significant rôle which sectionalism has played in the history of North Carolina. The conflicts between East and West in the ante-bellum period over such matters as representation in the General Assembly, internal improvements at State expense, public education, ad valorem taxation, and liberalization of the franchise have all been touched upon. Yet, in spite of the emphasis upon these manifestations of conflicting sectional interests, there has been no real attempt to study and analyze the economic bases of sectionalism. As the late Professor Frederick Jackson Turner repeatedly demonstrated, political sectionalism is in the main conditioned by more basic economic factors.<sup>1</sup> This article is an attempt to point out briefly some of the significant aspects of economic sectionalism in ante-bellum North Carolina.

The area of North Carolina is divided naturally into three geographic regions: the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, and the Appalachian or mountain region. The Coastal Plain belt extends from the coast inland to the fall line of the rivers. Although not identical at all points with the fall line, a line following the western boundary of Granville, Wake, Harnett, Cumberland, and Robeson counties is used in this study to divide this region from the Piedmont. Near the fall line the land is gently rolling, but becomes comparatively level near the coast. Although the Coastal Plain is often regarded as a geographic unity, it contains several subregions which differ considerably from one another. The soil of the Northeastern counties of Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Gates, Hertford, Chowan, and Bertie is more adaptable to grain crops than to cotton and tobacco. Consequently, its economy differed somewhat from that of the plantation area of the middle Coastal Plain. Moreover, the commercial ties of the Northeast were with Norfolk rather than with any part of North Carolina. Along the sounds in the counties of Tyrrell, Hyde, Beaufort, and Carteret there were large areas

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<sup>1</sup> See Turner, Frederick Jackson, *The Significance of Sections in American History*.

of infertile sandy soil. Further inland, however, the soils are clayey and sandy loams of remarkable fertility.

The middle region or Piedmont is a low plateau extending from the fall line of the rivers westward to the mountains. It is bounded on the west by a line which in 1860 approximated the western boundaries of Surry, Yadkin, Alexander, Catawba, Rutherford, and Polk counties. In the ante-bellum period the Piedmont and the mountain region together were often designated as the West. Generally, the soil of the Piedmont is not so fertile as that of the middle Coastal Plain, but is well adapted to the production of tobacco, corn, cereals, and grasses. Considerable water power is developed by the fall of the rivers in this area, thereby providing many sites along the Yadkin and Catawba suitable for the location of manufacturing industries.

West of the Piedmont is the Appalachian or mountain area, which consists of a narrow plateau, with an average elevation of 2,000 to 3,000 feet, lying between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Great Smoky Mountains on the west. Of difficult accessibility and containing only a limited amount of fertile land, this area remained sparsely settled and undeveloped throughout the ante-bellum period.<sup>2</sup>

The geographic features of the State fashioned its economic life. Although North Carolina was not one of the largest slaveholding states, advantageous geographic conditions planted the plantation-slavery economy firmly in the Coastal Plain. As early as 1790 in only three eastern counties did slaves form less than twenty per cent of the total population. In 1840 slaves formed 42 per cent of the population of the section. From 1840 to 1860 the slave population of the East increased 35.4 per cent as compared with only 26.4 per cent increase in the white population.<sup>3</sup> In 1860 slaves composed 44.2 per cent of the total population of the section, whereas the percentage for the entire State was only 33.5. Of the sixteen counties<sup>4</sup> in the State having a larger slave population than white in 1860, all except three were in

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<sup>2</sup> The discussion of the geographic features of North Carolina has been taken from the following sources: Ruffin, Edmund, *Sketches of Lower North Carolina*, pp. 52-55; Kerr, W. C., *Physiological Description of North Carolina*, pp. 5-23; Emmons, Ebenezer, *North Carolina Geological Survey, Part II: Agriculture*, pp. 26-28; *Report of the North Carolina Geological Survey: Agriculture of the Eastern Counties*, pp. 36-37; *Geological Report of the Midland Counties of North Carolina*, pp. 3-22.

<sup>3</sup> Computed from *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population*, I, 52-54.

<sup>4</sup> Anson, Bertie, Caswell, Chowan, Edgecombe, Franklin, Greene, Halifax, Hertford, Jones, Lenoir, Northampton, Perquimans, Pitt, Richmond, and Warren.

the Coastal Plain. The section was one of fairly large slaveholdings, with an average of 10.9 slaves. Approximately 14.4 per cent of the slaveholders owned more than twenty each. The ownership of slaves was well distributed among the population, for 36.2 per cent of the free families were slaveholders as compared with 26.3 per cent for the State. The table below gives, in different brackets, the percentage of slaveholding in the Coastal Plain in 1860.<sup>5</sup>

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVEHOLDERS

Number of Slaves	Per Cent of Owners
Under 5 slaves.....	42.2
5 and under 10.....	24.3
10 and under 20 .....	19.1
20 and under 50 .....	11.5
50 and under 100.....	2.4
100 and under 500.....	0.5

By the close of the ante-bellum period a staple-producing economy was characteristic of the Eastern part of the State. Cotton, tobacco, and rice were the principal staples. The production of rice was concentrated in the Southeast, mainly in Brunswick, New Hanover, Columbus, Bladen, Sampson, and Duplin counties. Tobacco was of primary importance in only three eastern counties, Granville, Warren, and Franklin. From 1840 to 1860 the production of tobacco in the East increased 88 per cent. Cotton was the great staple of the section, and the cotton belt extended southward from Halifax and Northampton counties. The production of this crop increased rapidly during the decades 1840-1860, and the 1860 crop was 357 per cent greater than that of 1840. In 1860 the East produced 67 per cent of the total cotton crop of the State as compared with only 49 per cent in 1840.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Statistical information was computed from *Eighth Census of the U. S., 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 235-236. It is important to note that when the East is compared with the entire State the inclusion of the large figure for the East raises the State average considerably. If the comparison were made with the remainder of the State the contrast would appear more striking. By way of comparison with other states, it is interesting to note that 33 per cent of the families in Virginia and 48 per cent of those in South Carolina held slaves. The average number per slaveholding family was nine in Virginia and fifteen in South Carolina. U. S. Census Office, *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> The production of tobacco increased from 8,212,662 pounds in 1840 to 15,456,537 in 1860. Cotton production increased from 21,362 bales of 400 pounds each to 97,805. *Sixth Census of the U. S., 1840*, pp. 176-177; *Eighth Census of the U. S., 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

The prevalence of the plantation was evidenced by the average size of landholdings, 431 acres per farm, as compared with the State average of 354 acres. Of the farms having from 500 to 1,000 acres and of those having over 1,000 acres, 68.3 per cent and 73.3 per cent, respectively, were in the East. More significant is the fact that the average acreage under cultivation per farm was 119 acres in the East, as compared with 97 for the State. The table below shows the size of farms in the Coastal Plain in 1860.<sup>7</sup>

	Per Cent of Number of Farms in East
3 and under 10 acres.....	4.7
10 and under 20.....	8.7
20 and under 50.....	25.9
50 and under 100.....	23.3
100 and under 500.....	33.4
500 and under 1000.....	3.1
1000 and over .....	.9

The development of the plantation-slavery régime was never so complete in the Coastal Plain as in the lower South. Only a small percentage of the arable land was devoted to the three chief staples, cotton, tobacco, and rice.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in a considerable section of the East the plantation was practically non-existent. In the counties on the coast, such as Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan, Tyrrell, Hyde, and Carteret, only an inconsiderable amount of the above products was grown. Landholdings were likewise smaller in these counties. Throughout the Coastal Plain agriculture was in general more diversified than in the lower South. Large amounts of food crops were produced and large numbers of meat animals raised. In 1860, for example, the cash value of animals slaughtered averaged \$11.87 per inhabitant of the section, exceeding the average for the remainder of the State.<sup>9</sup>

The majority of the white inhabitants of the East were not slaveholders, but small farmers who raised wheat and corn and

<sup>7</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109, 210.

<sup>8</sup> The census does not give such figures. A study of the total production of the staples, the average output per acre, and the number of acres under cultivation seems to indicate, however, that such was the case. The figure arrived at by the writer, 8.5 per cent of the land under cultivation in the three staples, seems too small; yet the figure was probably not appreciably larger.

<sup>9</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

perhaps some cotton and tobacco. For labor they depended upon their families and an occasional hired hand. On the sounds and inlets many engaged in fishing. Also there were merchants, mechanics, and members of the professional classes.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the above, the comments of numerous travelers attest to the fact that there was a considerable number of "poor whites." These unfortunate beings were the poorest of the non-slaveholders. Olmsted described those he met in the turpentine region of the East as "uneducated, poverty-stricken vagabonds . . . without habitual, definite occupation or reliable means of livelihood." They spent most of their time hunting, working only when necessity forced it. According to Olmsted entire families of this class often possessed household property valued at less than twenty dollars.<sup>11</sup> Others described "their sickly and slovenly appearance, habitual drinking, tobacco chewing, utter ignorance, strange dialect, inert behavior, and such strange proclivities as clay-sucking, resin-chewing and snuff-dipping."<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the dominance of agriculture and of the presence of a considerable number of poor whites, the East was the wealthiest section of the State. In 1860 the cash value of its farms averaged \$2,920 as compared with the State average of \$2,138.<sup>13</sup> The average per capita (free inhabitants) wealth was \$1,189 as compared with \$836 for the State.<sup>14</sup>

Although the East like the remainder of the State was primarily rural and agricultural, its commercial and industrial development was of some importance. It contained the largest towns and commercial centers in the State: Wilmington, Fayetteville, New Bern, and Raleigh. Its banking resources were greater than those of the remainder of the State, for twenty of the State's thirty-six banks were located in this section.<sup>15</sup> Lacking mineral resources essential to the development of a manu-

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<sup>10</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population*, pp. 657-680.

<sup>11</sup> Olmsted, Frederick Law, *A Journey through the Seaboard Slave States*, pp. 319, 348-349, 350.

<sup>12</sup> Hollander, A. N. J. Den, "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites,'" in Couch, W. T., ed., *Culture in the South*, p. 412. The high rate of adult white illiteracy seems additional evidence of the large number of "poor whites" in the East. In 1850 adult whites who could not read and write formed 15 per cent of the total white population, as compared with 13.3 per cent for the State. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>13</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

<sup>14</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics*, p. 309.

<sup>15</sup> *Turner's North Carolina Almanac, 1861*, pp. 26-28; Holder, B. B., *The Three Banks of the State of North Carolina*, (MS. Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina Library), pp. 310-311.

facturing economy and without any advantageously situated city which could become the center of a commercial régime, however, the section was destined to have an agricultural economy with its attendant industries. Among its principal industries were fisheries, blacksmith shops, tanneries, saddlery and harness works, lumbering, turpentine manufacturing, carriage works, and flour mills. Practically its only real manufacturing, exclusive of that directly associated with agriculture, consisted of nine cotton mills, seven of which were in Cumberland County. Yet, as is indicated by the table below, its industrial activity in 1860 was of some consequence.<sup>16</sup>

Number of manufacturing establishments.....	2,291
Average capital investment per establishment.....	\$ 2,069
Annual value of product per establishment.....	\$ 4,084
Average number of employees.....	3.6
Per capita (free inhabitants) investment.....	\$17.00
Per cent of total wealth in manufacturing.....	1+

The Piedmont was not so clearly differentiated from the State as a whole as either the East or the mountains. Indeed, its socio-economic system mirrored the chief features of both Coastal Plain and mountain region. In many respects the Piedmont typified North Carolina as a whole. Slaves did not bulk as large in the total population of the section as they did in the population of the State. The percentages in 1860 were 24.4 and 33.5, respectively. Randolph County had only 10 per cent slaves and Davidson, Forsyth, Guilford, and Stanly had less than 20 per cent. There was little change in the proportion of slaves to whites from 1840 to 1860. In 1840 slaves formed 25.8 per cent of the total population. Although the number of slaves increased 31 per cent during those years, the rapid increase in the whites prevented any substantial change in the percentage which slaves formed of the total population. Slaveholdings were generally small in the Piedmont, with an average of only 7.9 slaves. Over half of the slaveholders owned less than five. Only 8.4 per cent of the slaveholders could qualify as planters by the ownership of 20 or more slaves. The infrequency of

<sup>16</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufacturing*, pp. 420-437. The capital invested in manufacturing increased from \$1,831,227 in 1840 to \$4,741,051 in 1860, 158 per cent. The increase slightly exceeded that of the Piedmont for the same period. *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, pp. 184-185.

slaveholding is demonstrated by the fact that only 23.5 per cent of the families owned slaves. The table below gives the size of slaveholdings in the section in 1860.<sup>17</sup>

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVEHOLDERS

Number of Slaves	Per Cent of Owners
Under 5 slaves.....	50.6
5 and under 10.....	24.9
10 and under 20.....	15.9
20 and under 50.....	7.3
50 and under 100.....	.9
100 and under 500.....	.2

In two sections of the Piedmont, however, the plantation-slavery régime had by 1860 become well established and slaves were much more numerous than in the section as a whole. In the tier of counties on the Virginia border, where tobacco was an important staple, slaves formed 57 per cent of the population of Caswell, 46 per cent of that of Person, and 38 per cent of that of Rockingham. Along the South Carolina line the production of cotton was of considerable importance, and slaves composed 51 per cent of the population of Anson County, 50 per cent of that of Richmond, and 38 per cent of that of Mecklenburg. In no other county in the section did slaves form as large a part of the population as the state average of 33.5 per cent.<sup>18</sup> The expansion of the staple-crop economy in the Piedmont is shown by the increased production of cotton and tobacco from 1840 to 1860. The 1860 tobacco crop of 16,922,013 pounds and the cotton crop of 46,356 bales represented increases of 99 and 112 per cent respectively over 1840.<sup>19</sup>

Although tobacco and cotton were important crops in a few counties, the plantation-slavery system was not dominant in the economy of the Piedmont. The soil of the greater part of the section was not suited to the production of such crops as rice, cotton, and tobacco. Also, the lack of adequate transportation facilities long impeded the spread of a staple-producing economy into those counties to which it was adaptable. The

<sup>17</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 235-236; *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population*, I, 52-54.

<sup>18</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>19</sup> *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, pp. 176-177, *Eighth Census, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

Piedmont was a region of small farms on which grain and livestock were the principal products.<sup>20</sup>

The prevalence of the small farm is indicated by the fact that the average size of landholdings was 278 acres as compared with 354 for the State and 431 for the Coastal Plain. Farms contained on the average 88 acres under cultivation as compared with 97 acres for the State. The predominance of the small farm is further demonstrated by the fact that 70.2 per cent of the farms in the section contained less than one hundred acres each. Of the farms in the State containing from 20 to 50 acres and from 50 to 100 acres, 47.5 per cent and 51.8 per cent respectively were found in the Piedmont. Landholding was more widely distributed than in the remainder of the State. It was the only section in which over half of the free families were landholders. The table below gives the size of farms in the Piedmont in 1860.<sup>21</sup>

Per Cent of Total Number  
of Farms in Piedmont

3 and under 10 acres.....	1.5
10 and under 20 .....	4.8
20 and under 50 .....	32.5
50 and under 100 .....	31.4
100 and under 500.....	28.3
500 and under 1000.....	1.1
1,000 and over.....	0.2

The small farmer of the Piedmont generally owned enough land to enable him and his family to live in moderate comfort. The number of those who lived on the verge of poverty and want was undoubtedly smaller than in the remainder of the State. That this was true seems evident by the fact that in the Coastal Plain 13.4 per cent and in the mountains 14.6 per cent of the farms contained less than 20 acres, an amount too small to support a family, whereas the percentage for the Piedmont was only 6.3<sup>22</sup> The yeomen farmers generally did not produce

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-109. Using the same method in computing the percentage as that used for the Coastal Plain, the writer has found that only 5.1 per cent of the acreage under cultivation in the Piedmont was in the three staples, rice, tobacco, and cotton. In 1860 the per capita value of animals slaughtered in the section was \$9.48, approximately one dollar less than the State figure.

<sup>21</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109, 210.

<sup>22</sup> Computed from *ibid.*, p. 210.

for the market and were not appreciably influenced by the fluctuations in the prices of staples. They owned a small amount of land, stock, and equipment and produced at home the greater part of what they consumed. Although they never knew luxury, their level of living was above that of destitution. Log cabins, homespun garments, coarse and monotonous foods, and crudeness of speech and manners were all associated with the small yeomen farmers. In spite of this, "as a class they were honest, proud, and independent, had confidence in life, had desires and usually ambition, and in a measure were substantial."<sup>23</sup>

Although the spread between those possessing most wealth and those having very little was probably less in the Piedmont than in the other sections, it was not a wealthy region. The cash value of its farms averaged only \$1,729 as compared with the State average of \$2,138,<sup>24</sup> and its per capita (free inhabitants) wealth was only \$679 as compared with \$836 for the State.<sup>25</sup> It contained only thirteen of the State's thirty-six banks.<sup>26</sup>

The Piedmont possessed natural resources which could form the basis of a more diversified economic life than was possible in either the East or in the mountain area. It is of course true that the lack of coal-iron centers made impossible under existing technology the development of heavy, mechanized industry. The section was abundantly endowed, however, with advantages for light, processing industries. Its geographic position placed it in close proximity to the important raw materials of the State: cotton, tobacco and lumber. More important was the fact that the water power suitable for manufacturing is almost entirely confined to the interior of the State. That the leading men of the section were aware of its industrial possibilities is abundantly evident by the geological surveys of water power sites, speeches and newspaper editorials, and the establishment of small factories at the best sites.<sup>27</sup> Nor is the fact to be over-

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<sup>23</sup> Hollander, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-410. It is interesting to note in this connection that in 1850 the Piedmont had the lowest percentage of adult white illiteracy in the State, 11.5 per cent of the total white population. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>24</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

<sup>25</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics*, p. 309.

<sup>26</sup> *Turners' North Carolina Almanac, 1861*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>27</sup> Ebenezer Emmons, State Geologist, wrote in 1856 of a waterfall on the Catawba River: "It is by no means an extravagant expectation that this place will, at no very distant day, sustain ten thousand inhabitants, who will be engaged mainly in manufactures." *Geological Report of the Midland Counties*, p. 10.

looked that the middle region of the State was settled primarily by Scotch-Irish and Germans, hard-working and thrifty, who were accustomed to working with their hands.<sup>28</sup>

The most important manufacturing industry of the Piedmont was cotton textile. In 1860 there were thirty cotton mills located in seventeen counties of the section. Alamance and Randolph contained five each. In addition, there was some manufacture of iron, machinery, agricultural implements, firearms, and boots and shoes. In general, the manufacturing of the Piedmont was more industrial in character than that of the East, which in the main was accessory to agriculture. The table below shows the extent of manufacturing in the section in 1860.<sup>29</sup>

Number of manufacturing establishments.....	1,206
Average capital investment per establishment.....	\$3,857
Annual value of product per establishment.....	\$5,694
Average number of employees.....	4.6
Per capita (free inhabitants) investment.....	\$16.00
Per cent of total wealth invested in manufacturing.....	2

The fifteen counties of the mountain area in 1860 formed the least populous and least developed area of the State, having an aggregate population of about 119,257. The geographic features of the section precluded any considerable development of the plantation-slavery, staple-crop régime. Likewise, its mountainous character plus the lack of transportation facilities made it an isolated, self-sufficient area separated from the remainder of the State. In 1860 it still had many of the characteristics of a frontier region—scarcity of capital, sparsity of population, little contact with other areas, and lack of social advantages. Naturally slavery was of little importance in such a region. In 1840 slaves composed only 11.3 per cent of the total population and by 1860 their proportion had declined to 10.2 per cent. Burke with a slave population of 26 per cent was the only county

<sup>28</sup> The resource basis of industrialism in North Carolina is discussed in the following works: Emmons, Ebenezer, *Geological Report of the Midland Counties*; Zimmermann, E. W., "Resources of the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXII (1933), 213-226; Webb, Elizabeth Y., "Development of the Textile Industry in North Carolina," (MS. in Brookings Institution); Davidson, Philip, "Industrialism in the Ante-Bellum South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (1938), 408-425; Lacy, Dan Mabry, *The Beginnings of Industrialism in North Carolina, 1865-1900* (MS. thesis, U. N. C. Library); Goebel, W. B., A. *History of Manufactures in North Carolina before 1850* (MS. thesis, Duke University Library).

<sup>29</sup> Computed from *Eighth Census of the U. S., 1860, Manufacturing*, pp. 420-435. From 1840 to 1860 the capital invested in manufacturing increased from \$1,561,122 to \$4,652,337, or 151 per cent. *Sixth Census, 1840*, pp. 184-185.

having as much as 20 per cent slaves. Moreover, the ownership of slaves was confined to 11.6 per cent of the families. Holdings were generally small, averaging 6.5 slaves. The predominance of the small owner among the small number of slaveholders is clearly indicated by the table below which shows the size of slaveholding in the Appalachian region in 1860.<sup>30</sup>

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVEHOLDERS

Number of Slaves	Per Cent of Owners
Under 5 slaves.....	58.9
5 and under 10.....	23.9
10 and under 20.....	11.3
20 and under 50.....	4.8
50 and under 100.....	0.7
100 and under 500.....	0.2

The ratio of unimproved to improved land was high in the mountains, as is to be expected in an undeveloped region. This fact accounts for the relatively large size of landholdings, with an average of 381 acres per farm. On the average 315 acres were unimproved, leaving only 66 acres of cultivated land per farm as compared with the State average of 97 acres. The numerical predominance of the small farm is demonstrated by the fact that 82 per cent of all farms contained less than 100 acres. The table below shows the size of farms in the section in 1860.<sup>31</sup>

	Per Cent of Total Number of Farms in Mountains
3 and under 10 acres.....	3.7
10 and under 20 .....	10.9
20 and under 50.....	40.2
50 and under 100.....	27.2
100 and under 500.....	17.5
500 and under 1,000.....	0.3
1,000 and over.....	0.1

The majority of the freemen of the mountains belonged to that class of yeomen farmers which was so characteristic of the

<sup>30</sup> Computed from the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 235-236; *Ninth Census, 1870, Population*, I, 52-54.

<sup>31</sup> Computed from the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, p. 210.

Piedmont. The yeoman farmer of the mountains, however, owned less arable land and less farm equipment, and in general lived on a somewhat lower plane of existence. The cash value of farms averaged \$1,354 as compared with the State average of \$2,138,<sup>32</sup> and the per capita wealth of the section was only \$343, less than half the State figure.<sup>33</sup>

The number of poor whites in the mountain region undoubtedly exceeded the number of that class in the Piedmont and perhaps was as great as the number in the Coastal Plain. That the members of this class were poor, crude of manners and speech, ignorant, superstitious, and possessed of social peculiarities strange to inhabitants of other areas is undoubtedly true. Except for a small percentage at the bottom of the social scale, however, they were in no sense an inferior group biologically. Their manner of life was the result of their peculiar geographic environment and in the least accessible parts of the mountain region has changed remarkably little since then.<sup>34</sup>

This area contained no real manufacturing. Its industrial activity was confined exclusively to a few handicraft industries, such as blacksmith shops, tanneries, grist mills, and saw mills, essential to a self-sufficient economy. The table below shows the extent of manufacturing in the section in 1860.<sup>35</sup>

Number of manufacturing establishments.....	192
Average capital investment per establishment.....	\$1,611
Annual value of product per establishment.....	2,370
Average number of employees per establishment.....	2
Per capita (free inhabitants) investment.....	\$ 3.00
Per cent of total wealth invested.....	0.8

The economic aspects of sectionalism described above are significant in many ways. In general, much of North Carolina's political history has been but the expression of deeper economic

<sup>32</sup> Computed from the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

<sup>33</sup> Computed from the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics*, p. 309. The cash value of animals slaughtered was also less in the mountains, \$8.29 per inhabitant, as against \$10.52 for the State. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, pp. 104-109.

<sup>34</sup> In 1850 adult white illiterates formed only 13 per cent of the total white population, as compared with 15 per cent for the East and 13.3 per cent for the State. The census figure of only two adult white illiterates for Henderson County, however, is obviously incorrect; consequently, too much reliance cannot be placed on the above percentage. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>35</sup> Computed from the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufacturing*, pp. 436-437.

interests. More particularly, certain concrete questions arise as to the real motivating forces in some of the important movements in the history of the State. For instance, the interest of the Coastal Plain region in secession was based primarily upon the economic characteristics of its society and not upon its loyalty to the constitutional theory of State rights. Indeed, did not that section's support of State rights come in part from its awareness of the vulnerability of minority interests which it had learned by its struggle against a western majority on State issues? Also, was not the indifference of the Piedmont to the secession movement based as much upon the dissimilarity of its whole economic society to that of the controlling Southern plantation region as upon the comparatively small Negro population of that section? It seems that a clear understanding of such problems as those mentioned above awaits an exhaustive study of sectionalism in North Carolina.

# THE PLANK ROAD MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

By ROBERT B. STARLING

## Part II

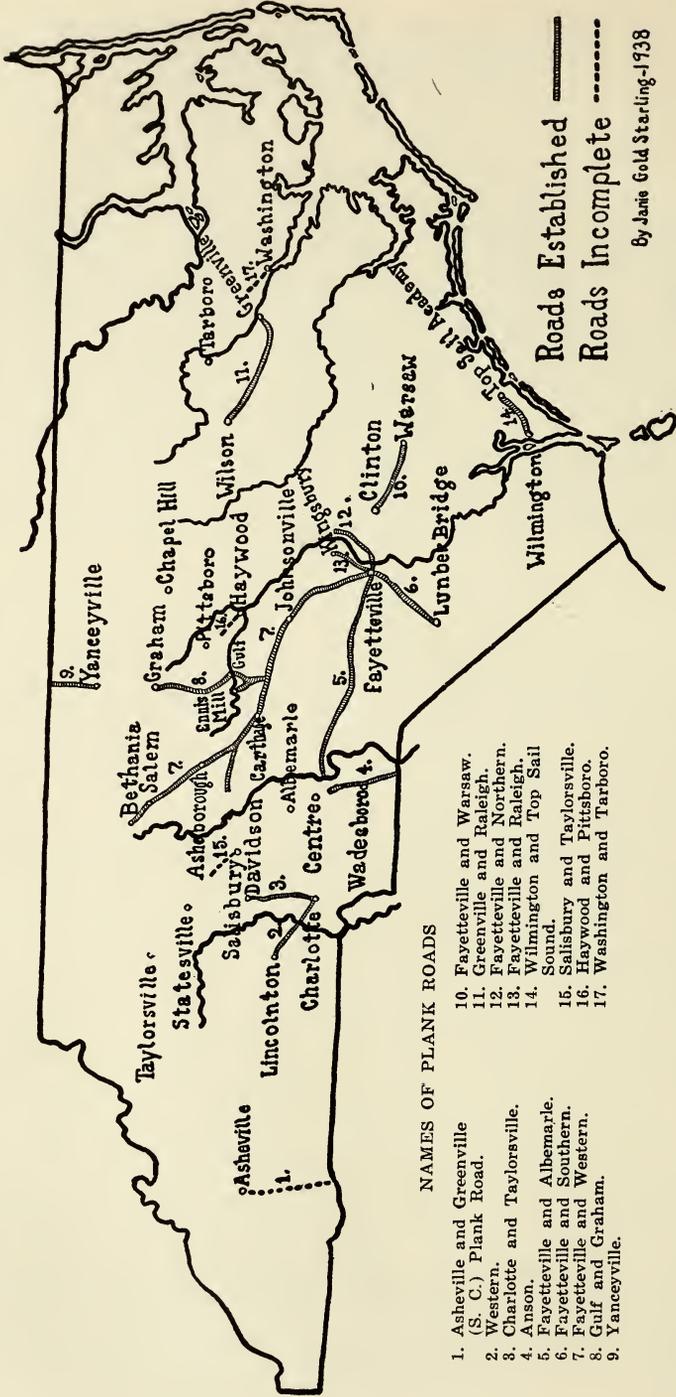
The story of the construction of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road is the story of the construction of North Carolina's longest. Its mileage from Fayetteville through Salem to the Moravian settlement, Bethania, was 129 miles. Its capital stock, subscribed and paid, totaled \$264,917.19 in 1858.<sup>1</sup> The facts of its history are more widely known than those of any other company; and the stories and sentiment of the generation which built this road live in the hearts and memory of the children and grandchildren who have heard much of the days when everyone along the route was thrilled by the blast of the bugle that announced the approach of the stagecoach.

There are several reasons why the facts in the history of this company have been preserved. Several annual reports made by the president and directors are available because the State invested \$120,000 and required these reports to be filed with the Board of Internal Improvements. In the *North Carolina Legislative Documents* seven of the annual reports were published from 1850 through 1858, though the ones for 1853 and 1855 were omitted. The traditions and memories of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road are more vivid than those of any of the other plank roads. Since the company which built this road was the first of its kind in the State, its activity was "news" and commanded the attention of the newspapers. Three of the leading papers of that day were located in the towns mentioned in the charter, the *Carolina Watchman* of Salisbury, and the *Fayetteville Observer* and the *North Carolinian* of Fayetteville. The *Carolina Watchman* printed many articles concerning the substitution of Salem for Salisbury as the western terminus. In the Fayetteville papers the road was given much space because of the interest of the citizens of that town in internal improvements which would enable them to maintain their reputation of being the leading entrepot of the State. The

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<sup>1</sup> *Ninth Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, 1858, p. 11.*

PLANK ROAD CONSTRUCTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1850-60



NAMES OF PLANK ROADS

- 1. Asheville and Greenville (S. C.) Plank Road.
- 2. Western.
- 3. Charlotte and Taylorsville.
- 4. Anson.
- 5. Fayetteville and Albemarle.
- 6. Fayetteville and Southern.
- 7. Fayetteville and Western.
- 8. Gulf and Graham.
- 9. Yanceyville.
- 10. Fayetteville and Warsaw.
- 11. Greenville and Raleigh.
- 12. Fayetteville and Northern.
- 13. Fayetteville and Raleigh.
- 14. Wilmington and Top Sail Sound.
- 15. Salisbury and Taylorsville.
- 16. Haywood and Pitsboro.
- 17. Washington and Tarboro.

Roads Established —————  
 Roads Incomplete - - - - -  
 By Janie Gold Starling-1938

determination of the Fayetteville citizens was real, for within less than three weeks after opening the books<sup>2</sup> they had subscribed \$50,000 of the \$80,000 required to receive the \$120,000 offered by the State. They were confident of securing an additional \$10,000 within the city and county, leaving only \$20,000 to be secured along the proposed route. Salisbury had subscribed at that time only \$1,000.<sup>3</sup>

The stockholders assembled in Fayetteville, April 11, 1849, for the purpose of organizing. Much enthusiasm and discussion characterized the meeting, which continued from Wednesday through Saturday. The stockholders resolved that in their opinion the proposed "upper" route was most eligible, "crossing Little River at or near Murchison's Factory; thence to Deep River at or near Watson's Bridge or by Carthage; and through the counties of Randolph and Davidson on to its terminus." Edward Lee Winslow was elected president, and the directors elected were Chas. T. Haigh, Alfred A. McKethan, Henry L. Myrover, John H. Cook, George McNeill, Thos. S. Lutterloh, David A. Ray, Edmund J. Lilly, and John D. Starr.<sup>4</sup>

Charges of "speciously veiled duplicity" and "fraud upon the State" were two of the many made by the communities which opposed this northern route as adopted, for it increased the mileage and missed the sections that would have been served by a direct road to Salisbury. That the final location of the road might be approved by the stockholders, a special general meeting was called, July 12, 1849.<sup>5</sup> The route adopted was by Murchison's Factory, Carthage, Ashborough, to Johnstonville, "and from thence by or near Fair Grove, by Lexington to Salisbury."<sup>6</sup> After much debate, the Old Market Place was chosen as the starting point for the road. By a decision of a New York court, the directors interpreted "from the Town of Fayetteville" as written in their charter to mean from any "point within the corporate limits of the place of beginning." The "northern route" was favored because it brought more subscriptions into the treasury. The direct route to Salisbury would have led

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<sup>2</sup> Books were opened Feb. 14, 1849, for 30 days, from 11 to 1 o'clock in the building at the corner of Hay and Donaldson streets. George McNeill was chairman of the commission.

<sup>3</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, March 6, 1849.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, April 17, 1849.

<sup>5</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), July 19, 1849.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, July 26, 1849.

through the mountainous Uwharie country, and would have passed through miles of the poorest and least productive soil in the State. The northern route, through a more productive country, passed via Lexington to Salisbury. Between these two towns it would have had to compete with the North Carolina Railroad. Furthermore, two bridges across the Yadkin River would have been necessary.<sup>7</sup> As the citizens of Salisbury gave "their preference to the Railroad . . . it was deemed expedient to make a change of terminus of the Plank Road." An amendment to the charter gave the stockholders the privilege of choosing the western terminal. While the road was under construction to Johnstonville in Randolph County, people of rival western communities tried to persuade the directors to make their particular locality the western terminus for the plank road. After Salisbury was eliminated from the Fayetteville and Western Company's consideration,<sup>8</sup> Lexington in turn failed to secure the \$15,000 promised, and the route was diverted further north to Salem, a Moravian settlement, whose \$25,650 subscription was announced at the meeting of the stockholders, April 1, 1852.<sup>9</sup>

The first section, twelve and five-eighths miles from Fayetteville to Little River, was placed under toll April 2, 1850. At that time the first six miles of section two, beyond the river, had been contracted by Duncan Murchison, and the additional twenty-two and one-half miles to Carthage was contracted by Colonel Alexander Murchison. This work was slow, though the president explained that the lumber was "laid as fast as it could be obtained and hauled to the Road." Too, the right of way had to be secured. Although many people willingly gave the land needed, others demanded settlement, and \$287.35 was spent for this purpose in the first section.<sup>10</sup>

On January 1, 1851, only 18 miles had been completed and placed under toll. The new year, however, was one of rapid construction. By the latter part of April, thirty-three miles had been finished, and on June 1 eight additional miles were ready

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<sup>7</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 11. (Hereafter cited as Second, Third, etc., Annual Report of F. & W. P. R. Co.)

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Third Annual Report of the F. & W. P. R. Co.*, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings*, pp. 9, 13, 14, 26.

for tolls. On the first of September fifty-one miles had been finished, and in November this was extended to seventy miles. On December 25, 1851, the road was completed to Johnstonville, a distance of eighty-seven miles, and the survey had been continued through Salem to Bethania.<sup>11</sup> In 1852 the road was constructed to within seven miles of Salem, and on January 1, 1853, preparation had been made for the beginning of work on the branch lines to Gulf and to Ennis' Mills.<sup>12</sup>

When the stockholders met, April 16, 1853, Jonathan Worth of Randolph County and Francis Fries of Salem were elected directors. A resolution favoring a plank road branch to the Uwharie country was adopted.<sup>13</sup> In Salem the people favored an extension toward the Virginia line, and books were opened for that purpose.<sup>14</sup> On April 13, 1854, President Winslow announced to the stockholders that seven miles of the nine miles between Salem and Bethania had been constructed. He added, "The Fayetteville and Western Plankroad now beyond Salem, should be extended to or near the road called the 'Hollow Road,' and then stop." This "Hollow Road" ran from the Yadkin River, near Bethania, up the river valley toward Mount Airy and the Virginia line. He favored constructing the Uwharie branch as being the "most important to the trade of Fayetteville."<sup>15</sup> After President Winslow had guided the construction to within two miles of Bethania, he was not reelected when the annual meeting of the stockholders was held, April 13, 1854. Although he received 1,032 of the 1,267 votes cast by the people owning stock, he was defeated by the State when its 2,400 ballots were cast for Gurdon Deming. The support of his fellow stockholders who cast the 1,032 ballots for him is proof of his having "ably assisted in the construction" of the plank road and his having discharged his duties "skillfully and faithfully."<sup>16</sup> The surveys having been completed and the road practically finished, Francis F. Cooper, engineer, resigned May 1, 1854.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), Jan. 3, 1852.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1853.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, April 16, 1853.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 1853.

<sup>15</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the F. & W. P. R. Co.*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, April 17, 1854.

<sup>17</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), April 22, 1854.

The North Carolina legislature chartered the Greenville and Raleigh Plank Road Company December 23, 1850.<sup>18</sup> As soon as the subscriptions had been secured, the company organized; and, under the guidance of its president, Alfred Moye, construction was begun in 1851. When the annual meeting was held in February, 1852, it was announced that "6 miles next to Greenville will be placed under toll by March 10th." Other parts were finished and ready to be connected with Greenville. President Moye refused reëlection, and R. L. Myers of Washington was elected.<sup>19</sup>

The road had been completed to Wilson when the stockholders met in 1853. Alfred Moye was elected president, and the business affairs of the company were reported as prosperous.<sup>20</sup> The road was not extended from Wilson to Raleigh, as the latter seemed interested primarily in the North Carolina Railroad. Following the completion of this road, it was described in the Tarboro paper, March 26, 1853, as being in

successful operation as far as Wilson, and is productive of greater benefits to the section of country through which it passes, and of revenue to the stockholders than its most sanguine advocates originally anticipated.<sup>21</sup>

The Wilmington and Top Sail Sound Plank Road Company was of local importance and commanded very little state attention. Its charter was granted by the 1850-51 session of the General Assembly.<sup>22</sup> This road connected the community near Top Sail Inlet with Wilmington. Top Sail Academy was an important educational institution in that community. The first meeting of the stockholders of the plank road company was held in the academy, August 21, 1852. The commissioners reported that \$21,600 had been subscribed to the capital stock. N. N. Dixon was unanimously elected president. Ed Kidder, W. A. Wright, A. H. Van Bokkelin, R. H. Cowan, J. H. Flanner, David K. Futch, J. M. Foy, and D. McMillan were elected directors. Concerning annual meetings, a resolution introduced by D. McMillan was adopted:

<sup>18</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 140.

<sup>19</sup> *Southerner* (Tarboro), Feb. 28, 1852.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, March 5, 1853.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 1853.

<sup>22</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 138.

That the regular annual meetings of this company be held on the second Monday of April, alternately at Wilmington and at Top Sail Academy.<sup>23</sup>

The first annual meeting of the stockholders was held in Wilmington, April 11, 1853. N. N. Dixon was reëlected president. The only change on the board of directors was that Dr. J. L. Meares was elected in place of D. McMillan.<sup>24</sup>

This road was constructed along the coast in a northeastern direction from Wilmington. It was approximately twenty miles in length, ending near the New Hanover-Onslow county line.<sup>25</sup> The success and popularity of this road was evidently equal to all expectations, for several members of the board of directors secured a charter for its extension into Onslow County.<sup>26</sup> Dr. J. L. Meares, A. H. Van Bokkelin, J. M. Foy, R. H. Cowan, and several others were authorized to open books for subscriptions that they might construct a plank road from the end of the Wilmington and Top Sail Sound Plank Road to Snead's Ferry or some point on New River. There seems to be no record that this proposed road was built.

The Western Plank Road Company was chartered to construct a road from "Charlotte to the town of Lincolnton, and thence to the town of Newton." It was the most important of those attempted in the western part of the State. An article in the *Carolina Watchman*, June 13, 1850, announced that the Charlotte people had pledged to help Lincolnton build a plank road. "In this improvement, the interest of Gaston, Catawba, and Lincoln should not be separated."<sup>27</sup> A general mass meeting was held in Lincolnton for "making arrangement to commence and complete a Plank Road."<sup>28</sup> The company's charter was ratified January 28, 1851.<sup>29</sup> The survey was begun November 26, 1851, and completed February 24, 1852.<sup>30</sup> Contracts were let in November and December for timber for the road. At first the contracts called for three-inch planks and three-inch stringers, but a change was made when the engineers "became satisfied that two-inch stringers would answer all the purposes

<sup>23</sup> *Wilmington Daily Journal*, August 24, 1852.

<sup>24</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), April 16, 1853.

<sup>25</sup> *Colton's Map of the State of North Carolina*, 1866.

<sup>26</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1854-55, Chap. 197.

<sup>27</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), June 13, 1850.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, June 20, 1850.

<sup>29</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 133.

<sup>30</sup> *North Carolina Whig* (Charlotte), October 6, 1852.

required." A contract was made April 19, 1852, for building the "abutments and piers of the bridge" across the Catawba River.<sup>31</sup>

The *Salem Press* announced in an editorial, February 26, 1853, the progress of the Charlotte roads: "Charlotte has already a plank road nearly completed to Lincolnton and another in rapid construction to Statesville."<sup>32</sup> The Western Plank Road Company completed its road, and continued operation for several years. Its charter was amended by the 1856-57 and the 1864 sessions of the legislature.

The Fayetteville and Southern Plank Road Company was organized January 2, 1851, after having received a charter in December for a road to Lumber Bridge in Robeson County. The contracts for the fifteen and one-half miles were let about the middle of January. During the summer they would have been completed "but for extreme dry weather." This road crossed the sandy plain which had formerly been a trade barrier. The toll houses and bridges were completed before January, 1852.<sup>33</sup> By March the road had been opened for traffic. Although this was ordinarily the dullest part of the year, the income of the first four and one-half months enabled the directors to declare a three-per-cent dividend in July; and, a rebuilding fund was started by reserving for that purpose eleven per cent of the receipts.<sup>34</sup> This road was built into Fayetteville by two routes, one by Gillespie Street and the other by Winslow Street. About one and one-fourth miles from town the two branches united. The *North Carolinian* of January 1, 1853, announced a four-per-cent dividend.<sup>35</sup> In 1854 the receipts for the road were \$2,706.95. Two four-per-cent dividends were paid that year. This required \$1,920, and the "residue was used for upkeep and salaries."<sup>36</sup> By January, 1857, the dividends had fallen to three per cent.<sup>37</sup>

Although a northern route had been chosen for the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, the men who were interested in a southern route secured a charter for the Fayette-

<sup>31</sup> *Report of the Western Plank Road Company*, 1852, pp. 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> *Salem Press*, Feb. 26, 1853.

<sup>33</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), Jan. 3, 1852.

<sup>34</sup> *North Carolina Whig* (Charlotte), July 21, 1852.

<sup>35</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), Jan. 1, 1853.

<sup>36</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, Jan. 12, 1855.

<sup>37</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, Jan. 15, 1857.

ville and Centre Plank Road Company, December 20, 1850,<sup>38</sup> and constructed a road to the Pee Dee Valley. The Fayetteville and the Cumberland County subscriptions were enough to secure the charter. A general meeting was called for August 21, 1851. There was a call for help in the notice of the meeting, "We trust our friends of Richmond, Montgomery and Stanly will come prepared to do their part."<sup>39</sup> In December contracts were let for constructing the first fifteen miles to Puppy Creek.<sup>40</sup> A year later this first section had been completed and an additional twenty miles were placed under contract. An appeal to the 1852 legislature for state-aid failed.<sup>41</sup> The 1854-55 session granted \$50,000, and changed the name to the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company.<sup>42</sup> In August, 1855, a nine-per-cent dividend was declared.<sup>43</sup> On September 1, 1855, J. G. Cook, president, announced plans for continuing the construction as a result of \$15,000 private subscriptions.<sup>44</sup> The General Assembly amended the company's charter, February 3, 1857, and authorized the "president and directors to use such other materials than plank as they may deem best for the construction of the road" from Little's Mill to Albemarle.<sup>45</sup> In his report to the stockholders in 1857, the president said that the "indifference on the part of the people of Montgomery and Stanly Counties" was the reason for stopping the "planks" east of the river. The first fifteen miles needed relaying because the planks in that section had been "cut from pines that had been used for Turpentine." This caused them "to rot sooner than we could have expected."<sup>46</sup> Samuel H. Christian took the contract for the plankless road between Little's Mill and Albemarle. Although he had accomplished very little by August, 1858, he gave the directors assurance that he "would put a full force on the work and push it on to completion." Even though the extension to Albemarle was a dirt turnpike, the president stated that the road would require

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<sup>38</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 145.

<sup>39</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, August 19, 1851.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, December 16, 1851.

<sup>41</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), Jan. 1, 1853.

<sup>42</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1854-55, Chap. 183.

<sup>43</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), August 11, 1855.

<sup>44</sup> *North Carolina Argus* (Fayetteville), September 1, 1855.

<sup>45</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1856-57, Chap. 63.

<sup>46</sup> *Report of the President and Directors of the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company*, 1857.

the most skillful management and the most rigid economy, on the part of the superintending officer, to make the income meet its most absolute needs.<sup>47</sup>

During the fiscal year ending September 30, 1857, the Comptroller of Public Accounts reported a \$1,200 dividend from the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company. The following year the Company received "\$9,000, the residue of the State's \$50,000 subscription."<sup>48</sup> The road's most popular days were over when James G. Cook announced in August, 1858,

The Importance of this road to Fayetteville is not duly appreciated. Let this road go down, and what have you? With a railroad built through Robeson, and your trade cut off from the South, it becomes you to take an interest in this road.<sup>49</sup>

The Fayetteville and Northern Plank Road Company organized under its charter of January 28, 1851, purchased a saw mill during the year, and made contracts for material. It was chartered to construct a plank road "to the city of Raleigh, by the most practicable route." Under the direction of Joel Williams, president, the company built the first section of eight miles to McPhails.<sup>50</sup> On January 1, 1853, ten miles were under toll, and the Clarendon Toll Bridge across the Cape Fear had been purchased. A six-per-cent dividend was declared from the earnings of the bridge and road, and a "considerable surplus" was left in the treasury.<sup>51</sup> A six-per-cent semi-annual dividend was announced in the Fayetteville papers in January, 1855.<sup>52</sup> Its doom was recorded in an amendment to its charter in 1861. The president and directors were authorized to sell all or any part of the road. If the company wished to abandon the road, the amendment required the removal of planks from the road bed. A plank road was dangerous if not properly repaired.<sup>53</sup>

The Fayetteville and Raleigh Plank Road Company was first organized as a joint stock company. Before receiving its charter from the 1852 session of the legislature, it had secured subscriptions, had located the road to Kingsbury, and had started construction. Two weeks after the company was chartered,

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1858.

<sup>48</sup> *Report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts*, 1857, pp. 16, 28; 1858, p. 27.

<sup>49</sup> *Report of the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company*, 1858.

<sup>50</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), January 3, 1852.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, December 11, 1852; January 1, 1853.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, January 13, 1855.

<sup>53</sup> *Laws of North Carolina* (Second Extra Session of 1861), Chap. 56.

the Fayetteville *North Carolinian* announced on January 1, 1853, that the eleven miles to Kingsbury had been finished and that the survey had been continued to McNeill's Ferry on the Cape Fear.<sup>54</sup> Henry Elliot was elected president and Archibald McLean, secretary and treasurer.<sup>55</sup> In November an eight-per-cent dividend was announced, but the company labored under the difficulty of securing additional funds to extend the road toward Raleigh.<sup>56</sup> Although its profits had been ten per cent, the only hope of completion was to secure Raleigh's aid, and this was not forthcoming.

The earliest record of the Charlotte and Taylorsville Plank Road's history seems to be that of a meeting held at Davidson, August, 1850, to decide between a railroad and a plank road from Charlotte to Statesville and on to Taylorsville. A second meeting in Statesville, October 1, decided in favor of a plank road.<sup>57</sup> The company was chartered January 28, 1851.<sup>58</sup> In March a Charlotte mass meeting pledged its support to the road.<sup>59</sup> Frye, the engineer, reported in August, 1852, that he was making "good headway in the survey of the Road," having finished nine or ten miles over the worst part of the route without serious obstacles.<sup>60</sup> A motion was adopted in a meeting of the stockholders in Charlotte in November, 1852, directing William Johnston, president of the company, to suspend contracts until something should be determined concerning the construction of the Charlotte and Jonesboro Railroad.<sup>61</sup> Eight miles of the road were under construction by June 1, 1853, however, and contracts were announced for grading and planking the road from the eighth mile post to Davidson College.<sup>62</sup> Four miles of this road were open for traffic during the winter and the toll received was equal to twelve per cent of the cost of construction.<sup>63</sup> The stockholders in their annual meeting, May 20, 1854, approved the work of the president and directors, and expressed a determination to finish the work. They voted in favor of using tolls in an

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<sup>54</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), Jan. 1, 1853.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, March 12, 1853.

<sup>56</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, November 21, 1853.

<sup>57</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), October 3, 1850.

<sup>58</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 144.

<sup>59</sup> *Carolina Republican* (Lincolnton), April 3, 1851.

<sup>60</sup> *North Carolina Whig* (Charlotte), August 18, 1852.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1, 1852.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, June 1, 1853.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, March 14, 1854.

effort to complete the construction.<sup>64</sup> Because of the financial difficulty faced in 1854, it is probable that the road was not built far beyond Davidson College. The company continued its operation, however, and secured an amendment to the charter from the 1858-59 session of the legislature. This permitted the road to be rebuilt or repaired with "stone, gravel or other material than plank."<sup>65</sup>

The *Carolina Watchman* was very much in favor of a plank road from Salisbury to Taylorsville. The charter was granted by the legislature, January 28, 1851;<sup>66</sup> and there was a meeting in Salisbury, February 8th. Subscriptions made that day totaled \$8,500 and were increased to \$12,475 on the following Wednesday. The intense rivalry between towns for trade was told in the Salisbury paper when the proposed road was spoken of as "this great artery of the prosperity of our commerce. The merchants will rue the day when they let the trade of the mountain region go to Charlotte or Concord."<sup>67</sup> The route by Statesville was approved by the company, July 24, 1851.<sup>68</sup> On October 2 announcements concerning bids for the first twelve miles were published.<sup>69</sup> Several contractors were at work in January, 1852.<sup>70</sup> President Murphy resigned in May, and L. Blackmer was elected. A policy of economy was announced because of the shortage of funds.<sup>71</sup> A year later, in February, 1853, the company was in debt, and delay was caused by the failure of many people to pay for their stock. At this time the first section was almost completed. An editorial blamed the stockholders "for 10 or 12 miles not already being under toll."<sup>72</sup> Another editorial, May 4, 1854, reported a cost of more than \$2,000 per mile. This was several hundred dollars more than anticipated. More money was needed if Rowan County was to complete the road to the Iredell County line. The high cost was attributed to "unappreciated difficulties and to the rise in the price of labor."<sup>73</sup> The editor offered to print a report from the officials of the company, but none was offered for publication. The editorial continued with

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, May 30, 1854.

<sup>65</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1858-59, Chap. 157.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1850-51, Chap. 143.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, October 2, 1851.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, July 31, 1851.

<sup>69</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), October 2, 1851.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, January 15, 1852.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, May 13, 1852.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, February 10, 1853.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1854.

the statement, "there is much uneasiness in the minds of the stockholders about the road."<sup>74</sup> On March 29, 1855, the *Carolina Watchman* announced the annual meeting of the stockholders, and stated that "before another issue of our paper is made, we fear the scheme will receive a decisive blow—for weal or woe."<sup>75</sup> There were no later reports concerning this road.

The road from Gulf to Graham was chartered by the North Carolina legislature on November 20, 1852.<sup>76</sup> This road connected Graham and the surrounding community with Fayetteville, for it extended south from Alamance County through the western section of Chatham County to Gulf on Deep River where it joined a branch of the Fayetteville and Western Road.<sup>77</sup> The popular interest in this road was shown by the quick response following the issuance of the charter. Before the end of the year, 1852, the company had secured subscriptions for constructing the road.<sup>78</sup> This road connecting the coal mines and the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road with the railroad in Graham was advantageously located. There was much talk in Greensboro of constructing a plank road from that city to join this Gulf and Graham Road.<sup>79</sup>

Several mass meetings were held in Clinton during December, 1853, to sponsor the construction of a road from that town to Warsaw under the Fayetteville and Warsaw Plank Road charter of January 28, 1851.<sup>80</sup> In a general meeting of the stockholders, January 20, 1854, Doctor Thomas Bunting, William Faison, Alfred Johnson, Thomas M. Lee, Dr. William McKoy, Patrick Murphy, and William S. Devane were elected directors. Four days later the directors elected Dr. McKoy president, and Patrick Murphy, secretary and treasurer. On January 31 the survey was begun in Clinton, "running a due East course," and was completed on February 1. Patrick Murphy acted as surveyor the first day, and David A. Bizzell, the second day.<sup>81</sup>

In March the directors completed plans for constructing the Road. The plans provided a thirty-three foot road bed, 2½ inch

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, September 14, 1854.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, March 29, 1855.

<sup>76</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1852, Chap. 105.

<sup>77</sup> *Colton's Map of the State of North Carolina*. 1866.

<sup>78</sup> *Salem Press*, January 8, 1853.

<sup>79</sup> *Patriot* (Greensboro), January 29, 1853.

<sup>80</sup> *Wilmington Journal*, December 30, 1853.

<sup>81</sup> Minute Book of the Fayetteville and Warsaw Plank Road Company, p. 3. (Hereafter cited as Minutes). In the clerk's office, Clinton, Sampson County, N. C.

planks, and four stringers, 5 inches by 2½. Bids for contracts were announced March 25. To assure an elevated roadbed, the contracts required the road to be "raised fifteen inches for sixteen feet in width in the center of the Road." On July 8, 1854, the directors awarded the contracts for the first section to Patrick Murphy for "planking" the road, and to Patrick Murphy and Thomas M. Lee for preparing the roadbed. The latter contract was awarded for \$500 per mile, and the former for \$1,300.<sup>82</sup>

On February 15, 1855, the legislature amended the Fayetteville and Warsaw Company's charter and subscribed \$10,000. In January, 1856, Norris Frederick, stage contractor, agreed to pay \$240 per year for driving the Warsaw-Clinton stage twice daily.<sup>83</sup>

Each year the profits of the company exceeded expenses by a small margin. This credit balance belonged "exclusively to the State as preferred stock." In 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860 the State's checks amounted to \$268, \$335.69, \$146.02, and \$100.<sup>84</sup> Some of the people who traveled the road avoided the toll gates. To remedy this evil the board of directors resolved on February 9, 1856, to advertise the enforcement of the law against traveling "without paying and without tickets." After 1857 the expense of upkeep increased and became an oppressive financial burden. The president was authorized, February 18, 1858, to "hire hands and repair road." The following year a general contract was made for repairing a bridge, for covering the road with 2 inches of dirt, for clearing off bushes and weeds, and for lumber to replace decayed portions.<sup>85</sup>

The minute book reveals the bad condition of the road which caused the company to

refund tolls to Beaman and Robinson stage at the rate of ten dollars per month while the bridge over the Six Runs was down on account of having to feed the horses additional to run the dirt road.<sup>86</sup>

On January 18, 1862, John R. Beaman was elected president, but refused to serve. The last recorded minutes of the company are dated June 7, 1862. On that date William A. Faison, the pre-

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 8-9.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 39, 41.

<sup>84</sup> *Comptroller's Report*, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860.

<sup>85</sup> *Minutes*, pp. 43, 61, 65.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

vious president, agreed to serve.<sup>87</sup> There are no records, however, of later meetings.

Two interstate plank roads were constructed: one from Yanceyville to the Virginia line to join a road from that point to Danville, Virginia; and the other from Rocky River, near Centre, through Wadesboro to the South Carolina line where it joined the Cheraw Plank Road constructed by a South Carolina company.<sup>88</sup> The road to the South Carolina line was constructed by the Anson Plank Road Company, chartered January 28, 1851.<sup>89</sup> The *Cheraw Gazette* asked of its patrons in 1851, "Shall we let our trade get away or shall we build a road to Salisbury?"<sup>90</sup> By sponsoring the road through Wadesboro, the South Carolina leaders attempted to hold the trade that had formerly gone to that State via the Yadkin River Valley. The Yanceyville Road was constructed under a charter granted Christmas Day, 1852, authorizing the Caswell Plank Road Company to build three roads. The charter, however, provided that if only enough capital could be secured for the road from Yanceyville to the Virginia line, the company should be incorporated as the Yanceyville Plank Road Company.<sup>91</sup> This road was operated for several years, and its charter was amended as late as 1859.<sup>92</sup>

Three other plank roads were constructed, although detailed information concerning them is not available. In February, 1853, \$45,000 had been subscribed for a road from Washington to Tarboro. Of this total, \$2,000 had been subscribed in New York, a fact which caused the *North Carolina Whig* to comment, "Well we think that these northern capitalists are in a fair way of opening the eyes of 'Old Rip' to the value and extent of his own resources."<sup>93</sup> Only \$750 had been subscribed in Tarboro.<sup>94</sup> The company was organized February 24, and R. L. Myers was elected president. He had formerly been president of the Greenville and Raleigh Plank Road Company.<sup>95</sup> The survey to Tarboro had been completed April 2, 1853, and a route to Enfield was

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<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>88</sup> *Colton's Map of the State of North Carolina*, 1866.

<sup>89</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1850-51, Chap. 142.

<sup>90</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), August 1, 1851.

<sup>91</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1852, Chap. 105.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 1858-59, Chap. 159.

<sup>93</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), February 26, 1853.

<sup>94</sup> *Southerner* (Tarboro), February 19, 1853.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 1853.

being surveyed.<sup>96</sup> Had a road been constructed of the length and importance of the one proposed, it would have been discussed in some of the available state newspapers of that day. It is probable that the importance of the road or roads constructed was local, for a pamphlet printed in 1854 proposing an internal improvement system for North Carolina stated that Washington "now draws produce from Pitt, Green, and part of Edgecombe, by means of the river and plank roads."<sup>97</sup>

A second company for which records are rather meager was the Haywood and Pittsboro Plank Road Company, chartered November 20, 1852.<sup>98</sup> In February, 1854, according to an article printed in the *North Carolina Star*, the stock had been subscribed, the officials had been elected, and the survey was in progress. Contracts were to be let on March 4.<sup>99</sup> This company secured a renewal of its charter in 1863, which extended its existence for 30 years. It provided also for a choice between building a "McAdamized road" and the privilege of relaying "the same with plank."<sup>100</sup>

The Asheville and Greenville, South Carolina, Road was chartered by the North Carolina legislature in January, 1851.<sup>101</sup> The South Carolina section was chartered the following year by the South Carolina legislature. On February 7, 1853, a meeting was held in Greenville for "furthering this enterprise." The *Greenville Mountaineer* thought that it was certain that the proposed road would be constructed.<sup>102</sup> The company found it difficult to construct a road entirely of plank, but improved and operated the route formerly controlled by the Buncombe Turnpike Company. The amended charter, dated January, 1855, provided "that no increase of the tolls shall be made except on portions of the road laid with planks, stone, or gravel, at least ten miles together."<sup>103</sup> The last legislative record of this road, dated December 21, 1864, placed it under military control:

Be it enacted, That the military officer in command of the western division of North Carolina, and those acting under his authority, shall

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, April 2, 1853.

<sup>97</sup> [Bishop Hawks], *Hints on the Internal Improvement of North Carolina*, p. 44.

<sup>98</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1852, Chap. 108.

<sup>99</sup> *North Carolina Star* (Raleigh), February 15, 1854.

<sup>100</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1862-63, (adjourned session), Chap. 25.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 1850-51, Chap. 147.

<sup>102</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), February 26, 1853.

<sup>103</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1854-55, Chap. 190.

have complete control of the 'Asheville and Greenville Plank Road,' and manage the road as they think proper during the continuance of the war between the United States and the Confederate States of America.<sup>104</sup>

Although many of the eighty-four chartered roads were never built, North Carolina constructed approximately five hundred miles of plank highways at a cost of almost \$1,000,000. Had other communities exercised greater coöperation, more of the eighty-four roads chartered would have been constructed. The great hindrance—subsiding interest followed by a lack of coöperation—was pictured by the *Carolina Watchman*:

All that patience and labor could effect has been done by the few spirited individuals, upon whom the drudgery and toil of the undertaking have devolved. Instead of lending a helping hand and a word of encouragement to the work, many, who are benefitted to no inconsiderable extent already, have chosen not only to withhold all assistance in their power, but have taxed their ingenuity to devise ways and means to baffle those who were laboring industriously to ameliorate the condition.<sup>105</sup>

Successful management of the plank road affairs necessitated a capable and sincere president. This officer was the chief administrative official. He was assisted by a board of directors elected by the stockholders annually. The first charters provided for the president to be elected annually by the stockholders, but the later charters usually specified that the board of directors elect a president from its membership. The president and directors were responsible for the construction and operation of the road and reported to the stockholders annually concerning the affairs of the company.

Often the president and directors were assisted by a clerk and a treasurer who were selected by the board. These two officials and the president were paid salaries proportional to the time and responsibility involved in performing their duties. President Edward Lee Winslow of the Fayetteville and Western Company received "a salary of Five Hundred Dollars per annum and traveling expenses."<sup>106</sup> The road under his guidance was much longer than the other roads and necessitated more of the presi-

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 1864-65, Chap. 23.

<sup>105</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), March 29, 1855.

<sup>106</sup> *Charter and By-Laws of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 15.

dent's time. Engineers were employed by the companies for surveying and constructing roads. As practically all of the North Carolina plank roads were contracted, few laborers were employed by the plank road companies for construction. Toll collectors and laborers, however, were needed for the maintenance of the roads.

The by-laws of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company stated that it was a "special duty" of the president "to look after and to take charge of the varied interests and property of the Company," and "to see that the different officials and servants of the Company faithfully do their duty."<sup>107</sup>

The toll collected along the plank roads was the source of revenue which determined the success or failure of the plank road companies. In his second annual report, Edward Lee Winslow, president of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, discussed this point:

It may be remarked, that as the revenue of the Company is to flow in through the Toll Collectors, and the opportunity of holding back small sums would in the year make a considerable loss, care should be exercised in appointing honest men, paying them what is fair, and the money collected from them at short intervals, and paid into the Treasury of the Company.<sup>108</sup>

This company charged one-half cent per mile for a rider on horseback, one cent for a one-horse team, two cents for a two-horse team, three cents for a three-horse team, and four cents for a six-horse team.<sup>109</sup> The Fayetteville and Warsaw Plank Road Company provided special round-trip rates:<sup>110</sup>

Clinton-Warsaw (13  $\frac{3}{10}$  miles)

	one way	both ways
1 horse cart.....	20c	30c
2 horse cart.....	25c	40c
1 single ox and cart.....	20c	30c
1 horse wagon.....	25c	40c
2 horse wagon.....	30c	50c
3 horse wagon.....	35c	55c
4 horse wagon.....	40c	65c
5 horse wagon.....	50c	75c

<sup>107</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>108</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> Lefler, Hugh T., ed., *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*, p. 230; "Internal Improvement Report," *Executive Documents, North Carolina Legislative Records, 1850-51*.

<sup>110</sup> *Minutes*, p. 41.

6 horse wagon.....	60c	90c
Yoke, oxen, and cart.....	25c	35c

The toll houses cost approximately \$300, and in 1851 the collectors were paid \$150 per year.<sup>111</sup> At that time it was thought best to build toll gates every six or seven miles and to make the keepers responsible for the upkeep of the road. As this plan of maintenance was unwise, experience soon forced the adoption of the plan

of hiring a suitable man, and furnishing him with what may be necessary to keep the road in order, giving him authority, under the charge of the President of the Company, to see that the road is saved from imposition, and requiring him to travel the length of the road, then the stations may be 10 to 12 miles distant from each other.<sup>112</sup>

The novelty of the idea made the plank road companies popular at first, for people were anxious to ride over these "mudless highways." Farm and forest products were taken to markets over them. Many travelers followed them, for they saved time and wear and tear on their vehicles and harness; and their horses were saved much strain. Stage coaches adopted the plank road routes and were among the most reliable sources of income.

Hay from Forsyth County was one of the most important staple products which found a way to market over the plank roads. The Salisbury Internal Improvement Convention of 1854 reported 20,000 wagons as having passed along the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road within twelve months "laden with corn, bacon, flour, hay, fodder, and provisions of all kinds."<sup>113</sup> The naval stores industry developed rapidly along the eastern plank roads. From Iredell County a letter to the *North Carolina Whig* said that these roads "give us mountain boys a market for our cotton, bacon, flour, potatoes, cabbage, chickens, eggs, beef, mutton, tallow, beeswax, honey, linseed oil."<sup>114</sup> Papers reported an increased value of woodlands, for wood or timber could be taken to market easily in larger quantities. Tobacco was carried over plank roads for long distances in "rollers."<sup>115</sup> These plank roads were called the "Farmers' Railroads." The president of the

<sup>111</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 8.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>113</sup> "Reports and Resolutions of the Salisbury Internal Improvements Convention," *Legislative Documents*, 1854-55, Vol. II, House Document 9, p. 60.

<sup>114</sup> *North Carolina Whig* (Charlotte), March 16, 1853.

<sup>115</sup> A "roller" was a hogshead with an axle through the center to be drawn by a horse.

largest plank road company reported for the year 1851, "Another year has confirmed the President and Directors in their opinion of the advantages to be derived from the system of internal improvement by means of Plank Roads."<sup>116</sup>

A cultural interpretation of the importance of establishing and operating plank roads appeared in the *Southerner*, December 18, 1852:

Improvements of this kind will add to the real or permanent wealth of our country. . . . They will encourage the cultivation of the ornamental and beautiful. . . . They will set the most steady agog now and then, and by awakening their curiosity lead them to see a little of the world. . . . They will bring the powers of science into action at the very door-sills of some of our stand-still friends, and teach them the advantages of intellectual advancements.<sup>117</sup>

People along the roads not only improved their homes, but also their language. Colonel W. A. Blair of Winston-Salem learned from some of the older people who lived along the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road of a family who visited relatives whose home was beside the road. In this home the visitors found a new word "gravy," which to their astonishment was a "high falutin" name for "sop."<sup>118</sup>

The value of land increased along the plank road routes. A 5,000 acre tract along the Fayetteville and Centre Road sold in 1853 for \$2.00 per acre, whereas a few years before it had sold for only 14 cents per acre.<sup>119</sup> The *Fayetteville Observer* stated in 1853 that "Our plank roads have been worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to the country they have penetrated."<sup>120</sup> Towns along the several routes increased in size, and new ones appeared. High Point owes its origin to the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road and the North Carolina Railroad, for where they crossed the village soon appeared. In the legislature plank roads were spoken of during the fifties as a profitable investment for state funds. Asa Biggs, senator from Martin County, mentioned in 1855 plank road stock as on a par with other stock when

<sup>116</sup> *Second Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 12.

<sup>117</sup> *Southerner* (Tarboro), December 18, 1852.

<sup>118</sup> Colonel W. A. Blair, whose home is in Winston-Salem, collected much data concerning the Fayetteville and Western Road. He knew many of the stagecoach drivers and several men who owned stock in the company. He wrote during the summer of 1924 several articles for the Sunday edition of the *Greensboro Daily News*.

<sup>119</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, November 14, 1853.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, November 21, 1853.

he anticipated "\$58,434.94 as the estimated dividends from Railroads, Plank-roads and other productive stock."<sup>121</sup>

As a financial investment the North Carolina plank road stock was a bubble that soon burst, for the total of all dividends did not equal the original cost of construction. The Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company paid dividends from 1851 to 1856. In return for the \$120,000 invested, the State received \$35,400 in dividends. The Fayetteville and Warsaw Plank Road paid the State dividends in 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860. As the State owned preferred stock, the \$849.71 received by the State was the total of dividends paid by the Fayetteville and Warsaw Company. The State invested \$180,000 in three plank road companies and received in return \$37,449.71.<sup>122</sup> It is probable that some of the smaller companies repaid in dividends a larger per cent of the stockholders' original investment. In all the records available, after the first three or four years of operation the annual reports mention "heavy rains," "unexpected cost of repairs," and the "shortage of crops" in explaining the failure of the roads to provide the anticipated dividends. The following typical optimistic statement is taken from Superintendent Jonathan Worth's report to the stockholders of the Fayetteville and Western Company in 1858: "With good management, under the amended charter, and another good crop, we may hope for an increase of tolls, and a further dividend to the stockholders."<sup>123</sup> There was, however, no "further dividend."

Although the failure of plank roads in North Carolina was inevitable because of many circumstances and conditions which determined their practicability, they were, nevertheless, an important part of the awakening development which enabled the State to cast off its opprobrious name of "Old Rip." North Carolina was no longer the "self-satisfied," slothful state of former days.

The competition of the railroad was one of the causes of the decline of the plank road movement. The fact that the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company was afraid to compete with the North Carolina Railroad between Lexington and Salisbury implies an advantage for the railroad that was understood

<sup>121</sup> *North Carolinian* (Fayetteville), February 3, 1855.

<sup>122</sup> *Comptroller's Reports*, 1851-1860.

<sup>123</sup> *Ninth Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company*, p. 5.

by the officials of the plank road company. There were various popular and biased opinions concerning the value of the two types of roads. Several articles appeared in *DeBow's Review* telling of the advantages of plank roads over railroads. One article, in September, 1850, presented the chief advantages of the plank roads, and refuted the popular arguments which favored railroads. In the same magazine, in April, 1851, the first of a series of articles by a certain Gregg appeared. He attempted to prove that the railroad would not answer the needs of an agricultural community as adequately or economically as a highway of planks.<sup>124</sup> Many people and newspapers considered each as an aid to the other, especially the "planks" as a feeder for the "rails," and referred to them as "those important tributaries to our Railroads." A letter signed "Fair-Play," printed in the *Southerner*, concluded thus: "For our condition Plank Roads are the very thing we need now; and that in due time they will grow to be railroads."<sup>125</sup>

The Fayetteville and Western Road which connected the western section of the State with an eastern market suffered most from the railroad movement. Many western farmers took advantage of the rapid transportation service rendered by the railroads. In his report to the stockholders, April, 1857, President N. A. Stedman said that "The great diminishment of tolls is owing to two causes—the short crops and the completion of the North Carolina Railroad." The first had caused "much less travel in transporting produce to market," and the latter had "materially reduced the quantity of goods for the merchants of the interior, transported over the road."<sup>126</sup> He accounted for the decline the following year by saying:

the high price of grain and other produce in foreign markets enabled the farmers to sell at the railroad depots, at high prices, and the purchasers, by rapid transmission, could make safe transactions; besides, the severity of the winter deterred many from taking long trips to this market [Fayetteville].<sup>127</sup>

The years ending April 1, 1854, and April 1, 1855, were the most prosperous for the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Com-

<sup>124</sup> *DeBow's Review*, IX, 334-335; X, 475, 665; XI, 63, 428.

<sup>125</sup> *Southerner* (Tarboro), October 23, 1852.

<sup>126</sup> *Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Annual Reports of the Fayetteville and Western Plank*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 1858.

pany. The income of this company increased \$10,000 in 1854 to reach its highest peak, \$27,419.77. In 1855 its income dropped by approximately \$600. For the years 1856 and 1857 the company's income decreased by about \$5,000 per year.<sup>128</sup> This annual income of \$15,000 was not sufficient to enable the company to operate efficiently without a deficit. According to Colonel Blair, the innkeepers and teamsters felt that the railroad more than the Civil War was to blame for the failure of the Fayetteville and Western Road. Other plank roads were local and could not be as easily replaced by the railway system.

Plank road companies suffered much from "cheaters" who would travel the planks between toll houses, and in passing would drive on dirt roads to avoid the toll collectors. There were so many opportunities for avoiding the toll gates that the legislature enacted special laws providing for the punishment of users of the toll roads who failed to pay. The 1858-59 legislature authorized the Fayetteville and Western Company to appoint traveling toll collectors who could serve as spies to help break up the trespassing habit.<sup>129</sup>

The general panic that swept the country during the plank road decade was one of the factors which played a part in reducing the companies' volume of business. One of the Wilmington papers announced in October, 1857, that there were "upward of sixty vessels now lying in the port of Wilmington, owing to the difficulty of procuring Freight. . . . We hope that this state of things may not continue long."<sup>130</sup> A year or two of losses was fatal for companies that hardly made expenses in normal times.

The success or failure of a company depended upon the money returns or profit. For a road to continue to operate, it had to earn a dividend for the stockholders as an interest upon their investment. It had to provide salaries for the administrative force and to accumulate a reserve fund for repair and reconstruction. This problem of "profit" versus "loss" was the final test which determined success or failure, operation or abandonment.

<sup>128</sup> *Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth Annual Reports of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company.*

<sup>129</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1858-1859, Chap. 158.*

<sup>130</sup> *North Carolina Argus (Fayetteville), Oct. 31, 1857.*

Six years after laying of the first plank on the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road, President Stedman informed the stockholders at their annual meeting that

It will be the first and most important business devolving upon the next board to adopt some fixed plan for the permanent and economical repair of the road.<sup>131</sup>

According to him the cost of plank road upkeep was tremendous because of the quick decay of the plank and the damage caused by freshets. During the year approximately \$11,000 had been expended for repairs.<sup>132</sup> This problem of upkeep had been recognized by Edward Lee Winslow before his retirement from the presidency. In his report for the year 1853-54, he said:

The principal, it may be said, the only difficulty in Plankroads, is as to their durability and proper repair. . . . The expenses of repair and replacing planks on the road, bridges and culverts, will be heavy, I fear, the coming year.<sup>133</sup>

In 1857, Jonathan Worth, general superintendent of the Fayetteville and Western Road, said that it was necessary "to provide a more reliable means to get the Plank required for its repair at a cheaper price and of better quality." President Stedman reported that "one year of neglect might prove fatal." During the year the cost of repair had been \$20,388.72. The toll collected for the year had totalled only \$15,966.69. During the following year the expenditure for maintenance was only \$7,737.90, and the company's income was \$14,491.12. Superintendent Worth thought that a plank would last eight years and suggested that one-eighth of the road be reconstructed each year. As there were 160 miles, twenty miles would have to be rebuilt each year. He had experimented by reconstructing sections of the road with stone and gravel. Wherever it was inconvenient to secure planks the macadamized plan was cheaper and "answered well."<sup>134</sup> As the road's volume of business had declined to less than \$15,000 per year, its income would not cover operating expenses and provide proper repairs.

<sup>131</sup> *Seventh Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, 1856, p. 8.*

<sup>132</sup> *Eighth Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, 1857, p. 8.*

<sup>133</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, 1854, p. 5.*

<sup>134</sup> *Seventh and Eighth Annual Reports of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company.*

Several companies tried materials other than plank for repairs. In 1854 the Asheville and Greenville Plank Road Company was authorized to "alter, make and furnish said road with plank, stone, gravel or other material to suit the ground and their means."<sup>135</sup> The Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company secured permission from the legislature of 1856-57 "to repair their road at such points as they may deem expedient, with stone, gravel, or such other material as they may deem most suitable."<sup>136</sup> A general plank road law was enacted by the same legislature, and it provided that plank road companies could use "stone and gravel in the construction and repair of their road on the plan of macadamized roads."<sup>137</sup>

The North Carolina legislature gave the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company full freedom for completing its road to Albemarle:

In the construction of the Fayetteville and Albemarle plankroad, from Little's Mills to Albemarle, the president and directors be, and they are hereby authorized to use such other materials than plank as they may deem best, and that in the repair and reconstruction of said road other materials than plank may be used whenever the president and directors may direct.<sup>138</sup>

In 1858 the Charlotte and Taylorsville Plank Road Company appealed to the legislature and was "authorized and empowered" to use material other than plank for reconstruction, "Provided, That no other material than stone or plank shall be used in repairing said road within the corporate limits of the town of Charlotte."<sup>139</sup> As late as 1862 the Pittsboro and Haywood Plank Road Company's charter was renewed with the privilege of building a "MacAdamized road in place of the plank, or to relay same with plank."<sup>140</sup>

The Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company faced a serious maintenance problem in 1860. President F. N. Roberts reported that a part of the road needed replanking even though it had not been in use eight years. Twenty miles of the road near Drowning Creek needed new plank. A half-mile at Puppy Creek

<sup>135</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1854-55, Chap. 190.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 1856-57, Chap. 31.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 1856-57, Chap. 65.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 1856-57, Chap. 62.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 1858-59, Chap. 157.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 1862-63 (adjourned session), Chap. 25.

was without plank, and another half was hardly in usable condition. President Roberts estimated the amount of money needed for reconstruction and for meeting liabilities to be between \$8,000 and \$9,000. Secretary Rose stated in his report that year, "I can say unless the Stockholders or Directors take active measures this road must go down."<sup>141</sup>

The Civil War was responsible for a general upheaval and unsettled conditions which discouraged new investments and general progress. Thus many companies abandoned their roads rather than rebuild. Some of these companies secured special legislation authorizing abandonment. In September, 1861, an amendment to the Fayetteville and Northern Plank Road Company's charter provided for the abandonment of that road.<sup>142</sup> The Greenville and Raleigh Plank Road Company appealed to the legislature in 1861 and was authorized to sell the road. The bill provided

that the business for which the said corporation was established shall, from and after the said sales, no longer be continued, but the same shall cease, and no fares or tolls for the use of said road shall be charged, nor shall there be any further duty or obligation upon said corporation to keep in repair the said Plank road.<sup>143</sup>

An amendment to the charter of the Western Plank Road Company, passed December 18, 1862, permitted that company "to abandon any part or parts thereof to public use, that they may see proper: Provided that on the part or parts so abandoned, no charge or toll shall be asked or taken."<sup>144</sup> In 1864 the Asheville and Greenville Plank Road Company was taken over by the State to be placed under the control of "the military officer in command of the western division of North Carolina."<sup>145</sup> One company, the Pittsboro and Haywood, was more optimistic and renewed its charter for a "term of thirty years."<sup>146</sup> The Fayetteville and Western Company, having been authorized by the legislature to abandon or to sell all or part of its road, sold the section between High Point and Bethania at auction in January, 1862.<sup>147</sup> It was sold to John Stafford, a mail contractor, for

<sup>141</sup> *Report of the Fayetteville and Albemarle Plank Road Company*, 1860.

<sup>142</sup> *Laws of North Carolina* (second extra session), 1861, Chap. 56.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 1860-61, Chap. 124.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 1862-63, Chap. 15.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 1864-65 (second extra session), Chap. 23.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 1862-63 (adjourned session), Chap. 25.

<sup>147</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, November 10, 1862.

only \$725.50, a sum less than half the original cost of constructing one mile. Since his investment was not profitable, Stafford sold the road one year later to I. G. Lash, E. L. Clemmons, Samuel Martin, D. H. Starbuck, Robert Grey, and P. A. Wilson.<sup>148</sup> The final episode of this plank road company's history was written by the State legislature, April 10, 1869. The county commissioners of Forsyth, Davidson, and Guilford were authorized to appoint overseers to take charge of the road and "to keep in repairs said road."<sup>149</sup> This was the closing of the final curtain upon the plank road companies and their operation of toll roads in North Carolina.

During the twelve-year period, 1849-1861, North Carolina responded to the imperative need for improved transportation facilities by chartering eighty-four plank road companies. Although many of these toll roads were never begun, approximately 500 miles were constructed and operated. The Fayetteville and Western Plank Road, from Fayetteville to Salem, was the longest and the most noted of the plank roads constructed in North Carolina. These roads facilitated the marketing of produce and were popularly called "farmers' railroads." The income failed to repay the original cost of construction before a general rebuilding was necessary. The expense of repair and reconstruction, the turmoil of Civil War, railroad competition, and the increase in the price of lumber and labor made the downfall of the plank road system of highways inevitable.

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<sup>148</sup> *Laws of North Carolina*, 1863 (adjourned session), Chap. 16.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 1868-69, Chap. 166.

# UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

Edited by  
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued]

FROM WALTER F. LEAK<sup>40</sup>

Richmond Ct House No. C.

Jan'y 12 1834

James K Polk

Sir,

I have read with pleasure, your reply to Geo McDuffie, on the Subject of the deposits; and allow me as one of the Early Friends of The President, to return to you my Humble Thanks, for your able Cooperation & Support of a Measure, which was called for by The abuses which was created by the Institution Itself; a measure which you have shown, has been sanctioned by precedent, and which never was questioned, untill [*sic*] quite recently; and that too by a class of Politicians, who have "Boxed every point of the Political Compass:" I was formerly, the Friend of the Bank And remained such, up to the report of the Government Directors After which, I saw, or thought I saw, something in its management, at War with the Republican Institutions of My Country; (I allude in part to the appropriation of money To carry on a Crusade with the Government and to the danger resulting such political Interference) I know the Friends of The Bank tell us, that It acts on the defensive, but such Jargon As that will not do, for a person of the least political discernment It is loosing sight of the *True* question, and submerging It Into one of minor consequence, that of the pecuniary Interest, of the stockholders, for certainly it will not be contended by any Class of Politicians, Nullifiers or Nationals, that the Interest of The Stockholders, was the *moving* principle In the Incorporation of the Bank, but rather was it not created to subserve and only to *subserve*, the Govt in its fiscal operations; *This* being The main object in its formation, it necessarily follows, that whenever The Govt, thro a co-ordinate branch or otherwise, believes the Institution no longer desirable as a *Mean* to attain the End, That the Bank as such, has no right to complain; much less can she be Justified, in using her Purse to bring

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<sup>40</sup> Walter F. Leak (1799-Apr. 8, 1879) of Rockingham County, was a student at the University of North Carolina during the 1815-16 session; a member of the house of commons, 1831; in the state senate, 1832; presidential elector, 1852; member of the North Carolina constitutional convention, 1861; and a trustee of the University of North Carolina for twenty-two years. Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 357.

into disrepute, the Administration (who as she says) assail her; It is true that the *Interests* of the stockholders, is intimately connected with the Continuance of the Bank, but their Interests can be viewed in no other light, or consulted in any other way, than that which Incidentally flour from the Establishment of their Principal. The *Principal* being excrucence, or likely to become such, on the Body Politic, that which is only *Incidental* ought not to To[sic] carry on a warfare with its creator; you will of course understand me as speaking of the Executive, as a coordinate branch of the Law making Power; when he acts as such. It is under the High objection of official duty; with the same propriety might the old Bank (upon which by, the by Mr Clay used one of the Best Constitutional Arguments I have noticed, which has had less *lasting* impression upon himself than upon the Community) Complain of the Congress of 1811 (I think) who Refused a recharter; The thing Sir, is Indefensible, and I Am utterly surprized [sic], how any man, whether Friend or Foe can approve the conduct of the Bank in this particular Instance, not to speak of other Abuses

I have not written However, to offer any thing like an Argument, to one so Completely Master of his subject, but merely to revive "Old acquaintance" which was somewhat renewed, on one of my visits to the North, at which time I had the pleasure of your company

You will probably then, by this signature, have "old Acquaintance and youthful associations; you will have recalled To your mind Collegiate Reminiscences, which I Know to you are always dwelt on with pleasure.

Should any thing of particular Interest itself, during the progress of the session, I should be glad at all times, to have the pleasure of Acknowledging the receipt of a letter

Respectfully

Y<sup>c</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>. O<sup>b</sup>. S<sup>t</sup>.

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

Charlotte N.C Jan<sup>y</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1834

Dear Sir

I take the liberty of suggesting to you the propriety of establishing in this section of the State an assay-office the importance of which can better be explained by the bearer of this letter Mr Featherstaat Hough Now engaged under the secretary of war in geological and minerological investigations—The individual concerned in producing or rather extracting the gold<sup>41</sup> suffer continually from the cupidity of the merchants

<sup>41</sup> About 1818 Dunn's gold mine was opened in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. It was located approximately eight miles northwest of Charlotte. It was not until 1836 that the United States mint was built. *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), May 6, 1840; Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, p. 302.

and other speculators for the want of a stamp on the gold ascertaining its precise fineness and this stamp must be made by one having authority to make it. The persons who are developing this hidden source of our natural wealth should have from the government every encouragement which can be legitimately be entrusted to them. The office if established cannot cost the Government more than Ten thousand dollars besides the salary to one competent person to fulfil its duties Mr Connor<sup>42</sup> with whom I have conversed on the subject stated to me that he concurred with me in the propriety of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Government establishing such an office and I have no doubt will give every aid in his power to further it.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir with respect your  
&c

FROM R. H. MOSBY

Warren cty N: Ca: Feby 4<sup>th</sup>: 1834

Sir,

I have received from my friend Mr Stevenson a letter in which he says that he has apprised you of my views and wishes in relation to the claims of D<sup>r</sup> Smith—He says that your engagements of a publick character have prevented you from giving to the subject that attention which it otherwise would have received.

I am well aware situated as you are that his subject is bound to give place to others of more serious impact in which you are called on to act — But such is the importance of immediate action in reference to the recovery of the claim of D<sup>r</sup> Smith; (depending as it does on the testimony of persons on the outer verge of human existence) that I am persuaded when the fact is made known to you; that you will as an act of justice to all parties considered no longer delay it —

Before I can proceed in the business I wish to know what papers have been forwarded to you by Smith. If he has sent a contract recognizing my right to settle the claim and securing to me the amt: of compensation stipulated between us — or if he has merely left that subject to you; with authority to pay over to me the amt; which I am to have on recovering the claim — your word to me that I shall exercise will be sufficient and; I will instantly take step to place the subject before the committee in such a shape as will in all possibility result in a speedy and successful adjustment of the matter.

I must ask it as a favour and an act of justice that you will let me know the exact state of the business without delay — unless the

<sup>42</sup> Henry W. Connor (Aug. 5, 1795-Jan. 6, 1866), farmer, soldier, and statesman, was born in Prince George County, Virginia, and was educated at the University of South Carolina. He served in the War of 1812, and represented North Carolina as a Democrat in the House of Representatives from March 4, 1821, to March 3, 1841. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 841.

information is furnished me no action can be hoped for at this session of Congress — and a delay of 12 months may shut the door effectually over it

Please address your answer to Warrenton Warren cty N. Ca.

To

your

ble: St:

FROM THOMAS WATSON<sup>43</sup>

Reading Room,

Newbern, N.C. 20<sup>th</sup>. Feby. 1834

Hon: M<sup>r</sup>. Polk,

House Rep:

Sir,

You will confer a favor on many of your friends here, by addressing a copy to the Newbern Reading Room, in pamphlet form, of your Speech on the Deposit [sic] Question. The favor will be increased, if you will at the same time, transmit pamphlet copies of the Speeches on the same subject by the Hon. M<sup>r</sup>. Benton, the Hon. M<sup>r</sup>. Forsyth, and the Hon. M<sup>r</sup>. Rives. Excuse this liberty:—it is taken under the belief That you will readily pardon it.

I am, very respectfully

Y<sup>r</sup>. obt. ser<sup>t</sup>.

Proprietor Newbern R.Room

FROM DAVID T. CALDWELL

Charlotte Feby 27<sup>th</sup> 1834

Col. Polk

On May 1831 I sent you a note on W<sup>m</sup> & Thos Harding near Nashville of \$1666.66 to collect — at the same time I sent you a copy [sic] of the will of John McKnitt Alexander<sup>44</sup> and a deed from Executor

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Watson edited the *North Carolina Sentinel*, which was published at New Bern.

<sup>44</sup> John McKnitt Alexander (1733-July 10, 1817) was born in Pennsylvania and moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, when he was about twenty-one. He was secretary to the famous Mecklenburg Convention of May, 1775; a member of the Provincial Congress which met in Hillsboro, 1775, and the one that met in Halifax, April, 1776; register of deeds of Mecklenburg County, 1792-1808; an elder in the Presbyterian Church; and secretary to the North and South Carolina Synod. He married Jane Bain who died, March 16, 1798. Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, pp. 80-83, 405-407; Wheeler, John H., *Reminiscences of North Carolina*, pp. 64, 264, 268.

Joseph McKnitt Alexander<sup>45</sup> to Walter S Pharr<sup>46</sup> and myself and another deed from us. (W.S.P. & myself) conveying the same land (about 954 acres) to Jno W. Jones, I expected these papers were long since in the hands of Mr Jones until [sic] a few days since I rec<sup>d</sup>. notice from him that he had not rec<sup>d</sup>. them. I wrote to him at the time I sent the papers to you apprising him of the fact that they were in your hands which I suspect he never rec<sup>d</sup>. I have forgotten whether I directed you to keep them until [sic] he sent for them or requested you to forward them to him. The object of writing to you now is to request you if you have not sent them to forward them to John W. Jones Randolph Tipton Tennessee as soon as possible. I have written to him that I would instruct you so to do and that if he did not receive them in due time to let me know and we would have another prepared and attested in next May — (the time of holding our county court).

I hope therefore you will immediately forward the papers — Should you have sent them please to let me know as early as you can that others may be sent on to him

Respectfully yours &c.

P.S. I have directed this to Columbia expecting your associate in practice will attend to it in your absence.

D.T. C

FROM JAMES A. CRAIG

Haw River, N.C. 21, June 1834

My Dear Sir/

There is an infirm and an aged man some 10 or 12 miles off, by the name of George Wright, who is afflicted with a Cancer and is under my care as a physician—All Mr. Wright says he was a Continental Soldier in the Pennsylvania Line—was attached to the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment, which was in January 1777 (the time he enlisted) under the command of Col: Hand<sup>47</sup> and subsequently under Col: Chambers.<sup>48</sup> That one Moore

<sup>45</sup> Joseph McKnitt Alexander (1774-1841) was the son of John McKnitt and Jane Bain Alexander. He was educated at Princeton to be a physician. He married Dovey Winslow who died, September 6, 1801, leaving one son, Moses Alexander, who was a doctor. Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, p. 268; Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>46</sup> Walter S. Pharr was a Presbyterian minister. He preached at Ramah and Mallard Creek churches and was buried at the latter. Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, p. 182.

<sup>47</sup> Edward Hand (Dec. 31, 1744-Sept. 3, 1802), physician and soldier, was promoted from lieutenant-colonel of Thompson's Pennsylvania rifle regiment to lieutenant-colonel of the first Continental Infantry, January 1, 1776. On April 1, 1777, he was made a brigadier-general; on January 8, 1781, adjutant-general; and on September 30, 1783, brevet major-general. Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army*, p. 272; *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 223-224.

<sup>48</sup> Benjamin Chambers joined Thompson's Pennsylvania rifle regiment as a private, June 27, 1775; was made lieutenant-colonel of the first Continental Infantry, June 5, 1776; was discharged, August, 1776, but later rejoined the Revolutionary Army and became ensign of the first Pennsylvania regiment June 2, 1778. Heitman, *Register*, p. 149.

(I think) was Captain—That he was under General Howe, at the attack on Verplanks Point, in July 1779, and was wounded by a musket ball passing thro' the palm of the left hand, which rendered him an *Invalid* he is and has been in consequence of said wound, disqualified from labour and has been averse 'till afflicted by the Cancer, to become a pensioner, the neighbours understanding him to have been a Revolutionary Soldier and that he got his disability in the Services of the Country—have exercised a liberal & charitable part towards him—He has stated his Services to me, and some three months ago I drew up and forwarded a Declaration to the Pension office, stating the circumstances of his Service and disability—I was under the impression from the old man's statement that he could claim pension under the act of 1832, making provisions for those Revolutionary Soldiers that had got their disability in the Service of their Country—I did not know the form that the act requires, and varied it but little from the *formula*, published in '32, by the pension office—I beg you will have the kindness to call upon Mr. Edwards,<sup>49</sup> and ascertain if this Declaration has ever reached the pension office—And if so what Disposition has been made of it. His application procured the evidence of John Baudy, a Continental Soldier of the Rev: who testified that he saw Wright soon after the engagement at 'Verplanks' Point and remembers that Wright in consequence of a wound in that engagement was an *invalid* I think some other person proved that Wright was in the Pennsylvania Line—As this old man from his disability & affliction, is in utter poverty, I beg you will give this case your early & personal attention—I designed to have forwarded this in care to Mr. Rencher,<sup>50</sup> but I am of opinion I did not, as Mr. Rencher has written me once or twice laterally and makes no mention of W<sup>s</sup>. Case your early attention to this case will render me under more obligations to you. Please write me as soon as you ascertain the result of this old man's application.

Your sincere friend

Washington City,

Hon: James K. Polk,

H.R.

P S. Old Mr. Wright has been informed that his name is to be found only upon the Roll of the City of Philadelphia—If it be necessary to further the old man's claim, that his name be found—pray have the kindness to write to the proper officer in Philadelphia, for the old

<sup>49</sup> James L. Edwards of Virginia was commissioner of the United States Pension Office. *Official Register of the United States* (1835), p. 42.

<sup>50</sup> Abraham Rencher, a member of the House of Representatives from North Carolina, served in Congress from March 4, 1829, to March 3, 1839; and from March 4, 1841, to March 3, 1843. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, pp. 1453-1454.

Gentleman feels confident it is to be found upon the rolls of the Pennsylvania Line that is kept in that City.—Did I know to whom to write in Phil<sup>a</sup>. I would not impose that upon your kindness—Wright speaks of being placed upon the “Invalid Core” in Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1779—if there be such a “roll” in Phil<sup>a</sup>. I make no doubt but that will be the place to find it—Please enquire—He says he was in Phil<sup>a</sup> 18 y<sup>rs</sup> ago and that office that kept the roll of Continental line—showed him his name in the 1<sup>st</sup> Pen. Regiment.

Please forward the enclosed to M<sup>r</sup>. Woodbury.<sup>51</sup>

FROM SAMUEL KING<sup>52</sup>

N<sup>o</sup>. C Oakville Sept<sup>r</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>. 1834

The Honb<sup>e</sup>. James K. Polk

D<sup>r</sup>. Sir

Having no other means of information than that which is derived thro' our Public Paper, I was truly surprized in the summer of 1833, when I saw it announced that the President was taking preparatory steps for a removal of the public deposits,—those feelings were the more induced from the reflection that the House of Representatives had so recently passed a *vote* on that question, & the short interval that would seem until the annual meeting of Congress—at first I believed it to be a mere slang gotten up by his opponents—nor did I believe it possible until the measure was consummated—. I then predicted, that whatever might be the political effects of that measure, the value of his administration was at an end—In this I still fear I was not mistaken—Of his right to do so, I never entertained a doubt, and received it as a question of policy—whatever may be our political feelings, we subvert the object for which our government was formed when we lose sight of the public good. Whether from our disposition as a people, or the nature of the compact, our history proves that our most violent agitations have arisen from personal animosities, this has always impressed on my mind the great importance of a rigid adherence, to the several Departments of our Government: and if I mistake not, it was the great stumbling block to national liberty in the British Government, until due regard was paid to the judicial view of that Government. It seemed to me from the outset of this interminable controversy, that the Bank question ought to have been referred to the Judicial department: and for the additional reason, that no Legislative act could take place until the examination of the charter, and what does all these criminations & recriminations amount to—it is yet a mere matter of opinion,

<sup>51</sup> In 1834 Levi Woodbury succeeded Roger B. Taney as Secretary of the Treasury.

<sup>52</sup> Samuel King was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress. He represented Iredell County in the State legislature, serving in the house of representatives from 1809 to 1820, and in the senate in 1826. *A Manual of North Carolina, 1913*, pp. 661-662.

as inflexibility adhered to by one side & the other, as the day it commenced—Supposing the House of Rep<sup>r</sup>. had been convinced with the Senate & adopted the Resolution eventually approved of by that body, what would it have effected? It would still have left the President with all his functions—I really have thought my dear Sir, it forms one of the most unfortunate epochs in our history; and has given an importance, to a mere assertion of the Government, that they otherwise would not have had.

My reflections on the durability of our Government induces me to believe that our existence depends on giving a more inflexible character to our Institutions, particularly those that relate to money matters—

I cannot but feel sanguine in the system I took the liberty of suggesting to you in our short ride from Farmington to Shelbyville, nor can I see how the public interest can be quietted & promoted, by the Revenue of the Country, but by the adoption of such a plan—It is with much deference that I dissent from the Executive in placing the deposites in the local Banks—In addition to the fact staring us in the face of the loss we have sustained, surely we cannot flee from the most serious apprehensions—this is apart, from that deception that will be practiced on the government, by failing to comply promptly with the orders of the government—I have it from your own language, that N. Biddle<sup>53</sup> entered into a negotiation through an agent sent to Europe when our debts should be paid, with the Revenue of the Country at his command; notwithstanding, the order of the Government If the President of one institution, resorts to such a subterfuge, how much more is it to be expected of fifty—I leave it with you, and you can better imagine than I can how many ten thousand artifices will be practiced—The coyness of those institutions to receive those deposites, arises from the fear of too much of their Paper getting afloat; but let that Mammoth die, and you will soon see a scramble for the deposites: and should our reliance succeed to admiration viz. a specie circulation, it will be found to fall far short, for observe in such a state of things, we shall see the states extending their charters so immediately, that if the amount of specie was as plenty as Brick bats it will not be common security to such exigencies. Permit me now, to put the question to your candor, is it to be doubted, but all those States that are favoured with the deposites, will patronize the Executive that patronizes them, nor can I perceive, how such a system, avoids Constitutional scruples to a greater extent. If the following surmises are within the lenity of a feasible plan, why not establish a National Bank, with a branch in each state of the Union—make the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Government the principal & interest the states in proportion to their population with power to appoint Directors, corresponding to their amt. of stock Let all the stock be owned

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<sup>53</sup> Nicholas Biddle was president of the Second Bank of the United States.

by the Gen<sup>l</sup>. & state Governments, & executive individuals interest & of course transfers.—

You will observe that I entertain no doubt of the Constitutional powers of Congress to charter a Bank, and should you ask why I prefer the plan above suggested, I would say that I entertain the hope that we would then have a circulating medium of such a character as it ought to be—not liable to such fluctuations—received from that selfish spirit, which one day makes emissions excessive, and the next day curtails, thereby effecting their purposes in society at pleasure—throwing into, and calling out of circulation what sums they please, If there were no restrictions imposed on the states to emit *money* (for I must call it money) the assumption that Congress is only competent to regulate commerce would imply they had the right to regulate the article by which it was carried on—This would appear to my mind to be as clear as the right they have and exercise—to build Ships “to establish a navy” How the idea was ever conceived that the states had a Constitutional right to Charter Banks, has always been a matter of surprise to me. I have always viewed the prohibitions of the first Act. 10<sup>th</sup> Sect. as disjunctive and I suppose were a state to claim the right of granting letters of *marques*, that there is no Court [in] the nation, but would condemn it as unconstitutional

Sir, I do not believe there is a Christian people on Earth so much imposed on as the people of the U. States—Twenty five authorities claiming the power of emitting money—thereby compelling society to pay at least 6 p<sup>r</sup>. C<sup>t</sup>. & swindling for as much more as possible on the circulating medium of the Country: and so far as the deposits are removable to those miserable institutions, they are paying on their own capital.

There are no periods of our history more dissimilar, than those when charters were granted by Congress & the period *when* a renewal *was* applied for last—At each of those periods the Treasury was overwhelmed with debts, and it was then necessary to sustain the Department—Those institutions were then relied on as means for that purpose and answered admirably well—The Treasury is now free of embarrassment—the National debt paid in point of contemplation. And all the government wants from the assistance of the Bank is to act as an auxiliary.

You will of course perceive that I have indulged in that freedom of opinion, which I know you approve,—on points of honest difference

Very respectfully

P.S. You will notice that N. Carolina is claimed by both political parties. The other day I saw a nullifier that is elected a Member to the next sess. of Assembly, who boasted they would number *fifty* strong,

who with the Unionists would form a majority: and that they could vote the Jacksonians down. I asked him what they would do next, who they would then go with; he observed any party that would oppose Jackson and Van Buren. From all I hear, I think it not improbable but they will elect Swaine<sup>54</sup> [*sic*] (present gov. Senator) I have no idea that he is more than one degree from a Nullifier. I shall be disappointed if Brown or Mangum are elected again as Senators:—But under these calculations I think there is a clear majority against the Bank. There are so many political manœuvres that I cannot conjecture who N.C will go far as President; but I can see no prospect of success for Martin V. Buren. Please favor me with a letter & tell me who y<sup>r</sup>. state will go for—If you think fit, show this remark to the M<sup>rs</sup>. Polk.

It is among the proudest reflections of my life to pursue such a course as affords a consciousness of acting with purer motives: and no opinions that I ever entertain afford me more pleasing retrospect, than the Bank question, when I first went into the Legislature of our State, the Bank was the hobby of the day, I then turned my attention to such authorities as was within my reach & from the little knowledge I had acquired of the establishment of National credit, with the provisions of the Constitution, I became conclusively satisfied that a State had no Constitutional right to Charter a Bank—This was a very unpopular ground & often placed me with a meager minority.

If the emission of money is an attribute of sovereignty, most clearly does it belong to the Gen<sup>l</sup>. & not the State Government. This an[d] the writing on National Law insists on that have fallen within my reach and there is not one single attribute of Sovereignty claimed by a Nation guaranteed to the States, or is there a concurrent power contemplated to be exercised by the Gen<sup>l</sup>. & State Gov<sup>t</sup>. Every attribute of sovereignty is clearly taken from the States, and that for the best of purposes, I feel amazed when a special grant is called for on Constitutional points: and to witness the adoption of measures without being thus suspicious—For instance when did M<sup>r</sup>. Jefferson find a Constitutional authority to purchase La.—where does Congress get the right to pass a Pension Law, which is clearly right from the nature of things, and of Government & &C.

I have always acted on one general Rule—Our Government was found for the people, and not the people for the Government, and whatever promotes or attains that object best subscribes the end for which it was enacted—One great danger is in merging any two Departments of the govern<sup>t</sup>. or giving too much latitude to either branch—I have thought the President has at least shown a want of delicacy on this ground, and disregard for precedents—Under all those considerations

<sup>54</sup> David L. Swain served as governor of North Carolina from December 6, 1832, to December 10, 1835. In 1838 he was installed as president of the University of North Carolina and served in this capacity for thirty-three years. *A Manual of North Carolina, 1913*, p. 418; Chamberlain, Hope Summerell, *Old Days in Chapel Hill*, pp. 38-39.

there are so many ten Thousand considerations operating that the world knows nothing of that I am quite disposed to be sparing—You can hardly conceive how much I was gratified with Jackson's Proclamation and most sincerely did I hope that his administration would have ended with the Washingtonian sentiments so well expressed.

I have extended my remarks until you will be weary—and will only add that since I first remember to have read a political Paper, I never witnessed such pointed contradictions, in your body, or in the public prints.

Yours & C

Under all these observations no one more unhesitatingly disapproves of the unconventional course the Bank has, pursued than I do: and I remember enough about the first Bank to say that if Washington & Hamilton had have thought of such a course, it would have been shown.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> A part of this letter was written on a circular letter from Samuel King to the voters of Surry, Iredell, Wilkes, and Ashe counties. The circular letter reads as follows:

**"TO THE FREEMEN OF SURRY, IREDELL,  
WILKES AND ASHE.**

**FELLOW CITIZENS:—**

Impressed with the most grateful feelings for the liberal support which you extended to me at the election of 1829, (an acknowledgement of which would have been made by a tender of my services at the last Congressional election, but for an unavoidable call on business to the Western part of Tennessee;) and having received repeated intimations, that such a course on my part was desired by a large portion of the citizens of the District, I have been induced to become a Candidate at the ensuing election for a seat in Congress. However desirable an intimate acquaintance at your hospitable dwellings would be, this is rendered impracticable, both by our dispersed situation and that attention which our agricultural interests require at this season of the year. Under whatever circumstances, however your suffrages are solicited, you have a right to expect from the Candidate a candid statement of his sentiments with regard to those subjects on which he may be called to act.—While we *look with pleasure* on the happiness and prosperity flowing from our wise institutions, it is, an additional circumstance of self gratification, our enviable privilege to look forward to the speedy and final discharge of our Public Debt. This event is viewed with much anxious solicitude by those who are engaged in the Legislative Councils of the country; as it will leave a large amount of money in our Treasury, that will not be needed for the expense of the Government. The course which to me, appears wisest and best is to reduce the Revenue as nearly as practicable to the wants of the Government. Were this accomplished and the Post-Office Department so regulated as just to enable it to sustain itself—the situation of our Revenue would then be such as ought to give general satisfaction.

As it respects the disposal of the proceeds arising from the sale of the Public Lands a difference of opinion exists; but it is to be hoped, that it will become the settled policy of the country to apply such proceeds to the objects of Internal Improvement and education. Should this course be adopted, and the avails of the public lands be distributed in proportion to the number of inhabitants, it would give to our State the means of enlightening to some extent, her whole population, and of effecting works which would have a tendency to promote the interests of every citizen.

The attention of Congress will in all probability, be called to the subject of the Bank. The history of the chartered corporations shows that they are calculated to exert a pernicious influence on the common interests of a country. A national Bank, with a branch in every State and Territory, while it would remove the dangerous influence of these Institutions, would admirably answer the purpose of giving a sound currency to the country. Such a Bank as this meets my views and would receive my support.

It is pleasing to the friends of the present Administration, that the firm and patriotic course of the Executive has been the means of increasing rather than diminishing the high reputation of the Chief Magistrate. His firmness, during the troubles which have lately agitated our Government, has won for him the admiration of many of his bitterest opposers, and his conduct at the helm of Government, while it receives the hearty approval of a large majority of his Fellow-Citizens at home, secures to us the respect and esteem of every foreign Nation with which we have any intercourse— May his Administration continue to be marked with the decision which has ever been one of his distinguishing

FROM DAVID T. CALDWELL

Charlotte Dec<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup> 1834

Dear Sir

I sent an execution on Dr Tho<sup>s</sup>. Harris from this county to your care to be bond on a tract of land lying in Bedford county Tennessee in which he has a life estate, some time ago and have not heard anything from it since. Fearing that you might not be at home I directed it to yourself or Thos. B. Craighead.<sup>56</sup> I have heard nothing from him since I saw him in Columbia and of course do not know that he is still alive or living there. Will you be so good as to write to me immediately and inform me if you rec<sup>d</sup>. it and if you have what steps you have taken with regard to it. If you did not receive it & Mr Craighead is not in Columbia will you write to some one there to attend to it and let me know—I should like to buy the land in if it is not likely to satisfy my claim. I wrote to you calculating that the letter would get there about the 1<sup>st</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> of Nov. I am anxious to hear from you on this subject.

Very respectfully your friend and *well wisher*

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

Raleigh Decr 20<sup>th</sup> 1834

Dear Sir

I understand that the office of Boarding Master for the Port of Wilmington in this State will probably be vacant in a short time. I have taken the liberty of recommending my friend S. A. Laspeyre of Brunswick county for that appointment and refer you to a recommendation of that gentleman sent to Washington from this place in the year 1830—Altho I am precisely in the political capacity who ought to recommend to office—yet I have ventured to write to you as a friend. The applicant is capable of discharging what I believe to be the duties of the

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characteristics. With this brief and imperfect expression of my views, on some of the more prominent subjects which will probably be brought before Congress at its next Session, I submit my claims to the good senses of my Fellow-Citizens—assuring them, that whatever may be the result of the present contest, their best interests will ever remain an object of my regard.

I am, Fellow-Citizens, very respectfully  
Your obedient servant

SAMUEL KING

July, 1833

On the margin of the letter to his constituents, King wrote: "This address was written before I had the remotest knowledge of a removal of the deposits which systems I was as much opposed when advocated by Clay in 1811 as I am now."

<sup>56</sup> Thomas B. Craighead, son of Rev. Alexander Craighead, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, in 1750, and was graduated from Princeton in 1775. Five years later he was admitted to the Presbyterian synod as a minister. He moved to Haysboro, Tennessee, and established the first Presbyterian Church in Middle Tennessee. In 1785 he became president of the Board of Trustees of Davidson Academy, now Davidson College. He married Elizabeth Brown of Frankfort, Kentucky. Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, p. 279.

station and is besides a zealous supporter of the administration of our old friend the Genl.

Present my respects to Mrs Polk

I am Dear Sir yours &c

FROM JAMES A. CRAIG

Haw River. N.C. 22<sup>d</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1834.

Dear Friend:

It has been a long time since I have had the pleasure of a letter from you, why do you not write me?—be assured it would offer much gratification—

What disposition will be made of the French Debt? the United States has been a long and lenient Creditor—Indeed recent occurrences in France do not manifest scarcely any disposition on the part of that Government to pay off the debt in question—but the firm and independent tone used by our venerable president will convince France that she must act and that promptly.

The message as a state paper is generally considered by our party here as the ablest that has appeared in many years—the sentiments it breathes are purely republican. The opposition to the administration in N.C. is not as formidable as one at a distance would suppose—General Jackson in North Carolina to day is stronger (I verily believe) than he ever was, the vote on the Senate Election was a pretty good Criterion—It was said during the fall that Brown could not win—but he nearly doubled his opponent:—A very intelligent member of the Senate says, from what he can glean, this session there will not be any opposition at the next Congressional Election to Mr. V. Buren:—

I am well pleased the 'old Hero' has made us such a good chief magistrate, you remember no doubt I was one of his early and steadfast friends—I had the honor of drawing up the first Resolution in N.C<sup>a</sup>—recommending Gen<sup>l</sup>. Jackson for the Presidency—

I will be glad to hear early from you, and fully on the most interesting subjects of the day—

If different pension agents are to be appointed thro' the Several States, will they be chosen from the several states & when? Will they be chosen by the President or Secretary of War?

I remain dear Sir,

Truly yours,

Hon: James K Polk

Washington City.

D.C.

P.S.

I must ask the favour of you, Dear Colonel, to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury and ask what is to be done in the case of the old pensioner *John Baudy*. The circumstances of the case are these—Baudy has always had the reputation of being a Revolutionary soldier of the *Maryland Line* La[s]t winter made a Declaration under the act of 1832, a certificate was allowed him for full pay, under Said Act. (B. not then have any Certificate of his service as a Cont. Sol.) In April he drew his pension—on the day he got his pension money an answer to an inquiry arrived from the Register of the Land office for the State of (M<sup>d</sup>.) enclosing a certificate that Baudy had enlisted and had served in the Maryland Line till the close of the War. Baudy receives his pay under the act of 1832.—In a few weeks afterwards, I wrote to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Barringer, stating the evidence B. had Just rec<sup>d</sup>. and requesting to know if it would not entitle him to pension under the act of 15 May 1828. The answer was that it would entitle him—Baudy makes affidavit in due form of what he had trans—and makes a relinquishment upon this certificate & returns it to the Hon: J. L. Edwards—all to the care of the Hon: D L Barringer (our representative) in July last M<sup>r</sup>. B. wrote me he had effected the exchange of Certificates, and had procured one for Baudy under act. 1828, that he had thro a mistake placed it in a trunk with his books & papers, that the trunk had miscarried, and had not been heard of when he set out for Washington this Session, but as soon as he could get his trunk, the Certificate should be forwarded to the old man.—The session has again met and 3 weeks transpired—and yet the old man can get no word of his certificate—The old man is poor and infirm and needs his money—If the trunk is not found—Will not M<sup>r</sup>. Woodbury grant a new one upon M<sup>r</sup>. Barringer's affidavit? Please give the matter your early attention and write me the result—

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

Raleigh Decr 31<sup>st</sup> 1834

Dear Sir

I take the liberty of introducing to your acquaintance Mr Dabny Walker of Surry county of this state. He was the contractor of a stage line from Salem to Wythe Court House and wishes the line placed on the same footing as heretofore Its importance to our section of the state will be so well known to you that I need not attempt to describe it. Should you find it in your power to assist you will confer a favor on me

by doing so.—The Atto Genl of this state resigned on yesterday and today we attempt to elect a successor.

I am Dr Sir with respect

Yours &c

FROM HUGH WADDELL<sup>57</sup>

Hillsborough Jan<sup>y</sup>. 7, 1835.

My dear Polk!

Since the revival of our former friendship by my visit to Washington in May last I have felt as if many years were rolled back I have been repeatedly on the point of writing you a long letter filled with pleasing reminiscences.—It was gratifying beyond expression to me, to find on meeting you that the fountain of former feeling was opened so readily & flowed forth so freely.—My brother assured me, after my departure from Washington that you were indeed a friend & that you exhibited in behalf of the claim of our Mother, *all* that I anticipated. Be so good as to accept through me, the gratitude of a venerable lady, whom if you knew, I am satisfied you would esteem greatly.—

I have sent on a Memorial in her name, asking what you & many other gentlemen seemed to think was already her *right*, viz. interest on the amount allowed her.—I must beg of you to look to it for her;—it will be introduced into the Senate & I think it places her claim to interest on a different & a stronger ground than others which have heretofore been presented.—the Memorial explains why she has not heretofore made a demand.—she was a tender infant at the death of her father, was married during minority & remained a feme covert until 2 or 3 years prior to my visit to Washington in May—so that if any reservation is made in the statutes for infants & feme coverts, as is usual in acts of limitation she is saved by them from their operation—But there could be no such statute barring her claim because there was *no law*, under which she could have claimed, until that of last Session.—I greatly fear, the Revo Committee of the Senate may report unfavorably simply because they have done so on some other cases, though *not of a like kind*. I content myself, by merely naming the subject to you, knowing that if any thing can be done, you will do it.—

I wrote Mr. Bright of Tennessee as you requested I have rec<sup>d</sup>. a flattering and kind reply—John is a fine boy & will be an honor to his parents.—

<sup>57</sup> Hugh Waddell (Mar. 21, 1799–Nov. 1, 1878) graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818 and studied medicine, but abandoned it for law. He represented Orange County in the house of commons in 1826 and was speaker of the senate in 1836–1837. He was again a member of that body in 1844–1846. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 309; Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 636.

Pray present me most kindly to Mrs. Polk—I should be very happy to see her again & tell her I should be flattering to believe that she recollected me.—May I beg that you will let me know what is going on at Washington & what is ahead for I know *you* will tell me *the truth* & it shall be in safe keeping:—It is gratifying to have one at headquarters who will communicate confidentially.—I desire to know if you have no objection, what are your wishes in regard to the *successor*, for on this subject it is pretty certain *we shall agree* & I am disposed to take a hand in these matters, if prospects justify it, though heretofore I have not gone much into them, In 1824. & 1828, I was actually engaged making speeches, & writing addresses in behalf of the Present Chief Magistrate, but have for 3 years been out of public life but was a member of assembly of our State.—If you think the cause may be advanced by any hints to one so obscure as myself, you may give me your views unhesitatingly, for they can never be used except to your honor & benefit.—My own opinion is regard to N.C. is that, at present she is *undecided*, that is, nearly balanced in opinion between Mr. V.B. & Judge White.<sup>58</sup> I know something of the springs that are about to be set in motion & if those who may favour Judge W. are *prudent* the State may be attained for him, but every thing depends on “taking timely the forelock”—You did not tell me that your preference ran this way, but I have suspected it.—Many of our people are disposed to go for Judge *McLean*,<sup>59</sup> but they have no real decided preference at present, as to be in the way of Judge W.—

The questions now before Congress of peace or War with France are very exciting & I should be much pleased to hear what you think will be the alternative.—Indeed whether it may be the true *policy* of Gen<sup>l</sup>. to order reprisals is the only question, for it is perfectly certain that France behaved with such bad faith, as to make it only a question of *policy*: the National honor of America has & can have but one *course*: her policy, may, though I do not feel certain that it does, point to a different one.—

But I forget that I am making suggestions, without the necessary information.—the truth is that I have been *betrayed* into a *long letter*, when I only intended to drop you a hasty line on business—Excuse me, for I feel as if I were talking with you familiarly & had quite forgotten to set a length I was trespassing on y<sup>r</sup>. patience.—Write me soon, an old fashioned, long letter & believe me as I am very sincerely

Y<sup>r</sup>. old friend

<sup>58</sup> Hugh L. White represented Tennessee in Congress for a number of years. When Andrew Jackson resigned as Senator from Tennessee White succeeded him.

<sup>59</sup> John McLean served as Postmaster General of the United States in Monroe's administration. He was made Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, March 7, 1829, and was assigned to the seventh district. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 127-128.

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN<sup>60</sup>

From one who remembers his old class-mate with strong affection.

W.M.G.<sup>61</sup>FROM ELIZABETH NUNN<sup>62</sup>Chapel Hill February 6<sup>b</sup> 1835.

Dear Sir

I hold a note on your brother William For Forty Four with Int. I am in great want of the money and hope you will be so good as to have the am<sup>t</sup>. remitted [*sic*] to me I hope you will not hesitate to pay my claim as the am<sup>t</sup> due is for board, William wrought [*sic*] to Mr Henderson of this place last Fall that he would Send the money in a week or so but I have not Received it. If you knew my situation you would certainly comply with the above request ameadiatly [*sic*] please Inform me by return mail whether I may Expect to receive the money shortly or not. If you send me the money I will Inclose Williams note to you ameadiatly [*sic*]

Yours Respectfully

<sup>60</sup> William M. Green (May 2, 1798-Feb. 13, 1887), first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi, was born at Wilmington, North Carolina, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818, and served as rector of St. John's Church, Williamsborough, 1821-1825. From there he moved to Hillsboro and established St. Matthews Church, of which he was rector for twelve years. In 1837 he accepted the position as chaplain and professor at the University of North Carolina. In 1849 he was elected as bishop of Mississippi and was one of the founders of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. In 1867 he became its chancellor. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 326.

<sup>61</sup> The above notation was written on the resolutions which are herewith reprinted. "A meeting of the citizens of Hillsborough was held on Friday the 30th instant, to adopt resolutions expressive of their feelings on occasion of the death of the late Rev. Dr. Caldwell, President of the University. The Hon. Frederick Nash was called to the chair. The object of the meeting being briefly explained by the Chairman, the following resolutions were offered by the Rev. William M. Green, prefaced by a very feeling and appropriate address, who was followed by Hugh Waddell, esq., in terms no less suited to the occasion.

*Resolved*, That this meeting has heard with unfeigned sorrow of the death of the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D.D., the late venerable and much-loved President of our University.

*Resolved*, That, in his death we deplore the loss of the Christian, the Philanthropist, the Scholar, and the Public Benefactor.

*Resolved*, That, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased, the members of this meeting do wear crape on their left arms for thirty days; and that the same be recommended to the alumni of our University generally.

*Resolved*, That the "Executive Committee" of our University be, and they hereby are requested, if consistent with their views of propriety, to appoint one of the alumni of the University to deliver a eulogy on the character of the deceased, at Chapel Hill, on the afternoon of the day preceding the next Commencement.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the afflicted widow of the deceased, to the officers of the University, to the Governor of the State as ex officio President of Board of Trustees, and to the Hon. Duncan Cameron, President of the Executive Committee

*Resolved*, That the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder, Raleigh Register, Star and Standard, be respectfully requested to publish the foregoing resolutions.

The above were unanimously adopted.  
Hillsborough, January 31st, 1835.

W. J. Bingham, Secretary."

<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth Nunn was the widow of Captain William Nunn of the American Revolution. She lived through the troubles with the Regulators in North Carolina and said that she "was as good a Regulator as ever hopped." She was beloved by the students of the University of North Carolina. Her famous boarding house stood on the corner of Columbia and

FROM BENTON UTLEY<sup>63</sup>Chapel Hill Feby. 6<sup>th</sup> 1835

Jas K Polk Esq

Dr. Sir

The purport of this communication is to inform you of an account which your ward Mr. William Polk stood indebted to me when he left college (at this place) He left about the middle of June last and promised to remit me the amount of his account as soon as he reached Nashville but I have not yet received it. his account which is composed chiefly of Clothing, Candles &C—necessary articles, has been running ever since first of March 1833—nearly two years without any payment except \$20 a much longer credit than I am in the habit of giving or can be obtained. The amount of his account up to the 10<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> is \$125-99/100 I hope you will take this matter under your immediate consideration (as part of the account has been due more than twelve month) and forward me a check on some bank for the amount—

I am Your Ob<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>FROM LEONIDAS POLK<sup>64</sup>Raleigh Feb: 16<sup>th</sup> 1835

Dear Col:

I hope you have not forgotten the application of our Convention for authorizing the Sec: of War to "Cause our survey" in accordance with his request I wrote to Mr Grundy<sup>65</sup> explaining the nature & claim of the object, & as you were present at the meeting, referred him to you for any particulars not detailed. I hope he has attended to it, though I have seen no notice of any Such resolution. Will you please ascertain if any thing has been done, & if possible not let the matter so nearly accomplished quite to our wishes, fail for want of a little

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Franklin streets in Chapel Hill. She died on December 21, 1851, in the ninety-second year of her age. Battle, Kemp P., *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 272, 613-614; Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill*, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Benton Utley was the brother-in-law of Miss Nancy Hilliard, the proprietress of the Eagle. It was the only hotel in Chapel Hill. Miss Hilliard said that she always lost on the students, but the travelers and visitors at commencement made up the deficit. Her only assistant was Utley, "a good natured but improvident man," who tenderly nursed her in her old age. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 612.

<sup>64</sup> Leonidas Polk (Apr. 10, 1806-June 14, 1864), son of William and Sarah Hawkins Polk, was born in Raleigh, North Carolina. He was educated at the University of North Carolina and at West Point Military Academy. In 1830 he resigned his commission and began the study of theology. His work as rector was such that on September 15, 1838, he was elected as the Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church for the Southeast. On October 16, 1841, he resigned to become bishop of Louisiana. In 1856 he initiated the movement to establish the University of the South. In June, 1861, he accepted a commission as a major-general in the Confederate Army and was killed at Marietta, Georgia. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XI, 341-342.

<sup>65</sup> Felix Grundy was a member of the United States Senate from Tennessee.

effort,—I shall be happy to hear from you on the subject, though shall not take an omission “in high dudgeon” say to cousin Sarah that I did live through my ride to Ph<sup>a</sup> but that was pretty much all. The Thermometer the night of the day I got to Cumberland was 26° below Zero at that place.

I placed Susan at the school of the Misses Smith No. 9. Washington Square where please say to Mrs King & the ladies she will be happy to see them. Miss Hawks<sup>66</sup> could not feel at liberty to take her. Her House was already quite full, & Su: was at an instance pleased with the Misses Smith They are neices of the late Bp. Hobart<sup>67</sup> of N.Y.—lady like & accomplished women I was much pleased with them.—

With kind regards to your household

Very truly yours

FROM WILLIAM POLK

March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1835.

Hon.<sup>ble</sup> James K. Polk

D<sup>r</sup>. Sir.

Please forward to me two Copies of the Washington Congressional Globe (without delay) as We Mr. C. T. Howard & myself holds the Post Masters Receipt (Doc<sup>r</sup>. R Pishough) of Middleburg for payment in advance for Said paper during the Session the Money & application for that paper was Mailed in Middleburg in the early part of the Session of Congress but it has not yet come to hand. & I Regret the failure exceeding. feeling a deep Interest at this time in Congressional proceedings

Our post Master<sup>68</sup> assured me that he has Written to the Editors of the Globe two or three times. but Receives no answer. But I know not whether he Speaks truth or not. I have no confidence in him as a Man of Integrity or Veracity. Though It is possible in this affair he may be blameless. But in other matters he has *failed* in his duties. & also to State *facts*

I am with high Respect.

Your Friend

<sup>66</sup> Misses Hawkes Seminary for Young Ladies was located on the corner of F. and Twelfth Street, Washington, D. C. *National Intelligencer* (Washington), Aug. 27, 1835.

<sup>67</sup> John H. Hobart (Sept. 14, 1775-Sept. 12, 1830) became assistant bishop of the Episcopal dioceses of New York, May 29, 1811, and at once became prominent in the House of Bishops. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 514-515.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas G. Scott was postmaster in Raleigh, North Carolina. *Official Register of the United States*, (1835), p. 164.

FROM THOMAS G. POLK

Salisbury No Car<sup>a</sup>.22<sup>d</sup>. Feby. 36

My Dear Sir :

I ask leave to trouble you with the suggestions of a letter which has lately been directed to our family on the subject of *commutation* pay due to Revolutionary Soldiers. The letter is from a Mr. Duval whose christian name I do not recollect, but believe he was formerly a member of congress from Kentucky. He states that he either has, or can procure the necessary evidence to establish the claim of my Father. You will greatly oblige me if you will make some enquiry into this matter and let me know the result— I refer you to the letter of Duval, now in the possession of Judge Morgan of the Senate to whom, Mr. Badger<sup>69</sup> writes me has enclosed it.—

My respects to Mrs. Polk & believe me

Truly &amp;—

Hon<sup>e</sup>. J. K. Polk.FROM FRANKLIN L. SMITH<sup>70</sup>

Charlotte N. C.

March 22<sup>d</sup>. 1836.

Dear Sir

I am at length enabled to forward you a statement of my settlement as administrator of Mr. Polk's estate—

There are still remaining unpaid debts to the amount of six or seven hundred dollars on which sci fa's have been issued against the heirs and unless you think it most advisable for them to raise the money out of the willed property in Tennessee, the house & lott [*sic*] here will be sold.—<sup>71</sup>

Respectfully yours &amp;C

<sup>69</sup> George E. Badger was a member of the United States Senate from North Carolina.

<sup>70</sup> Franklin L. Smith graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1829. He was the best scholar among the graduating class and to him was assigned the honor of delivering the latin salutatory. He was a promising young lawyer. Battle, *History of the University*, I, 322-323.

<sup>71</sup> The following letter in regard to the estate of Marshall T. Polk is in the Polk MSS.

"Charlotte N.C.

Novr. 25, 1836

"Dear Sir

Yours of the 27th Oct.r enclosing a draft on Caruthers Harris & C.—for \$502 65/100 had been duly received I have delayed writing in hopes I could make some arrangement with the bill by which I could make payment to the creditors & ascertain the balance due but as yet have not succeeded According to your request I have sent you herewith the receipt from your as Adm.r of Jno. L. Polk Dec.

I was unable to comply with your request in presenting your respects to Mrs. L. T.

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

Charlotte NC May 30<sup>th</sup> 1836

Dear Sir

I have been informed by Judge Martin who has just returned from Mobile that it is probable that a part of the Choctaw lands in Mississippi now claimed by Mr Fisher of this State will in some short time be subject to entry If this be so it will be of important to me to know it at as early a period as possible. It is stated that Indians had migrated beyond the Mississippi and this claim has been raised on the ground that they were precluded from enrolling their names according to the treaty by some fault of the agent of the Genl Govt. You will do me a favor by giving me such information as you may have or can conveniently procure in relation to this matter Laura<sup>72</sup> & her children are with us. All in good health.

Present my respects to Mrs Polk

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir with respect

Yours &c

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN

Hillsborough N. C.

June 6<sup>th</sup> 1836

My dear friend

It has been a long time since any thing of the epistolary kind has passed between us; and now that I am about to break the silence, I am almost afraid that you will suspect me of only interested motives. It is true that I have a favour to ask; but I hope you will give me full credit for sincerity when I assure you that I take more heartfelt pleasure in the simple act of communicating with you than in the hope of a successful answer to my petition.

The favour which I would ask is to obtain for my oldest son (W<sup>m</sup> M. Jnr) a situation in the Military Academy at "West Point" He is now almost sixteen years of age, and nearly as large as his Father. He is of a bold & ardent temperament, fond of active pursuits, and

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Polk, she having ceased to be any longer Mrs. Polk before my return from Mississippi and having gone to the residence of her husband, Doct Tate in the "bonnie blue hills" of Burke—

By a decision of the courts of our State Mrs. Polk (I beg pardon) Mrs. Tate is not entitled to dower in the house & lott [sic] in this place so that it belongs entirely to her children & now she is married I think it would be advantageously disposed of for the benefit of the children You can suggest this to Col Polk their guardian—

In future any communication which may be made on the subject had better be with Col Alexander as I expect to remove in a few weeks to Mississippi yours & C

FRANKLIN L. SMITH

To A. C. Harris Esq.  
Columbia, Tenn."

<sup>72</sup> Laura was the widow of Marshall T. Polk.

desirous, so far as he knows his own mind, of becoming a Civil Engineer. He has been for five or six years at the best classical school in our state, and could without difficulty enter College at Chapel Hill. But so changed for the worse are the habits of the students at that place, since our day, that I would gladly avoid sending him there, notwithstanding the advantage of having him so near me. I have always entertained a high opinion of the "West Point" School, as affording a better *practical* education than could be obtained at any of our other institutions. From its general popularity however I fear that there will be some difficulty in procuring a place for my son. I know not by what rules they are guided in granting admission. And supposing you to be well acquainted with the regulations of that Institution, as well as possessed of influence with its Directors, I have determined to trouble you with this application. I do it however with some reluctance, knowing the arduous & engrossing nature of yr present duties. Well convinced of yr willingness to oblige me, as far as may be in yr power, I leave this matter, to fill the remainder of my sheet with other things of less interested character.

I have watched yr course, my dear friend, with something of a Brother's pride, and much of a Brother's interest, ever since we shook hands for the last time at Chap. Hill. While *I* have been pursuing my silent way as an humble "village Pastor," *you* have been buffeting a stormy sea; but *both* of us I trust have had an eye to the happiness of the race and the welfare of our country no less than to the promotion of our own ambition. I am no meddler in politics; My duty is to moderate the heat of every party, and to influence that of none. Like an independent man, I have my opinions of men & measures, But a strong innate love of peace and justice towards all men joined to a little of that charity which "hopeth all things," even of the bitterest adversary, would never let me become a strong party man. The longer I live, and the more I see of my own prejudices & mistaken judgments, the more inclined am I to make allowance for those who differ from me.

The present bitter & distracted state of our great National Legislature is a just occasion of sorrow to every lover of his country. *Where* the blame lies I will not pretend to say. Probably on both sides, as is generally the case. These are matters not for my decision. *My* duty is to pray for the "President of the U. States & all others in authority."—together with our "Senate & Representatives in Congress assembled" that all things may be so "ordered & settled by their endeavours, that peace & happiness, truth & justice, "religion & piety may be established among us for all generations." For myself individually I have much sympathy. The high station you now fill in the eyes of the Country is not only one of honour & responsibility, but one which must expose you

to continual vexation & even insult. You have indeed need for all the forbearance & patience & watchfulness of the self-sacrificing patriot.

May you have all these, my friend, to sustain you in yr trying duties; and may you have more,—even help from on high — help from the Rulers of Nations,” who can still the tumult of the people as easily as he stills the raging of the sea.

I do not often meet with any of our old Classmates. *Waddell*<sup>73</sup> still lives in this place, tho' strongly persuaded by his Brothers to remove to the I. West. He is daily rising in reputation and in favour with the people, and is very much of the same “clever fellow” that he was in college. *Moseley*<sup>74</sup> I suspect has lately paid you a visit, as he spoke, when I saw him last, a few weeks since, of taking a short excursion to the North. He is one of our first political men, and if he had been treated rightly, ought, at this time to be in our Gubernatorial chair. *Hill*<sup>75</sup> is the sober rice-planter with a family of 7 or 8 children. *Jones*<sup>76</sup> is the Editor of a paper in Salisbury, and also a practicing Lawyer. He is till as fond as ever of a joke & of occasionally of frolic also. *Mallett*<sup>77</sup> is in Providence (R. I.) with a f[amily] of children. I seldom hear from him. *Donaldson*<sup>78</sup> is the wealthy capitalist in N. Y. with [a fine wi]fe but no offsprings. *Green* (T. J.)<sup>79</sup> still resides in Mecklenbg Va — a lawyer of growing reputation, with a vast number of sprouts around him. *R. Morrison*<sup>80</sup> is the faithful minister of a large Presbyterian Congregation in Mecklenburg Co. in this state. *E Morrison*<sup>81</sup> was also a Presbyt. Clergyman of considerable promise, but died some years ago, soon after his entrance into the Ministry. These are all of our old Companions that I can at this moment call to mind. Moseley has no doubt informed you of my present domestic history, or rather of the recent change in my domestic affairs. Four years ago I was left a widower with five children.<sup>82</sup> After bearing my

<sup>73</sup> For Hugh Waddell see note 57, page 188.

<sup>74</sup> William D. Moseley served as lieutenant-governor of North Carolina and governor of Florida. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 445.

<sup>75</sup> Arthur J. Hill of Wilmington graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>76</sup> Hamilton C. Jones (1798-1868) received his A.B. degree in 1818 and M.A. degree in 1821 from the University of North Carolina. He was a member of the house of commons of the State in 1827, 1828, 1838, and 1840-1848. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>77</sup> Edward J. Mallett (1797-1883) graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818; served as consular general of the United States to Italy from 1858 to 1862; served as paymaster general of the United States army from 1862 to 1865; served as postmaster of Providence, Rhode Island, from 1829 to 1837; was a major-general Rhode Island militia in 1837; and was made president of St. Nicholas Bank in 1853. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>78</sup> Robert Donaldson was a member of Polk's class. After graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1818, he went to New York, where he gained a reputation as a lawyer and banker. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas J. Green, after graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1818, returned to Virginia where he served in the state assembly and engaged in the practice of law. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>80</sup> Robert H. Morrison (1798-May 13, 1899) graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818, studied theology, and received his D.D. degree in 1838. He was the first president of Davidson College. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>81</sup> Elam J. Morrison (1800-1825) graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1818. He was from Mecklenburg County. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

<sup>82</sup> On December 22, 1818, William M. Green married Sarah Williams Sneed, who died on April 11, 1832. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 325.

privation as well as I could, I was blessed six months ago with the hand of one who could make happy the days of any man.<sup>83</sup> Could you not in yr journeys to & from home call by this way, and make me glad with a visit? Waddell & myself would go with you to "the Hill," where we could retrace our old walks, and "fight all our battles over again."

But I must now stop my pen, lest I intrude, beyond bearing, on yr time & patience. In writing to an old friend like yrself [*sic*] I feel much of that propensity which is said to belong peculiarly to old age. Speaking of age, reminds me that I could tell you of many grey hairs in the head of a certain friend of yours; — but I will be silent on that subject inasmuch as I learn you can show *three* to my *one*. May every blessing of life be yours, my dear friend, and may the close of yr days afford a review of much usefulness to yr country. and a certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life!

I have not the pleasure of knowing yr Lady; but nevertheless please present my best wishes to her. — As soon as yr business will permit, let me hear from you. Yr letters will ever remain a hearty welcome from

Yr old friend

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My dear friend

I think I heard you say that it would be out of your power to leave Washington immediately after the adjournment of Congress and therefore I hope this letter will reach you. My object is to request that you will take from the Post Office at Washington & send me a letter which I see advertised and which was sent to me at the City but I passed it on the way.

On reaching home oh! how was I shocked to find my *sweetest babe a cold-cold corps!* The letters which had been written to me were not rec'd and in the midst of my most delightful anticipations on my approach to my Home to find that Home the chamber of death was unutterably agonizing. The dear little boy had sickened and died in a few short days, and on the very day I was with you at Washington (last Thursday) his blessed spirit fled I trust—I know it fled to Heaven.

Mrs Haywood is still suffering beyond my power to express. To leave our Babe in health and to return and find him gone—nothing left but that which we are bidden to bury out of sight is a source of anguish which none can tell before they have experienced it—God give us grace to bear it with resignation! Farwell my friend and offer my very best respects to your dear wife and believe me as I am yours ever

Raleigh 6 July 1836.

<sup>83</sup> On December 16, 1835, William Green married Charlotte Isabella Fleming, who bore him eight children. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 326.

FROM HENRY W. CONNOR

Green Wood Lincoln Cty N.C. 29<sup>th</sup> Aug. —36

My dear Sir

I should have written you, last week but, had not, the result of our elections to give nor, have I them now, certainly—its not improbable, but you will have rec<sup>d</sup>. them via Washington, before we do in the West here.—However, what I have I'll give you, tho not, altogether so agreeable as I could wish.

I apprehend the federal candidate for Gov<sup>r</sup>. Dudley<sup>84</sup> is elected—the probability is that we have in the Legislature a small majority say five or six, Vans.

Our friends, were generally careless as to the Gov<sup>r</sup>. election and too, its the first time he has been elected by the people and many attach<sup>d</sup> no importance, to his election, whilst the federalist—for effect abroad, made his election, the great object—their efforts could not have been greater had they been certain by the result, they would have revolutionized, the Gov<sup>t</sup>. and obtained at once a limited monarch instead of our happy republican form of Gov<sup>t</sup>.—say to our friends be not discouraged at the vote of this summer—Van Buren will most certainly obtain the vote of this State—Lincoln and old Mecklenburg have done their duty, a full Van representation from each. in Lincoln which has about 600 *fed*s that will probably vote for him, we gave Speight near 1000 majority, and will give Van, probably 1500—or more

I have been disappointed in the Mountain district, Graham<sup>85</sup> has beat Newland<sup>86</sup> 14 or 1500—still I believe it will give a vote in favour of Van Buren—Fox<sup>87</sup> beat Julius Alexander over 100 votes for the Senate, his A<sup>s</sup>. mortification is said to be great.—I hope you are getting on well any intelligence I have from your quarter is favourable I see the old *horse*, the President is rec<sup>d</sup>. in Ten. with great warmth and kindness—I hope yourself & Mrs Polk reached home safely & in good health.—to whom be pleased to offer my respects, and accept yourself the best wishes of.

Your friend & Hble servt.

<sup>84</sup> Edward B. Dudley was the first governor elected by ballot.

<sup>85</sup> James Graham (Jan. 7, 1793-Sept. 25, 1851) presented his credentials as a member elected to the twenty-fourth Congress and served from March 4, 1835, to March 29, 1836, when his seat was declared vacant. He was reelected and served in Congress from December 5, 1836, to March 3, 1843, and from March 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1027.

<sup>86</sup> David A. Newland represented Burke County in 1825-1828 in the house of commons and in 1850 in the state senate. In 1832 he was a candidate for Congress against James Graham. The vote was nearly a tie, and Graham's seat was contested. The United States House of Representatives, unable to decide the question, referred the election back to the people, who elected Graham. Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>87</sup> Stephen Fox represented Mecklenburg County in the state senate in 1835, 1836, and 1838. *A Manual of North Carolina, 1913*, p. 700.

FROM LEONIDAS POLK

Raleigh 28<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1837.

Dear Col:

I arrived just a day after Mrs. P,—*as usual*,—though as she did not propose to go farther, I found her safely at her fathers. Lucius & family reached this the day after,—all well,—I hope Mrs P. has heard again from home & that she finds less damage done than she anticipated. The mention of it has put Lucius quite on thorns lest he sd<sup>d</sup> experience a similar fate.

You will find a letter enclosed to Bp Otey<sup>88</sup> which is very important sd<sup>d</sup> reach him before the meeting of the Episcopal convention in Tenn. & I know not how to effect its transportation thither, in time except through the express mail via Washington. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing it to you with the request that you wd<sup>d</sup> forward it *immediately* pr Express to him.

Your attention to this will oblige me

With respect to Mrs. P.

I am ever yours

respectfully

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh 2nd Octo 1837

Hon James K Polk

Speaker of H. of C.

Sir

My excellent friend Bishop Ives of this state expects to stay a short time in Washington City, and I take pleasure in making him known to you and asking your polite attentions to him in any manner that will make his visit agreeable.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> James H. Otey (Jan. 27, 1800-Apr. 23, 1863) was the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee. He was born in Bedford County, Virginia, and at the age of twenty graduated from the University of North Carolina. After his graduation he remained as an instructor in Latin and Greek. On October 13, 1821, he married Eliza D. Pannill of Chapel Hill. From there he went to Warrenton and took charge of Warrenton Academy. He later moved to Franklin, Tennessee, as rector of the parish. In June, 1833, he was elected bishop of Tennessee. He originated the idea and was one of the founders of the University of the South. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 90-91.

<sup>89</sup> Levi S. Ives (Sept. 16, 1797-Oct. 13, 1867), on September 22, 1831, became the second bishop of the Episcopal Church for North Carolina. He took interest in the education and religious training of the slaves. He went to such extremes in advocating Catholic doctrines, such as auricular confession, that a greater part of the diocese took offense, so that a serious quarrel resulted. He went to Rome and on Christmas day, 1852, he made a formal submission to the Pope. As a result he was deposed by the Episcopal Church. Upon his return to the United States he was active in the Catholic Church. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V. 40.

My very best respects to M<sup>rs</sup> P whom I hope to see in Raleigh this winter as I think something like such an arrangement was contemplated when I saw you last. Why may I not hope that you will also spend the *recess* (between called & regular session) in the old North State?

Most sincerely your friend

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD

My dear Sir

I am pained at the vote of your legislature chartering the Rail Road Bank. It is a monstrous measure and I comforted my self under its passage here that *we* had been taken by surprize and Tennessee would save her *Mother!* I do not endure the thought of it with any degree of patience—In our state it passed in consequence of representatives going home before the final vote upon it.

The message is well rec'd in N<sup>o</sup> Caro: and I hope you may be able at Washington to bring up the true issue now that the Feds' are embolden by their apparent success—It will be our turn then to find fault on details—Force out a bank proposal—Can't it be done by refering [*sic*] one of their memorials to a *sel[ect]* committee] and you appoint such as are for the Bank naming only one of our party to watch them—

I have noticed Mr Flether's position—poor fellow he had better resign and go home—

I shall be pleased to hear from you occasionally and if my business allowed of it I shall visit W.City—You promised to bring Mrs Polk to Raleigh—Why may we not hope to see her here and you too Xmas holidays—It would be well for Congress to take a short recess I think as there is every probability they will be in Session a long time—

M<sup>rs</sup> Haywood offers her warmest respects to M<sup>rs</sup> Polk—I heartily wish well to her in this & beg of you to be assured that I am your attached friend—

May heaven prosper you and speed the good cause—

Raleigh N.C. 19 Dec 1837

I have taken the liberty to enclose a letter for *Louis D. Henry Esq.* Spanish Consul &— do me the favor to hand it to him at your first convenient opportunity

[*To be continued*]

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By MARY LINDSAY THORNTON

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- WEATHERS, MRS. IDA B. Rhyme and verse. Raleigh, N. C., John T. Pullen Tract Society, [1937.] 37, [2] p. port. Author, Raleigh, N. C. \$1.00.
- WHITEHEAD, MRS. DAISY CRUMP. Heart lines. [Raleigh, N. C., Pittman Printing Company, c. 1937.] 56 p. illus. Order from Author, 225½ Forest Road, Raleigh, N. C. \$1.00.
- WORTH, KATHRYN. Sign of Capricornus. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1937. 65 p. \$2.00.

*Fiction*

- BJÖRKMAN, EDWIN, translator. Memory of youth by Vilhelm Moberg, translated from the Swedish by Edwin Björkman. New York, Simon & Shuster, Inc., 1938. 405 p. \$2.50.
- BLED SOE, MARY LINA (Mrs. Rupert Gillett). Shadows slant north. Boston, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Company, 1937. 398 p. \$2.50.
- BURT, MRS. KATHERINE NEWLIN. Safe road. Philadelphia, Pa., Macrae-Smith Company, 1938. 288 p. \$2.00.
- CROFTS, MARGARET LEE. Armed with light. New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1937. 292 p. \$2.00.
- CREDLE, ELLIS. The flop-eared hound. New York, Oxford University Press, [c. 1938.] [26] p. 26 photographs. Juvenile. \$2.00.
- Pepe and the parrot. New York, T. Nelson and Sons, 1937. [47] p. illus. Juvenile. \$2.00.

- HUNT, MABEL LEIGH. Benjie's hat. New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1938. 119 p. illus. Juvenile. \$1.75.
- LUNDBERG, OLAV K. The enchanted valley; a story and legend of Christmas in Telemark in the old time. Minneapolis, Minn., Augsburg Publishing House, 1937. 103 p. illus. \$1.00.
- MILLER, MRS. HELEN TOPPING. Hawk in the wind. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938. 256 p. \$2.00.

*Literature Other Than Fiction or Poetry*

- BAUM, PAULL FRANKLIN, ed. Dante Gabriel Rosetti, The blessed damozel; the unpublished manuscript, texts and collation, with an introduction by Paull Franklin Baum. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. lvi, 30 p. illus. \$2.00.
- DEVANE, WILLIAM CLYDE. A Browning handbook. New York, F. S. Crofts & Company, 1935. ix, 533 p. port. \$2.50.
- GIDUZ, HUGO, ed. Les contes des sept sages, adapted by Hugo Giduz and Urban T. Holmes, New York, Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., [c. 1938.] ix, 61 p. \$70.
- GILBERT, ALLAN H. Machiavelli's "Prince" and its forerunners. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1938. vii, 252 p. illus. \$3.00.
- GILLIS, ADOLPH. Old Hickory; a semi-historical play based on the life of Andrew Jackson, in seven scenes. New York, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1938. 151 p. \$1.50.
- HARTLEY, LODWICK CHARLES. William Cowper, humanitarian. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. ix, 277 p. \$3.50.
- HOLMES, URBAN TIGNER. A history of old French literature, from the origins to 1300. Chapel Hill, [N. C.], Robert Linker, 1937. xii, 351 p. diags. Limited edition.
- HOWELL, ALMONTE CHARLES. The preparation of reports by Ray Palmer Baker and Almonte C. Howell. Revised edition. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1938. xv, 578 p. illus. \$4.00.
- HUDSON, ARTHUR PALMER. Useful college English by A. P. Hudson, E. H. Hartsell, and W. Lester Wilson. New York, T. Y. Crowell Company, [c. 1938.] x, 524 p. diags. \$2.00.
- JACKSON, DAVID KELLY, compiler. Contributors and contributions to the Southern literary messenger. Charlottesville, Va., Historical Publishing Company, 1936. xiv, 192 p. \$10.00.

- JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. A little night-music; discoveries in the exploitation of an art. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1937. x, 125 p. illus. \$1.50.
- JORDAN, ARCHIBALD CURRIE. The essentials of English composition. Rockville Centre, N. Y., Acorn Publishing Company, [c. 1936.] 203 p. \$2.50.
- LEAVITT, STURGIS ELLENO. i Vamos á ver! By Sturgis E. Leavitt and S. A. Stoudemire. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1937. 90, [8] p. \$1.36.
- POTEAT, HUBERT MCNEILL, ed. Selected letters of Pliny. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, [c. 1937.] viii, 224 p. \$1.48.
- SHINE, HILL. Carlyle's fusion of poetry, history, and religion by 1834. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. viii, 85 p. \$1.50.
- TATE, ALLEN, ed. America through the essay; an anthology for English courses by A. Theodore Johnson and Allen Tate. New York, Oxford University Press, 1938. 500 p. \$1.75.
- WHITE, NEWMAN IVEY. The unextinguished hearth; Shelley and his contemporary critics. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1938. xvi, 397 p. port. \$3.00.

*Description and Travel*

- DANIELS, JONATHAN WORTH. A southerner discovers the South. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938. viii, 346 p. map. \$2.50.
- FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT. The intracoastal waterway, Norfolk to Key West. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937. xi, 143 p. illus. map. Apply.
- FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT. The ocean highway; New Brunswick, New Jersey to Jacksonville, Florida. New York, Modern Age Books, Inc., [c. 1938.] xxix, 244 p. illus. map. \$.95.
- FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT. U. S. one; Maine to Florida, sponsored by the U. S. No. 1 highway association. New York, Modern Age Books, Inc., 1938. xvii, 344 p. illus. map. \$.95.
- [MAXWELL, PHILIP HERBERT]. Valhalla in the Smokies. Cleveland, Ohio., G. A. Exline, 1938. 28 p. illus. \$5.00.
- ODUM, HOWARD WASHINGTON. American regionalism; a cultural-historical approach to national integration by Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. New York, Henry Holt and Company, [c. 1938.] x, 693 p. illus. diags. \$5.00.

- TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. Recreational development of the southern highlands region; a study of the use and control of scenic and recreational resources. [Knoxville, Tenn.] TVA, 1938. xiii, 61 p. illus. maps. Apply.
- TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. The scenic resources of the Tennessee valley; a descriptive and pictorial inventory. [Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1938.] xii, 222 p. illus. maps, diags. Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington. D. C.

### *Genealogy*

- ABEE, MRS. BLANCHE HUMPHREY. Colonists of Carolina in the lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey. Richmond, Va., The William Byrd Press, Inc., 1938. xi, 259 p. ports.
- [BREWER, WARREN HAROLD]. History of the Brewer family of North Carolina, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois. . . . [Terre Haute, Ind., 1936?] 5, 70 p. tables, ports. Printed for private distribution.
- COX, WILLIAM EDWARD. Our family genealogy, including the Nelson, Johnson, Roach, Smith, Little, Cox, Dawson-Wooten, and Chapman families . . . compiled by Rev. William E. Cox and Mrs. Olivia Cox McCormac. . . . [Southern Pines, N. C.] The Mary Nelson Smith Family, 1938. 5, 109, [8] p. ports. Printed for private distribution.
- FLETCHER, WILLIAM JAMES. The Gee family; descendants of Charles Gee (d. 1709) and Hannah Gee (d. 1728), with a chapter on the English background. Rutland, Vt., The Tuttle Publishing Company, Inc., [c. 1937.] 158 p. ports. \$3.50.
- LEMOND, MARCUS MONROE. Genealogy of the families of Milas and Mary Means Lemmond. Brooklyn, privately printed, 1937. 162 p. ports. Order from the Author, 745 Classon Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. \$10.00.
- METCALF, BRYCE. Original members and other officers eligible to the Society of the Cincinnati, 1783-1938. Strasburg, Va., Shenandoah Publishing Co., 1938. 400 p. illus. \$8.00.
- RUCKER, MRS. ELIZABETH HOYLE. The genealogy of Peiter Heyl and his descendants, 1100-1936. Shelby, N. C., Z. J. Thompson, c. 1938. 1550 p. illus. \$15.00.
- STOUT, HERALD FRANKLIN. The Staudt-Stoudt-Stout family of Ohio and their ancestors at home and abroad. No place, no publisher, [1934.] vi, 276, 79 [9] p. Order from the Author, San Diego, Cal. \$3.20.

STRASSBURGER, RALPH BEAVER. Pennsylvania German pioneers; a publication of the original lists of arrivals in the port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808. . . . Norristown, Pa., Pennsylvania German Society, 1934. 3 v. illus. ports. maps. \$15.00. Many of the settlers of Piedmont North Carolina came into this country at Philadelphia.

WHITE, MRS. ERNESTINE DEW. Genealogy of some of the descendants of Thomas Dew, colonial Virginia pioneer immigrant, together with genealogical records and biographical sketches of families in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Tennessee. . . . Greenville, S. C., 1937. 349 p. illus. Order from Author, Greenville, S. C. \$6.00.

### *History*

ARMSTRONG, ZELLA, compiler. Twenty-four hundred Tennessee pensioners; Revolution, War of 1812. . . . Chattanooga, Tenn., The Lookout Publishing Company, [c. 1937.] 121 p. \$5.00. Many of these soldiers served in North Carolina companies.

✓ BROWN, JOHN P. Old frontiers; the story of the Cherokee Indians from earliest times to the date of their removal to the West, 1838. \* Kingsport, Tenn., Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938. xi, 570 p. illus. ports. maps. \$3.50.

DEROSSSETT, WILLIAM LORD, ed. Pictorial and historical New Hanover County and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1723-1938. Wilmington, N. C., W. L. deRossett, 1938. [110] p. illus. ports. Apply Editor, Wilmington, N. C.

DODD, WILLIAM EDWARD. The old South: struggles for democracy. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937. vii, 312 p. First in a four volume series. \$3.75.

JOHNSON, GUION GRIFFIS. Ante-bellum North Carolina; a social history. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. xvi, 935 p. \$6.00.

LOCKMILLER, DAVID ALEXANDER. Magoon in Cuba; a history of the second intervention, 1906-1909. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. xiii, 252 p. illus. map. \$3.00.

✓ MACKINNEY, LOREN CAREY. The medieval world. New York, Farrar & Rinehart Inc., [c. 1938.] xiii, 81, 801 p. illus. maps. \$3.75.

✓ MATTHEWS, ETTA LANE. Over the blue wall. Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. xii, 328 p. illus. \$2.00.

- ✓ ROWSE, ALFRED LESLIE. Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge, an Elizabethan hero. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. 365 p. illus. ports. maps. \$3.50. Four chapters deal with the Roanoke Island colonies.
- SHERBILL, WILLIAM LANDER. Annals of Lincoln County, North Carolina. . . . Charlotte, N. C. [The Observer Printing House, Inc.] 1937. 536 p. illus. ports. \$2.50.
- SILER, MRS. MARGARET R. Cherokee Indian lore and Smoky mountains stories. Bryson City, N. C., Printed by Bryson City Times, 1938. 111 p. Order from Author, Franklin, N. C. \$50.
- SMATHERS, GEORGE H. The history of land titles in western N. C. . . . Asheville, N. C., Miller Printing Company for the Author, 1938. xv, 148 p. port. and pamphlet supplement with corrections. \$5.00.
- WILLIAMS, SAMUEL COLE. Dawn of Tennessee valley and Tennessee history. . . . Johnson City, Tenn., The Watauga Press, 1937. xi, 495 p. illus. maps. \$5.00.

### *Biography*

- ✓ ANDERSON, CHARLES ROBERT, ed. Journal of a cruise to the Pacific ocean, 1842-1844, in the frigate United States, with notes on Herman Melville. . . . Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1937. vi, 143 p. illus. \$2.50.
- BRIDGES, EARLY WINFRED. The masonic governors of North Carolina; their masonic records and orations. . . . Greensboro, N. C., 1937. 279 p. port. \$3.00.
- ✓ BRYAN, F. CATHARINE. His golden cycle, the life story of Robert Thomas Bryan. Richmond, Va., Rice Press, 1938. xvii, 297 p. illus.
- ✓ HEYWOOD, MRS. SUSAN MERRICK. Maum Nancy. Atlanta, Ga., Higgins-McArthur Company, 1937. \$5.00.
- JAMES, MARQUIS. Andrew Jackson, portrait of a president. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937. \$5.00.
- MITCHELL, JOSEPH. My ears are bent. New York, Sheridan House, [c. 1938.] 284 p. illus. \$2.50.
- STYRON, ARTHUR. The cast-iron man; John C. Calhoun and American democracy. . . . New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1935. vi, 426 p. illus. \$4.00.

SYDNOR, CHARLES SACKETT. A gentleman of the old Natchez region, Benjamin L. C. Wailes. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1938. xii, 337 p. illus. maps. \$3.00.

*New Editions and Reprints*

BURT, MAXWELL STRUTHERS. Diary of a dude-wrangler. New illustrated edition. New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1938. 343 p. \$3.00.

BURT, MAXWELL STRUTHERS. Festival. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1937. 388 p. \$.75.

COTTEN, MRS. SALLIE SOUTHALL. The white doe; the fate of Virginia Dare, an Indian legend. . . . Manteo, Roanoke Island Historical Association, 1937. 89 p. illus.

DAVIS, JAMES W. Notes on bacteriology. Second edition. Charlotte, N. C., Lassiter Press, 1937.

GROVES, ERNEST RUTHERFORD. Sex in childhood by Ernest R. Groves and Gladys H. Groves. New York, Macaulay Company, 1938. \$.98. —Sex in marriage. New York, Macaulay Company, 1938. \$.98.

HARTLEY, CECIL B. The life of Daniel Boone, the founder of the state of Kentucky. New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1938. 400 p. illus. \$.50.

LAWSON, JOHN. Lawson's History of North Carolina. . . . London, Printed for W. Taylor and F. Baker, 1714. Richmond, Va., Garrett and Massie, 1937. xxix, 259 p. map, plates. \$3.00.

LYLE, GUY REDVERS, compiler. Classified list of periodicals for the college library by G. R. Lyle and Virginia M. Trumper. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Boston, F. W. Faxon Company, 1938. 105 p. \$1.25.

MILLER, MRS. HELEN TOPPING. Whispering river. New York, Grosset and Dunlap. c. 1936. 280 p. \$.75.

SIMS, MARIAN. The world with a fence. New York, Blue Ribbon Books, Inc., 1938. \$.39.

STEPHENSON, GILBERT THOMAS. Living trusts, including life insurance trusts. Second edition. New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937. xvii, 522 p. map. \$4.00.

TALIAFERRO, HARDEN E. Carolina humor. Richmond, Va., Dietz, 1938. viii, 87 p. illus. \$2.50. Reprint of his Fisher's river (North Carolina) scenes and characters. New York, Harper, 1859.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE TOBACCO KINGDOM: PLANTATION, MARKET, AND FACTORY IN VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, 1800-1860. By Joseph Clarke Robert. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1938. \$3.00.)

Since Myer Jacobstein published his study of the tobacco industry in the United States some thirty years ago, little of major importance has been written on the subject as a single economic interest. A few studies have dealt with definite phases of the business but the industry as a whole—cultivation, marketing, and manufacturing—has not been treated. The least satisfactory part of Mr. Jacobstein's work was that dealing with the period from 1800 to 1860. That is the period least satisfactorily handled in more recent monographic studies dealing with phases of the subject.

Mr. Robert's volume satisfactorily fills a part of this gap. He treats the business in detail from planting to marketing and describes the changes which were made in each stage in Virginia and North Carolina from 1800 to 1860. His researches have been extensive and his conclusions are carefully drawn. He has done a first-class job in the field and period selected.

The major changes from colonial days, in which planting methods, taxing, and inspection effort were somewhat standardized, are found in a shift of production centers to the South and West, the dominance of the farm over the plantation, the improvement of agricultural methods, and the introduction of Bright tobacco. Changes in transportation from water to railroads centered markets and manufactures in Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Danville. Inspection methods improved to a degree and the auction-sale-warehouse, the commission man, and then the tobacco exchange appeared. These towns also developed the manufactures and built up a satisfactory export trade in the face of western competition in cheaper grades.

Contrary to the opinion held by most scholars in the past, Dr. Robert finds that the tobacco business did not decline sharply after 1800. The fact that tobacco hogsheads were increased in size by some 200 pounds has been overlooked. When this is taken into consideration, increase, not decline, is shown. He finds the business to have been generally prosperous, save in periods of general depression, and that the last drop in prices in 1857

tended to produce much of complaining against Northern commission men. This may have played some part in causing this group to sympathize with the movement for Southern independence.

One of the most valuable parts of this study is the chapter dealing with labor in tobacco manufacturing. Slaves, who found employment in tobacco factories, chose their own hire, found their own board and lodging with money provided, and earned cash bonuses by doing more than a set amount of work. In fact, they enjoyed so many of the privileges of freemen that one is led to wonder what effect the development of urban industrialism might have had generally on the institution if civil war had not come.

The book is well written and shows remarkably few of the evidences of having developed out of a doctoral dissertation.

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THE CHURCH OF THE ATONEMENT AND THE CHAPEL OF THE CROSS AT CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA. By Archibald Henderson. (Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. 57. For sale at \$.50 by the author, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

Here is a sympathetic sketch of the history of the Episcopal church at Chapel Hill, seat of the University of North Carolina, from colonial times to the present. For many years there was only a struggling Episcopal chapel (New Hope) in the village, and it was not until the years 1843-48 that the Church of the Atonement was constructed. The author discusses in detail the moot question of the identity of the architect, and concludes that "the plans for the church were recommended to Mr. Green [William Mercer Green, rector of the parish and later Episcopal bishop of Mississippi] by Mr. Francis Lister Hawks, from designs in a book entitled 'Essays on Gothic Architecture . . .,' by John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of Vermont, published at Burlington, Vermont, in 1836." Dr. Henderson does not accept the tradition that the architect was the famous planner of churches, Richard Upjohn.

For long years the church grew only slowly, and the recent period of rapid growth, under the rectorate of Rev. Alfred

S. Lawrence, coincides with the parallel rapid development of the University and of the village. The number of communicants has increased greatly, and the new Chapel of the Cross, the gift mainly of the late William Allen Erwin, Durham philanthropist, has been constructed just east of the old church.

The author, who is head of the University department of mathematics, is also historian of the chapel and since 1894 has been a parishoner, church official, or vestryman. The present pamphlet, printed at the author's expense, is an expanded edition of his address at the Chapel of the Cross on May 24, 1925. It is based upon the manuscript records of the church, which include a brief historical sketch by the late Kemp Plummer Battle, and also upon various printed sources.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION,  
RALEIGH, N. C.

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RESOURCES OF SOUTHERN LIBRARIES. A SURVEY OF FACILITIES FOR RESEARCH.  
Edited by Robert B. Downs. (Chicago: American Library Association.  
1938. Pp. xii, 370. \$4.50.)

This compact guide to research materials in Southern libraries is a work of much merit and few faults. Compiled under the auspices of the American Library Association Committee on Resources of Southern libraries, it is first of all a survey for the benefit of that committee, but the volume will serve many other purposes as well. Mr. Downs's succinct statement of purpose may be advantageously reproduced: "The specific objectives of the survey are these: (1) to provide a basis for interlibrary loans; (2) to assist scholars and advanced students to find the best collections in their fields; (3) to give a basis for planning, as in agreements to divide acquisition activities; (4) to aid national and regional catalogues; (5) to locate and describe little-known collections of value for research; (6) to discover particular weaknesses in libraries of the Southern area; and (7) to stimulate the development of research collections" (p. xii). The first five objectives are admirably met by the compilation. As to the sixth, the results are somewhat less satisfactory, since the survey is concerned primarily with the holdings of libraries un-

der consideration; consequently the weaknesses are apparent chiefly by implication. Any attempt at stating needs, however, would have been impracticable and would have greatly increased the size of an already solid volume.

The nature of the work is chiefly enumerative, with a compromise between consideration of materials by form and by subject. The first five chapters deal with form, and cover Reference Books and Bibliography, Government Publications, Manuscripts, Newspapers, and General Periodicals and Society Publications. The remaining seven chapters cover subject fields, and include Language and Literature, Philosophy and Religion, Fine Arts, History, Social Sciences, Science, and Technology. The states included in the survey are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. The general procedure is in each chapter to list the holdings by state, beginning usually with the largest and most important collections, and proceeding to those of smaller and more limited scope. The survey was conducted not by questionnaire, but by personal investigation and interview carried on in each state by volunteer chairmen who were for the most part resident in that state and familiar with its particular assets.

A perusal of the entire volume leaves certain general though definite impressions regarding the South as a region. Amidst the whole accumulation of subjects and collections, one institution stands out as being strong in almost every field: that is the University of Texas. Probably second in strength is the North Carolina area, headed by the University of North Carolina and Duke University, and strengthened by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the North Carolina State Library, as well as by institutions in and around Greensboro. Perhaps next would come the Virginia collections, centering in the many institutions at Richmond, and at the University in Charlottesville. The largest center in Tennessee is at Nashville with important supplementary collections at Memphis and Knoxville. Materials in Georgia are rather scattered, with the center, though, in Atlanta. On the whole, the Atlanta area is rather disappointing. Its strength does not seem commensurate with the size of the city or the number of institutions involved. The same may be

said of the New Orleans center which is strong in some fields but limited in others. Alabama and Arkansas both display unexpected strength in some subjects, but in others are comparatively weak. The same can be said of South Carolina and Mississippi. Kentucky materials center in Louisville, and are strong in local history as well as in certain other departments. Oklahoma displays unexpected strength in several fields, but mediocrity in others. Florida offers the least of any of the states surveyed, but has important and rare local materials.

From the subject angle certain facts stand out. The most general of these is that the liberal arts are much more strongly represented than are the sciences. While some few institutions are very strong in all the sciences, and others in selected sciences, on the whole the preponderance is with the arts. Within this division of knowledge the subject most widely represented in good collections is probably religion. This is no doubt due to the large number of denominational colleges as well as to the South's long-continued interest in religion. Of equal and perhaps greater prominence is the field of history. Here the chief strength is in local history. While a few institutions have good materials in ancient and medieval history, and several collect modern European history, the bulk is to be found, naturally, in the American division and especially Southern and state history. There are several large and many smaller collections on the Civil War. Each state has the best collection on its own history. From the research viewpoint these collections are probably the most important of all holdings in the South, since they are likely to contain more materials not available elsewhere than is true in other fields of knowledge. Closely allied with the historical sources are the available collections and files of newspapers. The items listed in this division of materials are amazing in extent and very widespread geographically. A very rough estimate indicates a total of something like 150,000 volumes of newspapers to be found in the larger institutions, with that many more in smaller collections and in newspaper offices.

In language and literature the outstanding collections are in Texas, at the University of Texas, and at Baylor University. Many other institutions have good collections, and almost every state has one or more agencies which collect literary works of

the authors native to that state. The fine arts are not widely represented in good collections. The social sciences, including anthropology, economics, political science, law, and education, are quite widely represented in good collections, with a few outstanding in quantity and scope.

Science shows important collections in only a few of the larger universities, while technology on the other hand is usually best represented in the various state agricultural and mechanical colleges, the agricultural experiment stations, the military and naval schools, both federal and state, and various other agencies, public and private.

Mr. Downs and his assistants are to be commended for the care and patience they have exerted in gathering and coördinating so large a body of data, in checking and rechecking countless titles, in judicious selection of items to be included, and in organizing so large a mass of information into a unified whole. Inevitable repetition undoubtedly presented a problem in writing the narrative, but that difficulty was surmounted, and the result is acceptable, clear, and readable; though the book will doubtless be used more for reference than for reading *in toto*. An appendix contains the names and locations of all libraries included in the survey. Not the least valuable portions of the book are the extensive bibliography and the detailed index.

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WOMEN'S LIFE AND WORK IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES. By Julia Cherry Spruill. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 426. \$5.00.)

Here is a book which fills a large gap in colonial history. Given the widespread interest in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British-American life revealed by a multitude of treatises on such diverse subjects as folkways, labor regimes, town and parish institutions, developments in architecture, literary output, printing, reading tastes, dress, poor relief, religious currents, trade relations, communication, immigration, educational methods, and the like, it is singular indeed that woman's place in early New World history has been almost entirely neglected.

Certainly there was no more challenging subject in the entire field of English expansion. Perhaps the magnitude of the task appalled investigators and deterred them from undertaking a project which had no readily discernable bounds. Whatever the cause, research students have steadily eschewed it and, in consequence, there has been little specific information on the matter.

Mrs. Spruill's monograph breaks virgin soil. She has wisely limited herself to a careful survey of the region best known to her personally—the plantation area of the South with its servile system and aristocratic social structure. More than a decade was spent on research and her quest for data took her to the leading libraries and archival depositories east of the Mississippi. A twenty-seven page bibliography reveals a veritable mine of source materials including diaries, letters, cookbooks, newspapers, publications of learned societies, wills, estate inventories, vestry books, and Orphan Court records. A bewildering mass of findings has been well digested and is set forth in charming style.

From Jamestown days through the settling of Georgia, women were a dominant factor in planting new colonies. Their arrival invariably brought stability and caused settlements to take root. They shared every hardship endured by their menfolk and gave the latter courage to persevere. While their economic importance declined as material resources increased, their directing genius was in constant evidence—they contributed materially to giving the South its distinctive culture and Southern life its piquant flavor.

The annual baby tended to be the rule and the resultant mortality among mothers made second wives an institution. London styles were all the rage and gave English factors many an anxious hour settling details of color and quality. Lavish hospitality arose out of eagerness for contact with the outer world. Even funeral wakes were great social events for the ladies. A visit to town, with its attendant balls, theatricals, and shopping, was the high point of the year for any planter's wife or daughter.

In the isolation of her rural home, the Southern gentlewoman studied foreign languages, read the latest literature, became adept at needlework, and found an outlet for artistic expression

in drawing, painting, and music. Marriage was a family matter but wide scope was given romantic love. Even when marriage became a cross, it was commonly borne out of a sense of duty and divorces were very rare. Miscegenation and general moral laxity among the males were tolerated to a surprising degree.

While wifehood and motherhood afforded the average colonial Southern woman her career, a considerable number played important rôles in the world of affairs. Several women participated in Bacon's rebellion. Margaret Brent, a maiden lady, was one of the chief proprietors and public personages of Maryland in the 1600's and even ventured to demand a seat in the Assembly. Many engaged in teaching, gave music lessons, or became companions while others took up evangelical activities, operated taverns or became heads of mercantile establishments, actresses, printers, physicians, and artisans. There was, indeed, little of the cloistered life encountered in sugary fiction, and the supposed sheltered existence of the colonial woman proves to have been largely mythical. While woman in the colonial South suffered numerous legal disabilities, her position was the normal one throughout the western world at that time and aroused no more discontent in Virginia or the Carolinas than in France or England.

Few authors can match Mrs. Spruill's ability in recreating a bygone age. Her delightful volume will reshape the writing of both serious history and historical novels and thus becomes a major contribution to contemporary letters.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

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McGILLIVRAY OF THE CREEKS. By John Walton Caughey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 385. \$3.50.)

McGillivray of the Creeks, "Talleyrand of Alabama," was born in 1759 and died in 1793, aged 34 years. Within so short a period he made a name feared and respected by three nations; he wormed out a remarkable career amidst their conflicting ambitions and the complicated forces of land speculators and of land-hungry Georgians and Tennesseans. Born on the banks

of the Coosa in present-day Alabama, he was the son of the well-known Scotch trader, Lachlan McGillivray and his half-French half-Creek wife Sehoy.

Though Alexander McGillivray was educated in Charleston and Savannah and though only one-fourth Indian, he chose to remain with the Creeks. He speedily became a power among them and gradually attained the position of their principal chief. The Revolution being over by the time he had reached his early twenties, he found his people in a dangerous situation though a strategic one. Having lost the Revolution the English were forced to abandon their Indian allies and leave them to work out their salvation with the Spaniards in the Floridas and Louisiana and with the Americans on the north and the east. Alexander soon came to terms with the Spaniards and became their agent at fifty dollars a month, though he was unable to secure the guarantee of their protection outside of Spain's territorial claims. At this time he also entered into an agreement with the English trader William Panton of Panton, Leslie and Company, to promote the latter's standing with the Spaniards. This service McGillivray continued to render throughout his life without recompense.

He allied himself with the Spaniards because his father had been despoiled of his Georgia property by the confiscation laws and because he saw the difficulty otherwise of maintaining the Creek nation against the grasping land speculators and greedy Georgians. For a half dozen years he held out against these forces and in the meantime defended his authority against the schemes of the adventurer William Augustus Bowles, who sought to supplant him in the affections of the Creeks. When the United States was reorganized under the Constitution with Washington as president, he found it expedient to bow to this growing power and treat with it. In 1790 he went to New York with some of his braves and there signed the Treaty of New York, which represented a considerable victory for him and a bitter disappointment for the Georgians. He not only got the Oconee River fixed as the eastern boundary of the Creek country, but he also received a commission as brigadier and a salary twice as large as the Spaniards were giving him.

On his return he successfully defended himself against charges of betraying the Spaniards and soon induced them to give him \$2,000 a year, later increased to \$3,500. He did not long enjoy these honors and emoluments and the distinction of being able to serve two masters or three (if the Englishman Patton be included); for being no different from other people of his time he drank heavily and dissipated in other ways, with the result that three years after his triumph he died at Pensacola, in Panton's home.

All of this, Professor Caughey relates in the 57 pages which make up the narrative part of his book. He might have told more, for the next 300 pages contain a mass of letters from, to, and about McGillivray, during the period 1783-1793. One is somewhat disappointed that the author did not make McGillivray more real, for he comes out of this narrative almost as sketchy as he was left by the half dozen writers who have dealt with him heretofore. Professor Caughey has come to the defense of McGillivray, and rightly so. He holds that McGillivray was a clever diplomat, that he had the single purpose of serving the best interests of the Creeks, that he was not guilty of dark duplicity in taking salaries from both Spain and the United States since to both he probably gave value received, and that he did not use his position for personal aggrandizement for he died with little if any more than he had when he started his career.

Most of the 214 letters and documents printed here were found by Professor Caughey in the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, Spain; a considerable number came from the East Florida Papers, in the Library of Congress; and the few remaining ones were located in other archives in Spain and in the New World, with the exception of one which had heretofore been published in the *American State Papers*. No attempt was made to publish all the known McGillivray letters. Yet there was one important collection which Professor Caughey failed to learn about, the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, in Havana—a remnant for some mysterious reason left there when the mass of the archives were removed to Spain in 1888 and 1889. Much from this collection, rich in McGillivray letters, is now being published in the

*Georgia Historical Quarterly*, having begun in December, 1936.

In his narrative Professor Caughey has written with clarity and precision and he has edited the letters with every indication of sound scholarship and a deep knowledge of the field. He has also annexed a bibliography and an excellent index.

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COLONIAL JUSTICE IN VIRGINIA. By George Lewis Chumbley. (Richmond: The Dietz Press. 1938. Pp. 174. \$3.00.)

This work is best described by its subtitle, *The Development of a Judicial System, Typical Laws and Cases of the Period*. In the preface the author states: "It has been my aim to present in this volume a general outline of the colonial judicature and its development in Virginia without excessive use of technical legal phraseology. I have attempted to sketch the structure of the court system and to trace some major trends and transitions in the laws of the colonial period." And, after taking historians to task for their failure to "analyze written laws or judicial conceits," the author adds: "It is my hope that this work will facilitate to some extent a study of the major forces [social and economic] and their trends in the history of Colonial Virginia. And also that there will be found in this brief account something of interest to the casual reader whether he be layman or lawyer."

Taking the above points in order, it is the opinion of the reviewer that the general outline, while containing excellent points, is by no means complete; that the work is reasonably free from the parlance of the law; that the structure of the court system lacks organization and details; that the trends concerning labor, gambling, punishment, etc., are important and interesting, but that the transitions are jerky; that the volume will arouse a limited interest in, but do little to facilitate a study of, the major forces and trends in the history of colonial Virginia; and that there is much of interest in the work for both laymen and lawyers.

This monograph is divided into twelve brief chapters. The court system is chiefly developed in chapters one and six, while

the intervening chapters deal with the effects of religion and class cleavage, territorial expansion, tobacco, and the removal of the capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg on the administration of justice. The county courts and hustings courts of the city of Williamsburg are discussed in chapter seven. Then follow four essays on "The Course of Colonial Law" in which such matters as "Imprisonment for Debt," "Labor," "Gambling," and "Punishment" are emphasized to the exclusion of real property and related subjects. In chapter twelve, titled "The Courts and the English Merchants," the point is made that the colonists consciously used their local courts to avoid paying debts due British merchants because of the alleged injustices of the mercantile system. The volume is closed with a quotation from Jefferson's first inaugural address.

This work is too much confined to the Williamsburg area, and no effort has been made to contrast colonial justice in Virginia with that administered in England or in the other British colonies during the same period. Courts are briefly discussed, but the evidence relating to trials and extra-legal justice is meager. The transition of the common law from England to Virginia and the immigration, education, and social status of lawyers and judges in the colony are almost entirely neglected. Perhaps a book should be appraised for what it is rather than for what a reviewer thinks it should be. Nevertheless, the title of this volume leads one to expect a fuller discussion of the things listed above.

Mr. Chumbley is to be commended for the emphasis he has given to the changing concepts of law and justice. He notes that the willingness of the colonists to disregard precedent tended to develop "into a predominant colonial characteristic"; that "The Assembly now made laws according to their own conception of right and wrong with little regard for English precedent, or pressure"; and that "Their records serve to indicate that precedent, valuable though it is in some respects, is not essential to progress." In the preface he correctly states that "justice is a variable affection, differing as the tenets of individuals, sects, and peoples differ"; and he concludes the text with the statement that: "Perfect justice is no more attainable than perfect peace

among men, but in the continued struggle for a common conception of justice lies mankind's greatest hope for universal peace."

This work is based on both original and secondary materials. The bibliography is too brief to be of much value to the scholar who desires to delve into the little explored field of legal history. Most of the citations are to *Hening's Statutes* and the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, and it appears that too much reliance has been placed on these two excellent sources to the neglect of other primary materials in the United States and England. The style is clear, direct, and free from ornamentation, suffering only occasionally from lengthy quotations. The jacket, format, and type are attractive and the book is unusually free from typographical errors. There is an adequate index.

While this volume does not measure up to its title or to the publisher's claims, it nevertheless contains much worthwhile material and many fresh observations and criticisms of merit. The reviewer joins the author in the hope that it will serve to stimulate research in the important field of legal history and if it serves this purpose it will more than justify its publication in an era of too many books.

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SECESSION AND RESTORATION OF LOUISIANA. By Willie Malvin Caskey. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 318. \$3.50.)

Although one of the most important, and in many respects unique, among the states that left the Union in 1860-1861, Louisiana has until the present time failed to receive a unified and comprehensive treatment of its Civil War and Reconstruction periods. The pioneer work of John R. Ficklen, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, through 1868* was cut short in its preliminary stages by the author's death in 1907, with the result that, except for the work of Miss Ella Lonn on the later phases, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868*, the subject has remained fallow ground, waiting for the hand of patient scholarship. Meanwhile, much material that was inaccessible to former scholars has been made available.

The present volume, which the author quite logically characterizes as an account of the reorganization rather than the reconstruction of Louisiana, begins with the Presidential election of 1860 and carries the story through the secession of the State in 1861, the period of military rule under Butler and Banks, the attempted restoration of the State under the Lincoln-Johnson policies, and up to the Revolution of July 30, 1866, commonly called the New Orleans race riot, which marked the end of Presidential Reconstruction in Louisiana and also helped to precipitate the catastrophe of Congressional Reconstruction throughout the South. The study is an expansion of the author's doctoral dissertation at Vanderbilt University, and is to be followed by a companion volume in which the period of Congressional Reconstruction in Louisiana will be reappraised in the light of new and vital material now accessible.

Because of the early capitulation of New Orleans and the supposed existence of a large body of union sentiment in the State, Louisiana was selected by President Lincoln as the most promising area in which to inaugurate his restoration policy under the ten-per-cent plan. A close study of the votes cast for Bell, Douglas, and Breckenridge in 1860, made by Dr. Caskey, shows, however, that union, or secession, was not the real issue in this election, and that Lincoln's position was therefore based on false logic. This interpretation is further strengthened by an analysis of the vote on secession in 1861, which demonstrates that the votes supposedly cast against secession were not for union but for "coöperation" which was merely secession arrived at along another line.

The author's treatment of "Beast Butler" is in accord with that generally given to this unpopular figure by Southern students. No attempt is made to present Butler's later contention that his famous "woman order" was interpreted in a manner not intended by him at the time of its issue, nor is there any clear effort to contradict the still-surviving legend of the silver spoons. While it is admitted that many of the problems which confronted Butler were forced upon him, and that by contrast the work of General Banks appears in a somewhat more favorable light than that of his predecessor, the general conclusion is

that on the whole the measures adopted by these commanders were ill-timed, hastily conceived, and so violently opposed that they were scarcely calculated to facilitate the State's readjustment to a new order.

Succeeding chapters describe the election and administration of Michael Hahn as governor under the ten-per-cent plan, the constitutional convention of 1864, civil government during the war period, Johnson's Reconstruction policy in Louisiana, and the overthrow of this policy in the New Orleans race riot. The account of the race riot is presented with especial clearness, but the chapter on civil government might have been considerably improved by the inclusion of more information as to what problems and policies were engaging the Confederate government in Louisiana during this period. Failure to present more biographical material in describing the activities of the leading characters also detracts a certain amount of interest from the work as a whole.

The author is an indirect product of the Dunning school of Reconstruction historians, and as a result his work follows the traditional pattern of that school. Political events occupy the pages to the virtual exclusion of the social and economic. Although some accounts of the vicissitudes of New Orleans business are presented, and although occasional references to the distress which prevailed among the freedmen are made, such matters are in general subordinated to the results of elections and the problems of legislatures and conventions. One fails, therefore, to obtain any clear impression as to what conditions prevailed on farms and plantations, on railroads, in banks, and among tradesmen, and as to what effect, if any, these circumstances may have had upon the political and constitutional problems to which the author devotes so much attention.

Footnote references are voluminous, comprising sixty-eight closely printed double-column pages. The most extensively used sources are the Louisiana newspapers of the period, which the author seems to have consulted in great profusion. Public documents also appear in good measure, but the list of manuscript materials is disappointing. No Louisiana manuscripts are cited, and only three collections were used elsewhere—the Andrew

Johnson papers, the Thaddeus Stevens papers, and the Stanton papers, all in the Library of Congress. The Johnson papers appear to have been amply utilized, but concerning the Stanton papers the author states, "A few were located in the Library of Congress." Does this mean a few papers pertaining to the subject, or does the author mean to characterize the voluminous Stanton collection as "a few"? The American Historical Association's published *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* was used quite extensively, but there is no reference to the Chase manuscripts, either those in the Library of Congress or in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, or to the Sumner papers in the Harvard Library.

Although lacking in dramatic interest, the author's style is clear and scholarly. The text appears to be free from significant errors, but a number of minor slips are detected in the footnotes and bibliography. For example: "A. B." for A. T. Bledsoe (pp. 240, 307); "J. H." for J. K. Greer (pp. 241, 242); "Alcéi" for Alcée Fortier (pp. 239 *et seq.*); "Pierce" for Peirce (pp. 283 *et seq.*); "Edward M." for Edwin M. Stanton (p. 293); Beckles "Wilson" (p. 243) and "Henry Wilson Beckles" (p. 307) for Beckles Willson; "R. E. McHatton" (p. 245) and "P. E. McHatton" (p. 304) for Eliza McHatton Ripley. To a reader not familiar with the subject it might prove slightly confusing that the "Dennison" (for George S. Denison, a treasury agent) frequently mentioned as a correspondent of Chase is both misspelled and is nowhere identified.

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SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE. By David A. Lockmiller. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. xv, 308. \$3.00.)

Shortly after Blackstone's death in 1780 two accounts of his life were published, one in 1781 by James Clitherow, his brother-in-law, as a preface to William Blackstone's *Reports*, and the other a curious biographical history by a Dr. Douglas in 1782. Other than sketches, no biography of Blackstone appeared until 1938. Then oddly enough within a few months one biography

was published in Virginia<sup>1</sup> and another in North Carolina. Professor David A. Lockmiller of the department of history and political science in the State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina is the author of the latter biography.

Professor Lockmiller's book consists of one hundred and ninety-two pages on the life of Blackstone, a chapter of thirty-six pages on the Commentaries and a chapter of twenty-two pages on Blackstone in America. Then follow seven appendices of ninety-two pages and a selected bibliography of twelve pages.<sup>2</sup>

The chapter on the Commentaries consists in large part of an outline of the work, a brief treatment of the attacks of Joseph Priestley<sup>3</sup> and of Jeremy Bentham, and a short evaluation of the merits and faults of the treatise. To the student of law this chapter lacks the incisive analysis of Holdsworth's chapter on the Commentaries which also appeared in 1938.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the allotment of space in this biography of Blackstone, Fifoot's recent book on Mansfield devotes only one chapter of twenty-five pages to an account of Mansfield's life and over two hundred pages to a closely reasoned discussion of the judicial opinions and legal innovations of that English judge.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps more space should have been devoted to a work of which it has been said that it was "the most complete survey of the English legal system ever composed by a single hand" and that it "made English law as a system of justice comparable with the Roman law and with the continental civil law."<sup>6</sup> It seems that much of the space allotted to the appendices might have been utilized in a more comprehensive treatment of the Commentaries.

It is the chapter on Blackstone in America which no doubt will provoke the most dissent on the part of reviewers.<sup>7</sup> This chapter

<sup>1</sup> Warden, Lewis C., *The Life of Blackstone* (Charlottesville, 1938). For a decidedly adverse review of this book by Dean Herbert F. Goodrich, University of Pennsylvania Law School, see (1938) 13 *Temple Law Quarterly* 148.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to publication of Professor Lockmiller's books there appeared Eller, Catherine S., *The William Blackstone Collection in the Yale Law Library, A Bibliographical Catalogue* (June, 1938).

<sup>3</sup> On pp. 69, 158, 160 n., and 306 the spelling is Priestly, instead of Priestley as on pp. 284, 285.

<sup>4</sup> Holdsworth, W. S., *A History of English Law* (1938) XII, 709-754.

<sup>5</sup> Fifoot, C. H. S., *Lord Mansfield* (Oxford, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> Hazeltine, H. D., "William Blackstone," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (1930), II, 580.

<sup>7</sup> Howe, Mark DeWolfe, Book Review, 15 *New York Herald Tribune Books*, XV, 13 (Dec., 1938).

pictures the Commentaries as having been received in this country without a voice raised in protest against "the malign influence"<sup>8</sup> of the work of "the great Tory commentator."<sup>9</sup> But as early as 1790 Judge James Wilson of the Supreme Court of the United States in his law lectures directed a bitter attack against Blackstone's "despotic" definition of law.<sup>10</sup> And from 1812 on, Thomas Jefferson sought to uncanonize Blackstone and to counteract his "anti-republican" influences.<sup>11</sup> No reference is made to Parrington's monumental work on American thought which pictures Blackstone's influence in no friendly light.<sup>12</sup> Also no comment is made on the unfortunate part Blackstone played in the law of constructive contempt by publication and freedom of the press. This was due to Blackstone's reliance on an undelivered opinion as authority for certain statements in his Commentaries,<sup>13</sup> described as one of the greatest errors in his work.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the defects of the chapters on the Commentaries and on Blackstone in America, the strictly biographical part of the book, in eight chapters, is a carefully prepared narrative of the life of Blackstone. This portion of the book shows studious investigation of the scattered but slight source material on the life of Blackstone and a wide reading of secondary studies. The author has supplemented his investigation and reading with visits to the places in England where Blackstone lived and worked. Because of the uneventful life of this English legal scholar and university law professor, apart from the publication of his introductory law lectures and the ire he aroused among his adversaries and critics, a stirring biography was not possible.

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson, Thomas, *Writings* (mem. ed., 1905) XIII, 166, sets forth a letter to Judge John Tyler in which this phrase appears. Compare this letter to the abbreviated quotation from the letter, copied from a secondary source, on page 178 of Professor Lockmiller's book.

<sup>9</sup> Parrington, Vernon L., *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927) II, 302.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, James, *Works* (ed. Bird Wilson, 1804) I, 21, 179; Wilson, James, *Works* (ed. James DeWitt Andrews, 1895) I, 19n., 54n; Adams, Randolph G., *Selected Political Essays of James Wilson* (1930); Adams, Randolph G., *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (1922), Ch. 7, "The Legal Theories of James Wilson."

<sup>11</sup> Waterman, Julian S., "Thomas Jefferson and Blackstone's Commentaries," *Illinois Law Review*, XVII (1933), 629-659.

<sup>12</sup> Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, I, 280, 343, 352; II, 120, 197, 802.

<sup>13</sup> Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book 4, p. 285; Jones, *Blackstone* (1915), II, 2502-2508; Frankfurter, Felix and Landis, James M., "Power to Regulate Contempts," *Harvard Law Review*, XXVII (1924), 1010, 1046; Nelles, Walter, and King, C. M., "Contempt by Publication," *Columbia Law Review*, XXVIII (1928), 401, 405-408; Thomas, John L., *The Law of Constructive Contempt* (1904), p. 22; Fox, John C., *The History of Contempt of Court* (1927), pp. 20, 202-226; Thomas, C. H., *Problems of Contempt of Court* (1934), p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Stansbury, A. J., *Report of the Trial of James H. Peck* (1833), p. 229.

Notwithstanding this handicap Professor Lockmiller has written a readable and interesting life of Blackstone and makes such a book readily available for the first time for the general reader. And there should be many general readers of this biography, for Blackstone in a work of great literary merit joined with Edward Gibbon, the historian; Adam Smith, the political economist; Edmund Burke, the orator; and Samuel Johnson, the man of letters, in making the close of the eighteenth century an age of prose.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Pancoast, H. S., *Introduction to English Literature* (3rd ed. 1907), pp. 402-403.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

A number of North Carolina historians were on the program of the fifty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 28-30, 1938. Dr. L. C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina was chairman of a session on the Middle Ages; Dr. Ernest W. Nelson of Duke University was discussion leader at a meeting on early modern history; Dr. John Tate Lanning of Duke University read a paper, "The Last Stand of the Schoolmen," at a luncheon conference on Hispanic America; Dr. C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission read a paper, "Southern Historical Agencies—a Program of Action," at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies; and Mr. George E. Mowry of the University of North Carolina was discussion leader at a session on recent American history. Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina was elected to the nominating committee of the American Historical Association and Dr. Crittenden was elected chairman of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies. Present at the meeting also were Dr. D. A. Lockmiller of State College and Dr. W. T. Laprade and Dr. E. M. Carroll of Duke University.

The North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, has moved from its old quarters on the second floor of the State Administration Building, corner of Fayetteville and Morgan streets, to the first floor of the new State Office Building, corner of Edenton and Salisbury streets. The new quarters are considerably larger than the old, and have been designed to meet the Commission's special needs.

A celebration was held on January 25 in the new Hall of History, when the Seaboard Air Line Railway presented to the North Carolina Historical Commission a full-size replica of the *Raleigh*, first locomotive to operate on the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, a line which now forms a part of the Seaboard.

The North Carolina Legislature has appropriated \$21,000 for the Historical Commission for each fiscal year of the 1939-41

biennium. This compares with an estimated appropriation of \$22,443 for the present fiscal year.

The North Carolina General Assembly has authorized the erection on Capitol Square of a memorial to the late Captain Samuel A'Court Ashe, historian and editor, who died on October 10, 1938.

In *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (January, 1939), is an article, "In Memory of Samuel A'Court Ashe, September 13, 1840-August 31, 1938," by Rosa Pendleton Chiles.

Dr. David A. Lockmiller of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina will teach at Emory University during the first half of the summer term.

A second revised edition of *The United States since the Civil War*, by Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick (the latter of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina), has recently been published by F. S. Crofts and Company. The new edition brings the account through the Congressional elections of 1938.

Professor Ernest W. Nelson of Duke University has been granted sabbatical leave for the year 1939-40.

Dr. Shelby T. McCloy of Duke University has been granted leave of absence for 1939-40 to pursue in France his studies of government relief in the eighteenth century.

Harold Talbot Parker, a doctor of philosophy from the University of Chicago and author of *The Cult of Antiquity among the French Revolutionaries*, has been appointed instructor in history at Duke University.

Visiting professors in the Duke University summer school for 1939 will be: Wilfred H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Caro-

lina, O. J. Hale of the University of Virginia, Laurence F. Hill of the Ohio State University, Walter C. Langsan of Union College, Ludwell L. Montague of the Virginia Military Institute, Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga, and Wendell H. Stephenson of the Louisiana State University.

Professor Paul H. Clyde of Duke University has resumed his work after a leave of absence covering the first semester of 1938-39, during which he made a trip around the world, spending most of his time in the Far East.

Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina has published "Uniform State Archival Legislation," *The American Archivist*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January, 1939).

Dr. C. B. Robson, Dr. C. H. Pegg, Mr. A. B. Dugan, and Mr. J. L. Godfrey, all of the University of North Carolina, have recently issued a pamphlet entitled *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe*, Second Series. This is one of the University of North Carolina Library Extension publications.

Dr. J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina delivered an address, "The Influence of Men of the Lower Cape Fear upon Late Colonial Development," on January 11 at the annual pilgrimage of the North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, to the ruins of St. Phillips Church, Brunswick County. Dr. Sitterson will teach during the summer session at William and Mary College.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina has returned to his work after six months of research in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, gathering material for a biography of Theodore Roosevelt, which will be a volume of the American Political Leaders Series, edited by Allan Nevins and published by Dodd, Mead, and Company. He has published an article, "Freedom of the School Teacher," in Edward P. Cheyney, editor, *Freedom of Enquiry and Expression (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1938).

*Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, by Dr. Clement Eaton, head of the department of history of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., has won the \$1,500 centennial prize offered by the Duke University Press in the field of American history.

Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., whose address is care Bankers Trust Company, 529 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is preparing a bibliography of Noah Webster and will be glad to hear of manuscripts or rare printed materials relating to her subject.

Books received include: Walter A. Montgomery, *The Days of Old and the Years That Are Past* (pamphlet, privately printed by Dr. Walter A. Montgomery, Colonnade Club, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.); *In Memoriam: William Kenneth Boyd* (pamphlet, *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, Series XXII. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1938); Laurence Henry Gipson, editor, *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XXIII. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1938)*; Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, Vol. V (Columbia, Mo.: State Historical Society of Missouri. 1938)*; E. Merton Coulter, editor, *The Other Half of Old New Orleans (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1939)*; John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939)*; Elizabeth H. Davidson, *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939)*; Mabel Henshaw Gardiner and Ann Henshaw Gardiner, *Chronicles of Old Berkeley: A Narrative History of a Virginia County from Its Beginnings to 1926 (Durham, N. C.: The Seeman Press. 1938)*; and Helen Bullock, *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery, or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. 1938)*.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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Mr. Robert B. Starling is a teacher of American history in Durham High School, Durham, North Carolina.

Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson is an instructor in history in the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is an assistant in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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