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GEORGE EDMUND BADGER AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

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In a previous article in this journal* the work of George Edmund Badger in the United States Senate was discussed for the years 1846 to 1849. It will be the purpose of this study to examine his activities in connection with one of the most important pieces of legislation in American history—the Compromise of 1850. While it will be shown what influence Badger exerted upon the framing and passage of the several compromise measures of 1850, this article is primarily concerned with the views and ideas which he expressed in his speeches on those measures.

The term for which Badger had been elected to the Senate in 1846 expired on March 4, 1849. He was, therefore, to come up for re-election when the North Carolina General Assembly convened in November 1848. Badger was none too optimistic as to his chances of re-election, for he had made many bitter enemies as a result of his course in the Senate. He had become unpopular with the state rights wing of the Whig party, and was considered unsafe on the slavery question by many slaveholders. In consequence of his stand on the slavery issue in the last session of Congress, several Whigs came out in opposition to him. Writing of his chances for re-election Badger said: "My re-election is very doubtful—the chances are against it."¹ William H. Washington, writing from Raleigh, gives us some insight into the political situation.

* See Volume XV, No. 1, (January, 1938).

1. G. E. Badger to J. J. Crittenden, Oct. 12, 1848, typescript N. C. Letters from the Crittenden Papers in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

Clingman and Barringer have both put in against Badger for Senator. Stanly, Rayner, Graham, Morehead and William B. Shepard are also in the field—I do not think Badger can be re-elected as these Whigs have determined to vote against him on account of the vote he gave on the Compromise Bill²—It is exceedingly doubtful at present who can be elected, but I think Shepard stands the best chance of any of the aspirants.³

Washington, however, underestimated Badger's influence and strength with his party, particularly with the Whig leaders. Thomas L. Clingman and William B. Shepard, both state rights Whigs, were the only outstanding leaders in the party who actively opposed Badger's candidacy for re-election. Such federal Whigs as Edward Stanly, John M. Morehead, and William A. Graham would back him as long as he remained in the race. They were thoroughly in accord with him on most of the important issues of the day.

In the state elections, held in August 1848, about an equal number of Democrats and Whigs were elected to both houses of the General Assembly. This deadlock between the parties in the legislature was a serious obstacle to Badger's re-election, for the Democrats, almost to a man, were strongly opposed to him.

The Whig caucus, after no little dissension in its ranks, chose Badger as its candidate. On December 12, 1848, the General Assembly took up the election of a United States Senator. Badger, along with several other Whigs and Democrats, was nominated to succeed himself. On the first joint ballot of the legislature Badger failed of election by only one vote.⁴ All the Whigs of the General Assembly voted for him except William B. Shepard, of Pasquotank County, Atkin, of Buncombe, and Farmer, of Henderson. Shepard had voted for Rayner, while Atkin and Farmer had voted for Clingman.⁵ It was not until December 20, after the legislature had taken five ballots, that Badger received the necessary majority for election. Thomas L. Clingman, who had steadily gained strength since the first ballot, was his nearest rival.⁶ Badger

2. The Compromise Bill here referred to was the Clayton Compromise Bill passed by Congress in July, 1848.

3. W. H. Washington to J. W. Bryan, Nov. 26, 1848, Bryan Papers, Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

4. *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons*, session of 1848-1849, pp. 90, 475-477.

5. *Fayetteville Observer*, Dec. 19, 1848.

6. *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons*, session of 1848-1849, pp. 125-128, 524-525.

had had a very close race, for a good many Democrats had voted for Clingman in the hope that he would be able to defeat Badger. They preferred Clingman since he was more in accord with their doctrine of state rights.

The senatorial election was one of the most hotly contested held in the State in many years. It stirred up a veritable political storm among the newspapers and politicians. Badger's views on slavery and the powers of Congress over the territories, as expressed in some of his recent speeches in the Senate, accounted for more opposition to him than any other single issue. There were the customary accusations of underhanded politics in connection with Badger's victory, but nothing improper could be proved against him or his friends.

Many problems of far-reaching importance pressed for solution when, on December 3, 1849, Badger began his second term in the United States Senate. The nation was looking to this first session of the thirty-first Congress for a solution of the perplexing question of slavery in the territories. California and New Mexico presented difficulties which required immediate attention. In September California had organized a state government under a constitution which prohibited slavery. The complications growing out of the discovery of gold in that state had made it imperative that a stable government be promptly established. In his annual message President Taylor urged Congress not to act hastily on these problems and to avoid, for the present, sectional topics.⁷

The creation of the territorial governments of California and New Mexico could not be discussed without precipitating a sectional debate on the status of slavery in the territories. Everyone realized, however, that since they would eventually become states the question had to be settled. In line with this thought Senator Foote, of Mississippi, introduced a resolution, on December 27, 1849: "That it is the duty of Congress at this session to establish suitable territorial governments for California, for Deseret,⁸ and for New Mexico."⁹ His resolution was not acted upon for some time; however, the Senate was discussing other plans for solving this problem.

7. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 71.

8. Deseret was the old name for the present state of Utah.

9. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 87.

In the meantime, the venerable statesman, Henry Clay, on January 29, 1850, proposed eight resolutions for a compromise settlement of the controversies arising out of the institution of slavery. They were: (1) that California should be admitted into the union with no restriction by Congress in regard to the exclusion or prohibition of slavery; (2) that the remainder of the Mexican cession should be organized into territories with no restriction as to slavery; (3) that the boundary dispute between New Mexico and Texas should be settled; (4) that the federal government should assume that part of the public debt of Texas which had been contracted prior to annexation, on condition that Texas would relinquish its claims to any part of New Mexico; (5) that slavery should not be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and the inhabitants of the District, and without compensation; (6) that the slave trade should be prohibited in the District of Columbia; (7) that Congress should enact a more effectual fugitive slave law; (8) that Congress had no power to interfere with the slave trade between the states.¹⁰ It was almost a month, however, before the Senate took any action on these resolutions.

On February 13, the Senate received a message from the President transmitting a copy of the constitution of California, upon which Senator Douglas, of Illinois, moved that the message and accompanying papers be referred to the committee on territories.¹¹ The next day Senator Benton moved to amend Douglas's motion by adding the following: "With the instruction to report a bill for the admission of the State of California unconnected with any other subject."¹² On February 15, Badger spoke in opposition to this amendment. He declared that it presented difficulties which would prevent him voting for it, and that if they were not removed to his satisfaction, he would not be able to vote for the admission of California at a future date. He disavowed all responsibility for the great difficulty now surrounding the slavery question which was then dangerously "shaking this Union from one extremity to the other." He reminded the Senate that the

10. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 246-247.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

country would not now be faced with this agitating question if his amendment to the treaty with Mexico, striking out all acquisition of territory, had been adopted. Badger was opposed to the admission because its application came to Congress "under circumstances unprecedented in the history of this country." In the cases of those states previously admitted into the union, they had first established regular territorial governments under the direction of Congress, later formed their constitutions, and then applied for admission. The persons acting for California did not have the legal right to apply for admission into the union as a state since California had not been organized as a territory by act of Congress.¹³ This was a nice distinction, but to Badger it was one of paramount importance. The only way in which the inhabitants of California could have established a state government, without the action of Congress, was by revolting against their sovereign, the United States. But, said he, with more indignation, they had not even reverted to this right of revolution. "They came here, having formed a constitution which they say embodies the public will of California and asks that as a State, they may be admitted into this Union."¹⁴ Strongly believing in the value of precedents for fundamental acts, Badger was highly indignant at this unprecedented procedure.

These were some of the difficulties which he saw in the admission of California; however, they were not "insuperable." He would vote for the admission of California if it could be proved to him that the interest of the country would be served; the discordant elements in the nation composed; and practical advantages secured. After some further discussion of the question by Senators Foote, Webster, Hale, and others, the Senate agreed to postpone its consideration.¹⁵

On February 25, Foote moved that the resolution, which he had introduced on December 27, 1849, be taken up for the purpose of referring it to a special committee of thirteen—six of whom were to be chosen from the slave states and six from the free states, and one to be selected by these twelve. This

13. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 373-374.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 374-375.

committee was to be instructed to take upon itself the duty of "endeavoring to procure a compromise embracing all the questions now arising out of the institution of slavery." Foote recommended that the committee of thirteen should take up Clay's resolutions and other plans submitted to the Senate for solving the problem of slavery in the territories.¹⁶ Badger stated that he was heartily in favor of the proposition submitted by Foote, and that he was unable to see what injuries could arise from it, pointing out that such action was ordinary parliamentary procedure and would in no way tie the hands of the Senate in reference to the questions to be submitted to the select committee. He thought that advantage would result from referring this important matter to a committee representing all parts of the country.¹⁷ A long discussion ensued on this question which was not finally decided until the latter part of April.

In the meanwhile, the Senate continued the debate on Clay's resolutions. Clay himself made a speech on February 6, in advocacy of them. On March 4, John C. Calhoun spoke against them, while Webster on March 7, made his famous speech in favor of them. Badger and his colleague, Mangum, had a considerable influence upon Webster's determination to support the resolutions. An observer of these interesting events in Washington wrote, in 1852, of the debates on Clay's proposed compromise measures:

Serious apprehensions were entertained of a violent dissolution of Congress and a speedy disruption of the Union. Henry Clay had thrown himself into the breach, but he was powerless without some efficient aid from the North. The leading Southern Whigs, such as Mangum, Badger, and Dawson, rallied upon Mr. Webster, seized upon him, stuck to him, and brought him up finally to the mark. His speech of the seventh of March gave a new impulse to the compromise movement, and the whole country felt that the danger was substantially passed. But it is notorious that, in the proceedings upon the committee of thirteen, Mr. Webster wavered again, voting this way and that way, and was only held to his place by the unceasing vigilance of Messrs. Mangum and Badger.¹⁸

It seems from the foregoing that in the spring of 1850 Badger was quite definitely in favor of Clay's proposals of compromise.

16. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 417-418.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

18. *New York Herald*, April 13, 1852.

During the debates on Clay's resolutions Senator Seward added fuel to the mounting flames of oratory by presenting a petition of the inhabitants of West Bloomfield and Hamilton, New York, "praying that the right of trial by jury" be secured to fugitive slaves. Pratt, of Maryland, strongly objected to the reception of the petition, saying that it was not pertinent to the questions under discussion. In reply, Badger stated that he was sorry that Pratt took this view of the matter, for he thought the petition was "perfectly germane and proper, as the subject matter to which it refers is now before the Senate." The people of the country, declared he, should have the right to express their opinions upon a question before Congress such as the present fugitive slave bill. Describing the situation accurately, he said: "It seems to me gentlemen are running away with the subject, and for misled objects."¹⁹ Pratt had said that he wished to have the petition rejected in order to prevent excitement. Badger answered that the very course persisted in by the Senator from Maryland would only tend to increase the excitement, and "will but tend to produce the very results he desires to avoid." Although Badger was opposed to the content of the petition, he favored its reception.²⁰ The Senate later voted to receive the petition. The stand which Badger took on this question was bold and fearless for a southerner during those agitated days. His opinions on this subject conflicted with those of a majority of his constituents. As a result, he incurred much unpopularity which, however, did not seem in the least to worry him. It is safe to say that Badger nearly always spoke his thoughts on any question, not seeming to care what the consequences of such action might be. It must not be thought, however, that Badger was hostile or unsympathetic to the institution of slavery. He merely desired that southerners be moderate and reasonable in their discussions of topics relating to that subject.

On March 18 and 19, Badger made a long and able speech on Clay's resolutions. He presented an exhaustive but rather tedious justification of the institution of slavery. He first laid down the proposition that whether or not slavery be consid-

19. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 524-526.

20. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 524-525.

ered an evil, it was not a sin. "It is not in itself a violation of the Divine Law." He pointed out that slavery existed at the beginning of the Jewish theocracy, and cited a passage from *Leviticus* indicating the Divine approval of slavery. He also quoted passages from the New Testament which illustrated Saint Paul's sanction of the institution, adding that there was not to be found in the New Testament a single word of condemnation of slavery.²¹

Turning now to one of the resolutions, Badger declared that the South had a right to ask of the North "an effectual bill for the recapture of fugitive slaves." Such a measure, said he, "must lie at the foundation of any pacification of feeling between the North and the South." Without a law of this nature, every attempt to settle the question would be entirely futile. "This is a claim of right; this is a demand founded upon the Constitution." If there was anything in the Constitution which was free from doubt or dispute, it was that slaveholders were guaranteed the right, by that instrument, to have their fugitives restored to them.²² He pointed out the provisions of the Constitution providing for the return of fugitive slaves, and attempted to show how such a measure was entirely consistent with that instrument. It was the duty of Congress, therefore, to put into effect those provisions of the Constitution by enacting suitable laws. If the citizens of the North felt that it was wrong in itself voluntarily to surrender a fugitive slave, "yet as honest men and good citizens," they would necessarily feel themselves bound to obey a law of their country. "The principles," said he, "of the Senator²³ of New York render it impossible to count upon the execution of any law." If a judge on the bench thought that such a law was wrong, he should nevertheless enforce it or resign his office. But according to the views of Senator Seward, the judge "might continue to hold the office and appeal from the law of the land to the law of God," and still claim to be a loyal citizen. He held that such principles destroyed "the foundations of all law and justice."²⁴ Thus, Badger ridiculed Seward's doctrine

21. Badger, G. E., *Speech . . . on the Slavery Question*, pp 3-4.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23. The senator here referred to was W. H. Seward.

24. Badger, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9, 11.

of a "higher law." He concluded his remarks on this subject by saying: "It seems to me that, upon every view of the subject, this measure should meet with the decided approbation of all friends of the Constitution."²⁵ Badger's attitude on this question was quite orthodox, from the slaveholder's point of view, and pleased his friends in the South. It gave his supporters in North Carolina good material with which to combat his enemies.

Concerning the question of slavery in the territories, Badger said: "In the first place, I will remark that my own view with regard to the proper manner in arranging this difficulty is, and has all along been that we should adopt and carry to the Pacific ocean the Missouri compromise line."²⁶ He liked this solution because it was an old one, which had "heretofore been adopted with practical results of peace and quiet to the country." Badger preferred this plan also because he thought the nation was too large. He had opposed the ratification of the treaty with Mexico, because of the acquisition of territory "and for no other reason." "I should delight," declared he, "in seeing that Missouri compromise line applied, because I believe it would close the account of acquisition of territory on the part of our government forever."²⁷ Badger felt very strongly on the question of the United States acquiring new territory. He was to have more to say on this point later.

In regard to the Wilmot Proviso, it seemed to him, from what had been said by several senators, particularly Webster, "we ought to be able to unite upon a proposition to drop the Wilmot Proviso altogether." He believed that Congress had the constitutional power to apply the Wilmot Proviso to the newly acquired territory and to all the territories possessed by the United States; that Congress had "entire power and jurisdiction" over them; that it could "dispose of their institutions" as it thought right; and that it could "let in and shut out just whom and just what" it pleased.²⁸ Although he admitted the right of Congress to adopt the Wilmot Proviso, he thoroughly disapproved of it, declaring that "the application of the proviso

25. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. Badger, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

to these Territories will be considered as a wanton violation of the feelings of the South, an insulting exercise of power which would be deeply resented by the people of the slave states."²⁹

Badger pointed out that at least two southern states had pledged through their legislatures some mode of resistance to the Proviso, if it were adopted. If the Nashville convention, which had been called to meet in June, should assemble with matters relating to slavery in their present state, the consequences might be most alarming. He prophesied that if a bill including the Wilmot Proviso were adopted and an effectual fugitive slave law were not passed before the Nashville convention met, the union would be from "that day dissolved." He did not think that the union would be dissolved immediately, "but the meeting of that convention will be to our institutions, in the language of Napoleon, 'the beginning of the end.'" The convention would be the first step in a course of events in the North and the South which would result in "convulsing us so far that the ills to which we fly cannot, in our judgment, exceed those we bear; and thus will put upon the people of the South the necessity, the painful, hard necessity, of a dissolution, a final separation."³⁰ In his opinion the Nashville convention would be the beginning of a separate and distinct organization of the "southern States."³¹

Respecting the right of a state to secede from the union Badger declared: "that no State has a *right* to secede from this Union. I distinctly admit that the Constitution, looking to perpetuity, makes no provision, directly or indirectly, for the separation of its parts."³² He maintained, however, that from the nature of American institutions the states could not be kept in the union by force. The most powerful section of the country might conquer the weaker, but when this was accomplished, "the States are not in union, the constitutional connexion is not restored."³³

If ever the unhappy hour should arrive when American blood is shed in a contest between the States, some desiring to secede, and the others endeavoring to compel them by force of arms to remain in the Union—

29. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

30. Badger, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

31. *Loc. cit.*

32. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

33. *Loc. cit.*

whenever that hour comes, our connexion is immediately broken to all beneficial purposes for the happiness or prosperity of the country.³⁴

He did not think that the passage of the Wilmot Proviso would furnish sufficient grounds for a dissolution of the union, and expressed the hope that his state would not concur in such a procedure.

In bringing his speech to a conclusion, Badger stated that if an effectual fugitive slave law were passed and the Wilmot Proviso dropped, he would be glad to deal with every question now before the Senate in a spirit of compromise. If this were done he would be willing to withdraw his objections to the admission of California, and would be willing to see the slave trade abolished in the District of Columbia.³⁵

On the whole Badger's speech was well received by the newspapers of the South, and by some of the North as well. The *Raleigh Register* declared that the best commentary on the speech was the fact that Roger Sherman, correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, denounced it "so rabidly." It must cause all those, who have been charging Badger with unfaithfulness to the South, to blush with shame. They may some day learn, said the editor, that "caution and moderation are more effective in a crisis than the wrath and bigotry of zealots."³⁶ The Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald* wrote: "Mr. Badger, distinguished for his legal acquirements, and his calm and dispassionate judgment, has been entertaining us for the last two days on the slavery question. . . . His whole speech was marked with clearness of argument, sound sense, and good discretion."³⁷ Even a paper from the deep South was complimentary. The *Selma Reporter*, printed in Alabama, declared: "This distinguished Senator from the North State, has delivered one of the best speeches of the session upon the slavery question."³⁸ Badger's speech was well argued, illustrating a clear insight, on his part, into the agitating problems of the day. Certain sections of it showed the strong influence of Daniel Webster.

On April 18, Foote's resolution calling for the appointment

34. *Loc. cit.*

35. Badger, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

36. *Raleigh Register*, March 27, 1850.

37. Reprinted in the *Raleigh Register*, March 30, 1850.

38. Reprinted in the *Raleigh Register*, April 27, 1850.

of a committee of thirteen which should adjust all questions arising out of the slavery problem, was passed by the Senate. The next day the committee was elected, and Henry Clay was made its chairman.³⁹ On May 8 the committee reported three compromise measures: (1) the admission of California as a free state, the establishment of the territories of New Mexico and Utah with no restrictions in respect to slavery, the adjustment of the boundaries of Texas and the payment of a sum of money to it for loss of territory; (2) a more stringent fugitive slave law; and (3) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.⁴⁰ The first of these measures came to be known as the "omnibus bill" because of the variety of subjects contained in it. The Senate lost no time in beginning serious consideration of these proposed bills which, it was devoutly hoped, would bring peace and assurance of the continuance of the union.

On June 15, Soulé, of Louisiana, moved to amend the "omnibus bill" by inserting after the word, Utah, the following: "'and when the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be admitted as a State, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.'" He also moved to insert the same after the words, New Mexico.⁴¹ Badger announced that he would vote "very cheerfully" for Soulé's amendment, and that he regarded it "as sound and proper." The United States was under obligation to Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to admit at some time the territory of New Mexico into the union; and, therefore, it was proper that Congress should state in what manner and form it should be done. The passage of this amendment was merely declaring what was then the settled opinion of the American people and their representatives in Congress; viz., "that the question of slavery or no slavery in a State is a question proper to be decided by the State when its Constitution is formed, and when it is about being admitted into the Union."⁴² He thought that the inclusion of the amendment would "at once

39. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 774, 780.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 944-948.

41. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 902.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 904.

restore harmony, and those feelings of amity throughout the country which was so desirable." After some further discussion the Senate adopted Soulé's amendment by a vote of 38 to 12.⁴³

By July 30, the discussion of Clay's "omnibus bill" had almost ceased, and the Senate was now turning to the destruction of that measure. The sections of the bill relating to the Texas boundary, the admission of California, and the organization of the territory of New Mexico were struck out on July 30 and 31, leaving only that part calling for the establishment of the territory of Utah. It was passed under a new title on August 1. On the same day Douglas moved to call up for consideration his bill, introduced on March 25, for the admission of California.⁴⁴ Senator Foote proposed an amendment to it which described the boundaries of California, and provided that the residue of the territory claimed by California should be relinquished and erected into a new territory to be known as Colorado.⁴⁵

The next day, when Foote's amendment was called up for a vote, Badger announced that he intended to vote contrary to his "individual wishes and opinions," and he wanted it distinctly understood why he voted as he did. If California were admitted at all, he thought it should be taken into the union with the entire boundary claimed by it. If there was to be a free state on the Pacific without "compromise or compensation," it was better to have one than two free states. As for himself, he did not want to see any more states admitted into the union, either free or slave, and he regarded it as "a calamity" that it was ever necessary to admit new states. Expanding on this thought, he said: "I think the value of a place in this Union is in inverse ratio of the number of states that compose it, . . . and, if my own wishes could prevail, there should never be another State added to it from this day forth to the end of time."⁴⁶ Although he would like to see the number of states "fixed for present and forever," he was a "practical man" and realized that this could not be. The Southern senators and representatives felt that if California

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 904, 911.

44. *Journals of the Senate*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 234, 517.

45. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 1485.

46. Badger, G. E., *Speech . . . on the Territorial Question*, p. 1.

were to come into the union by a separate bill, its admission would be more acceptable to the South if that territory came in "shorn of her vast size and present dimension." If it be true that the South would be more content with this measure, he did not value his own opinion so highly as to refuse to vote for Foote's amendment.⁴⁷

Turning now to the problem of slavery, he declared that it was the duty of every person connected with the government to allow the diffusion of slave population wherever climate and soil would permit it to be used. To take steps looking towards the dissolution of the union because Southerners were not permitted to carry their slaves into California, New Mexico, and Utah, was quite out of the question. Slavery in general was an evil, but a necessary one. In his opinion there were not three million Africans anywhere else in the world who were in as good physical, moral, and intellectual condition as the three million who lived in the United States. No intelligent man who understood the condition of the slaves in America believed that they would be benefitted by emancipation. He considered that any unwise tampering with the institution of slavery was a proof of ignorance and a lack of regard for the welfare of the community.⁴⁸ In his views on slavery Badger was quite conservative, but the ideas he expressed on the nature of the union must have horrified his state rights friends of the South.

Concerning the present dangers to the union, Badger declared that while many Northern men had refused to yield anything to the South, and had acted in an objectional manner towards that section, he did not think their conduct of sufficient importance to warrant any action jeopardizing the safety of the union. When he referred to "the dissolution of this Union" he did not consider that he was talking about dissolving a contract for the building of a house.

I do not consider it as a question of dissolving a 'confederacy,' as this Union is so often emphatically called upon this floor; I do not look upon this Union as a confederacy, a league. From the day that the Constitution of the United States was adopted, it became a union of government—The

47. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

48. Badger, *Speech . . . on the Territorial Question*, pp. 3-5.

Constitution is a constitution of Government, and not a Confederacy in proper and just sense of that term.⁴⁹

He pointed out that the Constitution did not refer to itself "as articles of a league between the States, but as a Constitution established by the people." The union was national, perfected by the Constitution into "a national Government." When he spoke of the causes which would justify a movement for the dissolution of the union, he considered himself "bound to make out a case which would justify my resistance to the State Government under which I live."⁵⁰ These statements are the most definite ones Badger ever made in regard to his theory of the nature of the union. They clearly indicate that he was a wholehearted nationalist of the Federalist school; Webster himself was not more so. Opinions like these made him unpopular with the majority of Southerners. The *Southern Press*, printed in Washington City wrote of this speech:

We have never listened to any man on any occasion, with such surprise and mortification—He laid down the doctrine of abject submission to the Federal Government in the most absolute and unconditional terms. . . . He insisted that no circumstances, no event, no aggression, would justify, excuse, or even palliate, the adoption of any measure having the slightest tendency to dissolve the Union. Such sentiments as these, although uttered in the Senate, and by day-light, would better become the kitchen of a Russian noble, and would be no honor to that.⁵¹

Although this was unusually harsh criticism representing extreme Southern opinion, the majority of state rights advocates were almost as antagonistic towards Badger's conception of the union.

On August 5, Senator Pearce, of Maryland, introduced a new bill for the adjustment of the northern and western boundaries of Texas.⁵² Badger, on August 8, made a strong plea for the immediate consideration and disposal of this bill. He urged the postponement of the California measure until the Texas question was settled, arguing that the friends of California had a majority in the Senate and could pass that bill at any time. They should, therefore, yield to those who desired action on the Texan boundary measure. If they per-

49. Badger, *Speech . . . on the Territorial Question*, p. 3.

50. *Loc. cit.*

51. Reprinted in the *Raleigh Register*, August 10, 1850.

52. *Journals of the Senate*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 522.

sisted in giving precedence to the California bill, "California will not get in as soon as gentlemen may think." He would dislike to resort to parliamentary tactics and thereby hold up the business of the Senate, but he would feel himself justified if the majority insisted upon forcing its bill to the front to the exclusion of the Texan question.⁵³ Senator Ewing stated that Texas threatened the United States with armed conflict if the boundary question was not settled. He objected to this attitude. Badger asserted that the probability of civil war was to him a "high and overpowering motive for settling it." He thought that when Congress yielded to the excited state of mind of the Texans and to their belief in the validity of their claim, it was not "yielding to any fear" but was seeking to preserve the peace and promote the welfare of the country.⁵⁴ The Senate took up the Texas boundary bill on August 8, and on the next day passed it by a vote of 30 to 20. Badger, of course, voted for it.⁵⁵

On August 13, the bill to admit California with its free constitution was passed in the Senate by a vote of 34 to 18. Neither Badger nor his colleague, Mangum, voted on the measure.⁵⁶ Badger probably failed to vote for it because, as he had previously stated in his speech on that subject, California had formed a government before it had been organized as a territory by Congress.

The Senate on August 19, resumed its discussion of the fugitive slave bill. Pratt, of Maryland, moved to amend it by providing that if a slave holder proved to the judge and jury of a United States district court that he had been unable to secure the return of a fugitive slave, by means provided in the bill, he should then receive indemnity from the federal treasury for the value of the slave lost plus the legal expense incurred.⁵⁷ Badger thought that the principle of Pratt's amendment was free from objections and should be adopted. It was absolutely necessary in order to make the bill worthwhile. If the United States failed to secure the return of fugitive slaves, it was in duty bound to indemnify the owner for the loss.⁵⁸

53. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 1563.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 1566.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 1555.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 1573.

57. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 1591.

58. *Ibid.*, appendix, pp. 1594, 1596.

He doubted, however, that there was another case in the Constitution which would fall "within the principle to which this duty of indemnity is attached."⁵⁹ Dayton, of New Jersey, argued that if this principle were adopted, it would involve the government in a large variety of claims and obligations.⁶⁰ Pratt's amendment, however, was defeated by a vote of 27 to 10, Badger voting for it.⁶¹

Badger's advocacy of this amendment made him many friends in the South. The *Raleigh Register* took great delight in pointing it out to the editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, who was always critical of Badger's views on slavery. Concerning his speech, the *Baltimore Patriot* said: "Mr. Badger made a most powerful and lucid speech in its defense. A more able and convincing argument has seldom been delivered in the Senate Chamber. By it, Mr. Badger has won new laurels as a profound and logical debator."⁶²

The Fugitive Slave Bill passed the Senate on August 23 by a vote of 27 to 12. Both Badger and Mangum voted for its passage.⁶³ The Senate now began more serious consideration of the bill for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. On September 3 Pearce, of Maryland, proposed an amendment for the protection of those slaveholders temporarily residing in the District.⁶⁴ Badger spoke in favor of it, saying that he thought it important that it should be made a part of the bill. He was perfectly willing to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but he thought that provision should be made for the protection of the rights of those slaveholders living there. If the Senate refused to accord the slaveholders of the District this protection, he would "regard it, in the existing state of things, as constituting a strong objection to voting for the bill. With the amendment I should have the greatest pleasure in the world in voting for it."⁶⁵ On September 10, Senator Seward proposed a substitute bill providing that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia with compensation to the slaveholders.⁶⁶ Badger

59. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1596.

60. *Loc. cit.*

61. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1609.

62. Reprinted in the *Raleigh Register*, August 31, 1850.

63. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., p. 1657.

64. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1635.

65. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1665.

66. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1642.

objected to the amendment, on the grounds that it proposed to emancipate the slaves of the District who were not treated any more cruelly or harshly than slaves elsewhere, and that it would give the South good reason to believe that it had "ulterior objects." The South might well feel that it was the first blow struck at its institution. Such a measure would cast suspicion upon "the movements and purposes of our northern friends." He acknowledged the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, but thought that the exercise of that right would be unjust and unwise.⁶⁷ The Senate rejected Seward's amendment by a large vote.⁶⁸

On September 14, the Senate defeated Pearce's amendment. Then Badger arose to say that the amendment had given such protection to the slaveowners of the District and those residing there temporarily as could "shock the sensibilities of no man." Without it he would not be able to vote for the remainder of the bill. Recent events had proved the necessity of such a provision, if it was intended to extend justice and protection to the slaveholders of the District.⁶⁹ The Senate on September 16, passed the bill to suppress the slave trade in the District by a vote of 33 to 19, Badger and Mangum voting in the negative.⁷⁰ This was the last of the compromise measures to be passed. Badger had voted for the bill establishing territorial government for New Mexico which passed the Senate in its final form on September 19.⁷¹ He seems to have been perfectly satisfied with it as with the bill organizing the territory of Utah.

Badger had voted for four of the compromise measures, failed to vote on one, and voted against one. His speeches reveal a thorough understanding of the situation and a desire to approach every question in a spirit of compromise and coöperation. There were members of the Senate who undoubtedly exerted more influence upon the formation of the measures, but there was none who tried harder than Badger to keep in mind always the good of the nation as a whole when considering them. The Whigs of North Carolina were well pleased

67. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 sess., appendix, p. 1646.

68. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 1664.

69. *Ibid.*, appendix, pp. 1673-1674.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 1830.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 1734.

with his course in the Senate on those bills. Those of the seventh congressional district in their convention, held in Wilmington on May 14, 1852, adopted the following resolve: "That George E. Badger, by his unequivocal course, his integrity, and disinterested patriotism, as Senator, particularly in relation to the 'Compromise Measures,' and the dangerous policy of Intervention, has strengthened the ties that bind him to his constituency, and he eminently merits their thanks and confidence."⁷² This same sentiment was expressed by many of the Whig newspapers whose editors, almost without exception, were great admirers of Badger. The Democratic press, however, played up what Badger had said concerning the powers of the federal government over the territories, his views on secession, and the attitude he took towards the Wilmot Proviso. It held him up to the people of the State as a traitor to the South and its institutions. Such criticism came quite naturally from a party which believed strongly in the rights of the states as opposed to those of the central government.

A little over a year after the passage of the compromise measures Senator Foote, of Mississippi, introduced a resolution declaring the finality of those measures, which should be "acquiesced in and respected by all good citizens."⁷³ On December 18, 1851, Badger said that he wished to amend the resolution since he found two objections which might be raised against it. The first was that the resolution undertook to state, in regard to the compromise acts, "the duty of the public at large." The second was that it implied that the Senate supposed these acts to be irrevocable and "beyond the power of Congress to modify them." Accordingly, he moved to amend the resolution by striking out that part of it containing these objections and to insert in lieu thereof the words: "A settlement in principle and substance—a final settlement of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embraced, and ought to be adhered to by Congress until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against evasion or abuse."⁷⁴ Foote accepted this amendment, and the Senate adopted it.⁷⁵

72. *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852.

73. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 12-30.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

75. *Loc. cit.*

The discussion of the resolution continued for several weeks without any action being taken. On February 2, 1852, Badger declared that Senator McRae, of Mississippi, had made an admirable speech on the resolution, but that he was in error as to its character and purpose. McRae had said that it involved the merits of the several compromise acts, and that anyone who voted for it must of necessity approve each one of them. Badger maintained that this was a total misunderstanding of "the true character of that resolution." Nothing was said in it about the particular merits of the compromise acts, and it proposed "no approval, on the part of this body, of the provisions contained in any one of those acts." He would vote cheerfully for the resolution, but in so doing he did not consider that he was expressing approval of all the measures, or of any one of them considered by itself, although he did approve of most of them.⁷⁶

Badger's amendment to Foote's resolution and the few remarks he made upon it constitute one of the best statements of how he regarded the compromise measures as a whole. He, like most of the Whigs, wished to see them recognized as a definite and final settlement of the slavery question. He thought they were about the best solution of the problem which could be reached at that time and should be accepted as such.

⁷⁶. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong. 1 sess., p. 440.

THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA¹

By JOSEPH CLARKE ROBERT

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the staple tobacco gave little promise of its present significance in North Carolina economy. Hardly more than the southernmost fraction of the Virginia tobacco district, the Carolina region seemed to apologize for its very existence, seeking to merge its leaf with the Virginia product and to bury its figures in the more voluminous statistics of its northern neighbor. Yet the ante-bellum tobacco industry, with its small crops and modest factories, was the seed-bed of the post-bellum industry, with its almost endless golden acres and its broad manufacturing establishments. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest the origins and characteristics of the tobacco industry in the Old North State during the slavery era.

When in the seventeenth century settlers spread from the Virginia tidewater into the Carolina coastal plain, they took with them the lessons learned in the trial-and-error period of tobacco culture. By the 1670's, the inhabitants of the Albemarle Sound section were growing an annual crop of a million pounds.

Possessing no adequate port, these people of Carolina naturally attempted to seek a market for their staple in Virginia, or to ship the leaf by way of the Virginia ports to the mother country. As early as April, 1679, the Virginians in their general assembly declared that this importation of Carolina tobacco "hath been found very prejudicial to this country and the inhabitants thereof" and forbade the continuance of the practice except (and note here the great wisdom of the Virginia fathers) that Virginia merchants to whom the Carolinians owed debts could fetch their debtors' tobacco without running afoul the law.² Thus the Carolinians, who enjoyed

1. This paper was read at the joint meeting of the Southern Historical Association and the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina in Durham, North Carolina, November 18, 1937. It is based principally on conclusions in the author's book, *The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1850* (to be published by the Duke University Press in 1938).

2. Hening, W. W., [*Virginia*] *Statutes at Large*, II, 445-446. The restrictive act of 1679 was renewed in 1705 and in 1726. *Ibid.*, III, 253; IV, 175-176. The statute of the last date heaped insults on the crop masters of North Carolina and the disputed borderland, who smuggled in great quantities of tobacco "deceitfully packed, and unfit for exportation, and yet pass the same as tobacco of the growth and manufacture of Virginia, to the great deceit of honest traders . . ."

little direct commerce with England, were left to choose between the uncomfortable horns of the dilemma: illegal trading with Virginia, or legal, but clumsy and roundabout, trading by way of New England.

Tension between the colonists of Virginia and North Carolina was relieved by the Virginia act of 1730, which provided for a well-rounded state-supervised inspection system, to which all tobacco was subjected before exportation. Now the Virginians had no longer the excuse that the North Carolina trash shipped from Virginia would reflect on their own staple. If the tobacco were below standard, it could be rejected and burned by the inspectors.

The government of North Carolina, in its laws and regulations, took official recognition of the staple. In an act of 1754 the main outlines of the Virginia inspection system were copied, with authorization of inspectors and warehouses. Just after the Revolution state officials attempted to achieve fiscal equilibrium through the domestic purchase and foreign sale of tobacco. The unfortunate outcome of these marketing operations created a grave public scandal. Basically speculative, the plan also suffered from the open fraud practiced by government agents.

From the middle piedmont, where it had spread with the movement of population, the culture of tobacco in the 1780's and 1790's moved into the uplands of the Carolinas and Georgia, areas which had produced no appreciable quantities before the Revolution.³ In those sections tobacco served temporarily as a staple until challenged by the lusty giant, King Cotton. This new crop soon forced tobacco toward Virginia, from whence it came.

For the last forty or fifty years of the ante-bellum period the commercial culture of tobacco in North Carolina was confined principally to the northernmost tier of piedmont counties—Stokes, Rockingham, Caswell, Person, Granville, and Warren—with a more limited culture in the surrounding counties. Economically these six counties were the base of a large trapezoid, the Virginia tobacco district, which had as its

3. Exports increased proportionately. From North Carolina ports in the 1780's there were shipped annually almost 6,000,000 pounds. Compare this amount with only 360,000 pounds shipped in 1768. Crittenden, C. C., *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789*, pp. 74, 161.

eastern limit the fall belt, its northern limit an imaginary line running west from Fredericksburg, Virginia, and its western limit the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Virginia district, of which the North Carolina crop was something more than one-sixth in the 1840's and 1850's, produced over a third of the nation's total yield. According to the census returns, the North Carolina product was seventeen million pounds in 1839, twelve million in 1849, and thirty-three million in 1859.⁴

These census figures were not reflected in the state inspection returns, for the bulk of this staple, perhaps more than three-fourths in the last ante-bellum decades, gravitated to the Virginia markets. If this movement was inevitable, it was equally so that state-loving North Carolinians, like Archibald D. Murphey, should lament the annual tribute thus paid the northern neighbor. On the other hand the Virginia merchants and warehousemen in all diplomatic ways encouraged this North Carolina trade, which had been libeled and slandered by their great-great-grandfathers. A Virginia statute which required identifying marks on every hogshead of western tobacco inspected within the state specifically exempted North Carolina leaf from any such discrimination.⁵

From the earliest days of the commercial growth of tobacco in the piedmont counties of North Carolina the staple was typically marketed in Petersburg. Sometimes the hogsheads were rolled or carted directly from the plantation to market; often they were shipped downstream to the falls at Weldon, and from there were sent by wagon to Petersburg.

In the era of internal improvements the city of Norfolk, with considerable ingenuity if little success, attempted to capture from Petersburg this rich harvest. The game between the two Virginia towns was to attract the staples from the Roanoke River bateaux to their respective market places by means of some new avenue of transportation.

⁴THE TOBACCO CROP, 1839, 1849, 1859
(In Pounds)

STATE	1839	1849	1859
North Carolina	16,772,359	11,984,786	32,853,250
Virginia	75,347,106	56,803,227	123,968,312
Other States	127,043,854	130,964,642	277,387,899
United States	219,163,319	199,752,655	434,209,461

Note that even in the banner year 1859 the North Carolina crop was only 21 per cent of the entire Virginia-North Carolina yield.

5. *Acts of the [Virginia] General Assembly, 1835-1836, Chap. 78.*

Through the Dismal Swamp Canal, by 1829 greatly improved, Norfolk drew part of the old Petersburg trade. Then Petersburg, with a still more modern contrivance, the railroad, in 1833 connected with the Roanoke River at Blakely, only four miles below the great falls at Weldon. Each locomotive on this, the first real railroad in either Virginia or North Carolina, could pull forty hogsheads of tobacco. It was now Norfolk's turn. Her new Portsmouth railroad reached still farther for the wealth-bringing hogsheads and joined the Roanoke River directly at Weldon. To checkmate this move Petersburg constructed a spur line from the old Petersburg Railroad to Wilkins' Ferry (subsequently renamed Gaston), a point fifteen miles higher up the river than Weldon.⁶ Thus Petersburg successfully withstood Norfolk's bid for the North Carolina tobacco trade.

Richmond, already receiving some of the Roanoke Valley tobacco by way of Petersburg or in a roundabout way from Portsmouth, boldly determined to go to the heart of the Roanoke country. Her effort was the Richmond and Danville Railroad, completed in the late 1850's.⁷ But Richmond received only a moderate fraction of the North Carolina leaf trade, as did Danville; Petersburg tenaciously clung to a lion's share of the prize.⁸

In both Virginia and North Carolina the system of official inspection was an appendage of the process of sale, though in the late ante-bellum period the country and small-town manufacturers, the principal buyers in North Carolina, more and more carried on informal purchases which circumvented the state warehouses. The laws of the two states merely provided that no tobacco could be *exported* until it had been inspected.⁹ The North Carolina tobacco code allowed county courts almost absolute control over the inspection system. Because of

6. The Petersburg interests also competed with Norfolk by bringing the basic Petersburg line up the river and into Weldon. The Virginia railroads to the Roanoke River were soon joined by North Carolina railroads. Thus the principal eastern cities of Virginia and North Carolina were soon linked.

7. North Carolina statesmen, jealous of the Virginia markets, promptly rejected a petition for the extension of the Richmond and Danville Railroad into the upper Yadkin Valley.

8. In 1859 it was estimated that sixty per cent of the North Carolina crop was sold in Petersburg. See *Petersburg Farm Journal*, quoted in *North Carolina Planter*, II (1859), 367.

9. After 1826 refused tobacco could be legally exported from Virginia. Although North Carolina retained in its statutes the rule that refused tobacco could not be exported, the practice there apparently did not differ from that in Virginia.

this local elasticity the state legislature made few changes in its tobacco laws.

In the light of recent attempts on the part of the federal government to create an official grading system, it is interesting to note that when establishing a new inspection at Fayetteville in 1843, the North Carolina legislature repeated a colonial experiment in requiring that four qualities be designated by inspectors: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and the usual refuse. Apparently other points of inspection kept the normal two classes: passed and refused. The burning of rejected tobacco in the kilns attached to the warehouses was discontinued in Virginia in 1805; in North Carolina not until 1817.

Perhaps the explanation of the comparatively unimportant place of the official inspection warehouse in the history of North Carolina tobacco lies in the fact that there developed no large markets, where the inspection warehouses were used for auction sales. Milton was the only one of the North Carolina towns which made appreciable use of the warehouse auction system.¹⁰

As already suggested, first-hand sale in North Carolina was likely to be distinctly informal. Some crops might be turned over to a general merchant in payment for goods advanced during the preceding year; most of the leaf was taken by local manufacturers. After the year 1830, manufacturers bought increasing quantities loose, that is, not prized in the traditional hogsheads.

The earliest years of tobacco manufacturing in North Carolina are clouded in mystery. Certainly a few small establishments were prospering by the 1820's despite the fact that the piecemeal censuses of 1810 and 1820 ignore them. The federal census returns for 1840, 1850, and 1860, while undoubtedly omitting many of the small country factories, indicate a steadily growing industry. In those twenty years, from 1840 to 1860, the capital investment in the tobacco-manufacturing industry rose from \$91,000 to \$647,000, the number of hands employed from 482 to 1,471, the value of product from \$190,000 to \$1,117,000. The census figures show a growth of about

10. Cameron, J. D., *A Sketch of the Tobacco Interests of North Carolina* (Oxford, N. C., 1881), p. 82; Paul, H. V., *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.* (Raleigh, 1884), p. 98.

75 per cent in the 1840's, and over 100 per cent in the 1850's.¹¹ By 1860 the manufacture of tobacco ranked among other industries in North Carolina fifth as to capital investment, fourth in value of product, and third in cost of raw material and number of hands employed.

Almost all of the ninety-four factories recorded in the census of 1860 were in the north piedmont, in and around the area of tobacco culture.¹² Some were operated by small entrepreneurs in the villages; others, less extensive, were worked by industrious planters, who combined this endeavor with farming operations. Of Caswell's eleven factories, much larger than those elsewhere in North Carolina, five were in Milton and three in Yanceyville. Almost all of Granville's sixteen establishments were in and around Oxford. At this time, 1860, Durham's first factory was scarcely two years old.¹³

The two most extensive factories were both in Caswell County. The firm of Graves & Vernon employed 48 laborers and annually produced 260,000 pounds of manufactured tobacco, valued at \$70,000. Yancey Jones employed 50 laborers and annually produced 200,000 pounds of manufactured tobacco, valued at \$55,000.¹⁴

¹¹TOBACCO MANUFACTURING, 1840, 1850, 1860
(The cigar industry is not included.)

YEAR	STATE	CAPITAL INVESTED	HANDS EMPLOYED	ANNUAL VALUE OF PRODUCT
1840	North Carolina	\$ 91,065	482	\$ 189,868
	Virginia	1,526,080	3,342	2,406,671
	Other States	1,820,046	4,560	3,223,029
	United States	\$3,437,191	8,384	\$ 5,819,568
1850	North Carolina	\$ 167,440	621	\$ 308,630
	Virginia	1,412,471	5,279	5,157,652
	Other States	3,428,384	8,336	8,024,365
	United States	\$5,008,295	14,236	\$13,491,147
1860	North Carolina	\$ 646,730	1,461	\$ 1,117,099
	Virginia	3,856,990	11,382	12,236,683
	Other States	4,992,685	6,016	8,466,753
	United States	\$9,496,405	18,859	\$21,820,535

Although the figures for 1840 include a few establishments producing goods valued at less than \$500 annually, the statistics for 1850 and 1860 exclude "factories" that small.

12. The printed *Census of 1860* includes 97 factories. For the purposes of this paper a small cigar-making shop in Forsyth County and two stemmeries in Person County have been omitted from consideration. Likewise for 1850 the census total of 81 includes two cigar-making shops, one in Stokes County and one in Forsyth County.

13. Original manuscript returns, census of 1860, in North Carolina State Library, Raleigh, N. C.; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 4, 1857; Boyd, W. K., *The Story of Durham, City of the New South*, p. 58.

14. Original manuscript returns, census of 1860. The size of the factories in 1850 and in 1860 may be seen from the two accompanying frequency tables, one based on the number of hands employed, the other on the annual value of the factory product. Because returns for the factories of Rockingham and Caswell counties are given collectively instead of individually in the original manuscripts of the census of 1840 in North Carolina State Library, Raleigh, N. C., no attempt has been made to present frequency tables for that year.

NUMBER OF NORTH CAROLINA TOBACCO FACTORIES, CLASSIFIED BY COUNTIES ON A BASIS OF THE NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED, 1850 AND 1860*

County	Number Hands		NO. FACTORIES EMPLOYING SPECIFIED NO. OF HANDS														Total No. of Factories Per County										
			1-4		5-9		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34				35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860			
Alamance						1		1						1											4		
Burke						2																			2		
Caswell			2		3	2		1			1		1	4	2	2					1			1	9	11	
Chatham		1																							1		
Davie			1	1		1								1											1	3	
Forsyth	1			1																					1	1	
Franklin			1																						1		
Granville	15	6	2	5		2				2		1													17	16	
Iredell				2			1			1															1	3	
McDowell		1																								1	
Macon	1		2																						3		
Orange								1					1													2	
Person			2		1	1																			4		
Rockingham	4	1	19	8	2	4	1	5		3	1	3				1									27	25	
Rowan																							1			1	
Stokes	7	2	7	8		7																			14	17	
Surry			1			2		2				1														1	5
Wilkes		1																								1	
Yadkin		1																								1	
No. Carolina	28	13	37	25	6	21	3	10		6	2	8	1	4	2	3							2		1	79	94

*Based on an examination of the original manuscript returns, censuses of 1850 and 1860.

The ante-bellum manufacturer most interesting to us today was neither wealthy nor white. Lunsford Lane, an industrious Negro slave of Raleigh, developed a full-flavored smoking mixture for which he found ready sale at fifteen cents per quarter-pound, a high price for the times. Through perseverance and economy he purchased his own freedom from a tolerant owner. Although he numbered among his best customers members of the state legislature, their friendship and the good name of his brand could not prevent his persecution by the lower class of whites. Eventually he left Raleigh to become one of the prominent anti-slavery leaders of the North.¹⁵

In all except the very smallest factories the manual labor was performed by Negro slaves. Some of them were owned by the operators of the establishments, and some were annually hired from their owners. The typical tobacco manufacturer allowed appreciable bonuses for all work beyond a specified minimum, and thus accelerated his workers by giving them some of the incentives of a free and competitive, rather than a slave, society.

As the North Carolina factories were comparatively small, neither the division of labor nor the specialization of machinery was as far advanced as in the large factory towns of Virginia. The basic piece of equipment in the chewing tobacco factory (and most were in that classification) was a hand-operated screw, worked by a long lever. An occasional rural factory might have as its central machine a crude outdoor press, operated by a wing-lever to which some draft animal was harnessed. At least one of the manufacturers owned a new hydraulic press in 1860. In the small smoking tobacco factories (and despite their omission from the census records there must have been a number of them) primitive flails or mechanical shredders pulverized the leaf.

For the sale of their product the manufacturers looked to three outlets: the local consumer, the Northern factor (agent), and the Southern back-country peddler. To obtain favorable local publicity the manufacturers were not above a bit of innocent bribery. For example, in 1849 Samuel Watkins, at the

15. *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N. C.* (Boston, 1842); Bassett, J. S., *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XVI, No. 6, Baltimore, 1898), p. 73.

time the most extensive manufacturer in Milton, made a strategic gift of sample plugs to the editor of the *Milton Chronicle*, a wise individual who extracted superlatives from his type box to acknowledge in the editorial column the gift "made of splendid leaf and manufactured in the very best style."¹⁶ To borrow the *Richmond Enquirer's* apologetic pun in connection with affairs tobacco, the plug was a simple *quid pro quo*.

The northern agents, probably half of whom resided in the city of New York, constituted the most important medium for disposing of the plug and twist. They sold Virginia and North Carolina manufactured tobacco on a commission varying from five to seven and one-half per cent, plus incidental fees. The factor sold to the jobber, or wholesale grocer (middle-man), on a credit of from eight to twelve months; in the meantime the manufacturer might draw on the factor. The relationship between the Northern factor and Southern manufacturer, not entirely satisfactory even in the best of times, was strained to the breaking point in the panic of 1857. Many agents closed their counting houses and returned acceptances to the manufacturers. A storm of protest swept over the Virginia and North Carolina tobacco areas at what was considered the duplicity of the Northerners.

A regional meeting of manufacturers was called for November 25 at Danville and a general convention for December 3 at Richmond. To the Danville meeting there were invited manufacturers from Pittsylvania, Henry, and Franklin counties in Virginia, and from Caswell, Rockingham, and Person counties in North Carolina.¹⁷ The Richmond convention, the only gathering of Virginia and North Carolina manufacturers in the ante-bellum period, attracted three from Milton, who made the winter trip to add their complaints to those being registered against the Northern agents, and to see that the interest of the North Carolinians was adequately represented. George A. Smith, one of the North Carolina delegates, was elected vice-president and actually presided at the most important session, when Northern factors were taken to task for

16. *Milton Chronicle*, November 1, 1849.

17. The *Danville Republican*, November 19, 1857, contains a call for the meeting.

their laxness, and when it was determined that credit would be limited to four months.¹⁸

If not the most important outlet for the manufactured product, certainly the most colorful was the peddler, who went into the piedmont hills to the south. He harnessed two stout horses to his wagon, stowed several dozen boxes of plug and twist under the canvas top, crammed provisions and cooking utensils in whatever space remained, and guided his team toward the Appalachian slope. Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and other cotton states he drove, selling his product for hard money, or, if his customers lacked cash, trading for portable produce.

Not only the professional peddler (who might be a road brother to the New Englander with nutmegs and tinware) but the small manufacturer or his overseer in seasons of slack manufacturing brought the plug and twist to the omniverous jaws of the cotton farmers. The sparse records of these trips indicate profit and sometimes even romance. Henry Evans Thomas, tobacco planter and manufacturer of Rockingham County, brought home with him Florida money and a Florida wife.¹⁹ But who can evaluate the worth of these journeys in weaving the economic and social strands between upper and lower south? Made of many diverse elements the bonds between the tobacco and cotton sections withstood the strain of 1861 when the more pretentious connections between the tobacco area and the Northern financial centers snapped.

If these ventures of the wagoning peddlers carry our thoughts beyond a great civil conflict to later years when one Washington Duke peddled or bartered his *Pro Bono Publico* smoking tobacco, still more prophetic is the glimpse of a new kind of leaf, induced by the peculiarities of soil and climate in the Dan Valley. In 1852 or 1853 the Slade brothers, Eli and Elisha, who had been named by their Bible-reading parents, cured a small crop of tobacco, peculiarly yellow in color. The fancy market price willingly paid by the buyers excited curiosity and speculation as to the elements contributing to the novel product. It was soon agreed that the tobacco, bright, or flue-cured manufacturing as it is called today, was primarily con-

18. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 4, 1857.

19. Thomas, James A., *A Pioneer Tobacco Merchant in the Orient*, p. 3.

ditioned by the light grey soil on which it was grown, much less fertile than the heavier loams formerly considered proper tobacco land. Originally planted by the Slades on a Caswell County ridge which drained into two creeks, both tributaries of the Dan River, this yellow tobacco spread along the same ridge across the state line into Pittsylvania County, Virginia. The culture of bright tobacco had expanded only slightly beyond these two counties when the catastrophe of the 1860's violently upset the old tobacco kingdom.²⁰

In the new industrial empire which soon arose, the laurel of its merchant kings, manufacturing princes, and (if I may be forgiven) its industrial Dukes was not the classical bay leaf, but the golden leaf of Eli and Elisha Slade.

20. See Paul, *History of the Town of Durham*, pp. 165-166; Boyd, *The Story of Durham*, p. 57; Killebrew, J. B., "Report on the Culture and Curing of Tobacco in the United States," *U. S. Census*, 1880, III, 704; Mathewson, E. H., *The Culture of Flue-Cured Tobacco* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry Bulletin, No. 16), pp. 1-2; Gray, L. C., *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, II, 757, 770; Garner, W. W., and others, "Superior Germ Plasm in Tobacco," *U. S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1936, p. 818.

On the night that this paper was read, Miss Nannie May Tilley, of the Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, presented an essay, "The Bright Tobacco Industry in the Virginia-Carolina Area, 1861-1900," the result of a fresh investigation of the origin and development of the new leaf. Her conclusions indicate that bright tobacco was grown in Caswell County earlier than the older historians supposed, and that credit has been incorrectly monopolized by the two Slade brothers. There were four brothers and one Negro slave of importance in the early development of bright tobacco.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO VAN BUREN

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued from January, 1938]

FROM WALTER F. LEAK⁴¹

Rockingham Richmond County N Carolina
March 21, 1840.

His Excellency Martin Van Buren.

D. Sir,

At a meeting of the Democratic-Republican party held in this place on Tuesday the 17 Inst, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the Chairman, of the Democratic district Convention, be directed to address a letter to Martin Van Buren President of the United States, and also to Wm H Harrison; in which he propound to each, the following interrogatory — Are you, or are you not opposed to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, in any, and every shape, form or fashion, except as the owners of the Slaves may themselves desire.

Resolved, that although we have no cause to suspect either, an union of sentiment, or of action, between the Abolitionists and Martin Van Buren; yet we are firmly persuaded that the highly excited and sensitive condition of the publick mind at the South, require at his hands, a renewal of the same sentiments and pledges, as were contained, in his letter of the 6th of March 1836, addresse^d. to Junius Amis & others.⁴²

Resolved, that as Southern citizens and Southern Democrats, we cannot, nor will not support any man for the Presidency, who does not give the

41. "W. F. Leak," as he signed himself, represented Richmond County in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1831 and in the state Senate in, 1832. *A Manual of North Carolina* (1913), p. 776.

42. A reprint of the letter of Van Buren to Leak appeared in *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), April 29, 1840. It was dated March 26 instead of March 27, 1840. The following draft of the letter of Van Buren to Leak, March 27, 1840, has survived in the Van Buren MSS., Library of Congress:

"Washington March 27-1840

Dear Sir

I have rec. your letter of the 21st. Instant, I can see no objection to say in reply, that the sentiments expressed in my letter of the 6th of March 1836 to Junius Amis & others, & substantially repeated in my Inaugural Address, are not only still entertained by me, but have been greatly strengthened by subsequent experience & reflection.

I am Sir, very
respectfully your
obedient sert.

M. Van Buren"

To Wm. F. Leak Esq.
Chairman.

A draft of Van Buren's letter to Junius Amis, and others, Jackson, North Carolina, is placed under date of March 4, 1836. Printed "opinions of Martin Van Buren . . . upon the powers and duties of Congress. . . ." are under the date of March 6, 1836, Van Buren, MSS. An Extract of his letter of March 6 was printed in *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), April 29, 1840.

South Satisfactory assurances, that he is opposed to the bold and mischievous movements of the Abolitionists.

Resolved, that as soon as the Chairman shall receive an answer, from either or both of the Gentlemen, to whom the above interrogatory is put that he publish the same in the "North Carolinian."

In discharging, Sir, the duty devolved on me, as Chairman, I respectfully submit the interrogatory, contained in the first resolution for your consideration, and ask of you an early reply. I should, however, be doing injustice, not only to my own feelings, but to those of the Republican Bretheren, I represent, were I to withhold from you the expression; that the above interrogatory has not been propounded, from any suspicion, as to your integrity in carrying out the assurances, and pledges formerly given but from the increased, and increasing importance of the Subject to the South, and from the desire, on the part of your Friends, to remove every vestige of doubt, arising from lapse of time, as to your Sentiments upon this question—

I remain Sir with Sentiments of the highest consideration

Yo, mo, ob, st,

Chairman of the Democratic

D. Con^a.

FROM ROBERT J. STEELE⁴³

Rockingham Richmond County N.C

May 4^h. 1840

To his Excellency Mr Van Buren

D Sir

Your letter of W. F. Leak in which you have renewed the sentiments contained in your letter to Junius Amis & others as also the sentiments set fourth in your inaugural Message is unsatisfactory to a portion of the South inasmuch as you have said nothing as to the course you would pursue in case Congress were to assume the power of imposing restrictions upon the states applying for admission into the union, as to Slavery in particular.

As this is a subject of vital Importance to the South, you are respectfully invited to give your views upon the following interrogatory

Do you hold that Congress has the constitutional power, to impose restrictions upon states applying for admission into the union, as to slavery in particular — an early reply is respectfully invited

I am sir politically opposed to you for the present, but am desirous to

⁴³ On August 6, 1840, Van Buren replied to Steele's letter. He refused to commit himself beyond the stand he took in 1836 in opposition to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or interference with the institution in the states where it existed. Van Buren MSS.

know your sentiments upon the above & respectfully ask of you an early reply — you are informed also that I have this day address^d a similar letter to Gen^l. Harrison

Respectfully yours

FROM WALTER F. LEAK

Rockingham Richmond County North Carolina

May 9^h. 1840

Mr Van Buren

D Sir.

You will in all probability have rec^d. before this reaches you, a letter from Rob^t. J Steele Whig; asking your opinion on the constitutional powers of congress to impose restrictions upon newly admitted states — Mr. Steele is a Gentleman and a planter of the Highest respectability, and is not pleased, at the refusal of Gen^l. Harrison to answer & give an expose of his sentiments. Yet objects to your hitherto publish^d. letters, inasmuch as you have said nothing in reference to the power alluded to, which with him seems to be a "sine qua non" The silence of Gen^l. Harrison and the course pursued by those, who think for him is likely, to some extent, to produce confusion in the ranks of those, who differ with the Administration, and if this, the last plank in the ship wreck, can be wrested from them, I hazard nothing in the assertion, that it will strengthen our party in North Carolina, if in no other way, by stopping the mouths of your Traducers; for notwithstanding your publish^d opinions are satisfactory to your Friends & should be so to your opponents, yet your course on the Missouri restriction, is handled with effect, and is one of those kind of "ad captandious," arguments, that is well calculated to take.⁴⁴

The letter from Mr R. J Steele I feel confident, from my knowledge of the man, has not originated from a desire to embarrass you, for at the same time, he address^d a similar letter to Gen^l. Harrison.

I trust Sir, that you will excuse the freedom with which I address you, and that if an apology be needed, that it may be found in my ardent desire, to further the principles involved in your election & that it will not be imputed to any disposition on my part, to subscribe my own selfish ends, (a principle by the by too common)

Office I do not seek, office I do not want, and office I would not have, and all the interest, which I can possibly feel in your iteration, originates solely from an honest belief, that the best interests of our common country will be promoted thereby

Respectfully

Your ob St,

44. Evidently Van Buren trusted to luck and the influence of Jackson to elect him until it was too late. As a matter of fact the campaign lagged until the Whigs hit upon the plan of popularizing the log cabin and hard cider as a means of appealing to the people.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.⁴⁵

Dear Sir

This State has gone against your Admⁿ. *out & out* Commons—Senate & Governor!! In joint vote the Feds will have a larger majority than that party ever had — at least 20!! In the Governor's election Saunders will be beaten from 7 to 10,000!!⁴⁶

It is useless to rail at the weakness & violence of political opponents. They have descended to the use of every artifice and a triumph has crowned their labors. But it is the office of a true friend to speak the truth in plainness to those who administer our affairs and I am free to say that all the Federal arts would have failed if the People of this State were not in favor of a *National Bank*. I think he is much deceived who cannot see that a majority in No: Caro are ready to go for no one who is pledged to oppose the great Regulator—Against my will I am convinced of all this. I doubt if a different result can be expected in November but we will never surrender—

It humiliates the Democrats of the *South* to see the South stand back from the support of a President who has so nobly risked himself at the North against the enemies of our peculiar rights. We shall have no claims upon the confidence of Northern Democrats hereafter when we are blustering about a "*United South*" against abolition—The abolitionist have always said that the South cannot *unite* about any thing and I fear that they will be embolden whilst our friends must feel discouraged at N^o—Caro: & Al^a. elections!

My maxim is "never to despair of the Republick"—It has been "*never to fear for the Union*" but I do greatly apprehend that dangers & thick darkness are before us—

May God who ruleth over all things so direct events as to promote the welfare of our beloved country and aid you in all your patriotick counsels for the Nation—

Your friend

Raleigh 15 Aug 1840.

FROM BEDFORD BROWN⁴⁷

Caswell County, N. C. 30th. Aug. 1846

My Dear Sir

I have been honored with the receipt of your friendly letter of the 20th.

45. On June 30, 1840, Senators Robert Strange and Bedford Brown of North Carolina resigned because they refused to obey instruction. When the legislature of the State convened, William H. Haywood, Junior, was elected by the combined vote of the Saunders and Brown wing of the Democratic party. *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), July 15, 1840; Ashe, Samuel A., ed., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 184.

46. Romulus M. Saunders received 35,850 votes and John M. Morehead received 44,221 votes. Both houses of the assembly had a Whig majority. *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), Sept. 2, 1840.

47. The resignation of Bedford Brown from his seat in the United States Senate lessened his political influence in North Carolina. As a result he moved to Missouri. His letter of resignation appeared in *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), July 15, 1840.

Ins^t. which did not reach me, until a week after it was written, which you will please receive as an apology, for the delay in answering it.

The result of the N. Carolina elections has been different, from what I had anticipated. The opinions expressed by our political friends, in almost every part of the State, had led me to expect Success, in the elections for the Legislature and in that for Governor, if not a victory, at least a close contest. Two causes have mainly contributed, to bring about this result. First: we have always had in this State a powerful federal party, who have recently derived a considerable accession, to their strength, from the temptation held out by them, to the people, by M^r. Clay's proposition to distribute the proceeds of the Sales of the public lands and by advocating appropriations for works of internal improvement on our Seaboard, by the general government. The money power here, as elsewhere, has also done its part, to aid the federal argument for a National Bank, by making money Scarce and exchanges high between this and the north. Secondary, to these causes in aiding the success of the federalists, was the plan suggested by M^r. Poinsett for reorganizing the Militia. The federalists availed themselves of the most fraudulent misrepresentations on this Subject and before explanations could reach the people, Succeeded in driving from us a portion of the leading people, who had always formed our Steadiest Support. As they were most liable, to be affected, by any plan for organising the Militia, of course they were quickest to take the alarm. When men once desert their friends, although the cause which induced them to do so, may be afterwards entirely removed, by explanation, yet it is difficult to procure their return, to the ranks, which they have abandoned, and more so at a time of high party excitement.

Although it may appear, to well informed persons almost incredible, after the most satisfactory explanations, which this subject underwent, it is nevertheless true, that it aided powerfully in our defeat, as I meet with scarcely a solitary person who does not express that opinion. There were other causes auxiliary, to these, which is useless now to advert to. The great object now is, to devise measures for repairing the disasters which our party have met with. I have given to the Subject much reflection and it appears to me, that the most efficient means of doing so, is for the leading Members of our party, in this State to make every effort to enlighten the public mind, by Documents and through the press, on the great questions at issue, between the two parties, in this country and at the same time, to urge our friends, by writing them to organise in every County and Precinct in the State.

Sensible as I am, that our liberties are endangered and irritated at the dishonesty and knavery of the federal party, I had at one time almost determined to take the field and address the people, at least in all the large Counties of the West. More mature reflection however, convinces me that to do this, would afford a Signal to the federalists in the large Western Counties, to rally with redoubled zeal for the contest and as my name was

before the people unsuccessfully, in the late elections, of course the effort would be made, to impair by that circumstance the tone of the address which I might make. In other words the federalists would endeavour, to make anew the issue, at the late election as to the propriety or the impropriety of my re-election to the Senate. When therefore the excitement of that contest, is yet unabated, however just the cause is, which I should advocate, yet it is human nature, in such a state of feeling before time has been given for prejudices and passion to subside, to cling to their former opinions. This cause therefore, I am led to believe would greatly impair the force of any efforts that I might make although they were, by far, to exceed any that I could hope to make.

I am entirely confident if I were to take the field that the democracy of the State would hail it with enthusiasm, and I am at the same time equally certain that the federalists would be roused to more than their former exertions. In the fall of 1836 after Dudley defeated Spaight we recovered the State, by the plan that I have pointed out. I made an address which was extensively circulated through the State and with the active co-operation of friends in every part of it, we succeeded in carrying it, by a handsome majority. I am however free to confess that it is now more uncertain, than it was then, as to our success. At the same time I have great hopes, with well directed efforts, and with more ample opportunities by the people, than they had in the late contest, to take a proper view of the principles, involved in the controversy, together with the influence which public opinion now rapidly developing in our favor, in nearly all the Southern States, that we shall again be able to rally N. Carolina under the republican Banner in November.

I shall avail myself of all invitations, to attend public meetings and shall deliver addresses and if my friends, think I can be useful in any part of the State, I will repair with alacrity to those Counties which they may call upon me to visit.

I was invited to attend a very large meeting in Halifax, Va. a few days since, where myself and others addressed the people and a more enthusiastic spirit I have never witnessed. They think they will in that County, give a larger Democratic majority than they have for many years.

Although the contest in the Union will be closer, than was anticipated, yet I have the most lively hope of our success, as I should regard any other result, as a practical revolution, in our government.

I thank you for kindly remembering my request, in regard to my Brother James W. Brown now in Cincinnati.

He is possessed of a most liberal education, has studied law though has but little practical acquaintance with it and is moral in his deportment. If Mr. Woodbury⁴⁸ or any of the heads of Departments could confer on him a Clerkship worth a thousand dollars I should be gratified. I should rather that he should, at this time, have nothing beyond that, for reasons

48. Levi Woodbury was Secretary of the Treasury.

which I mentioned, when in conversation on that subject with you.

Allow me to say, My Dear Sir, that independent of the great cause, in which we are embarked and in aid of which you have brought so much moral firmness and such eminent ability there is not that public man living whom it would give me so much pleasure to serve, or whose wishes it would at all times gratify me so much to comply with. I entertain towards you, these sentiments, not only from your uniform kindness to me, in our personal intercourse but from the most sincere conviction of your disinterested, honesty and patriotism as a statesman.

Mrs. Brown desires me to present you her kindest remembrances and with my regards to the Major and Lady believe me ever and

truly your friend,

His Excellency,
Martin Van Buren
President of
The U. States.

FROM WILLIAM LOVE AND OTHERS⁴⁹

Lincolnton (N C) Sept 7th 1840

Sir

A portion of the Democratic citizens of the two Carolinas having determined to celebrate the coming anniversary of the Kings mountain battle—and having appointed the undersigned a committee of invitation; we respectfully solicit your attendance there—on the battle ground Oct. 7, 1840⁵⁰

The committee avail themselves of the occasion to remark, that they have not been inattentive to the principles upon which you have conducted the affairs of the nation nor have they overlooked the means used by the opponents of your administration to affect its overthrow—

In the first instance, their best reflection has produced the conviction on their minds that those principles are in strict accordance with the Republican doctrines of '98 and if carried out must result in bringing back the government to the standard of the constitution; and in relieving the country from the thralldom in which are incorporated, but fictitious wealth has so long bound it

In the latter instance, which the committee have seen, with feelings of mortification and regret your opponents losing sight of the honourable and open means of political combat; and resorting to misrepresentation and

49. On September 28, 1840, Van Buren wrote to Love and declined the invitation, Van Buren MSS.

50. At the celebration several resolutions were passed denouncing the Whigs. Others endorsed the Democratic ticket. Among the resolutions was this one:

"That the ability and integrity with which MARTIN VAN BUREN has administered the government since he was placed in the Presidential chair, entitle him to the gratitude of the American people, and loudly call for his re-election. We, therefore, pledge ourselves to make use of all honorable means to secure his re-election." *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), Nov. 4, 1840.

appeals to the lowest passions of men, they have had the consolation of seeing you sternly pursuing the high and noble objects for the furtherance of which the office which you hold was created—

In so honourable a course the committee find the certain pledges of continuing merit, and readily assure you of their cordial support

In conclusion the committee hope it will accord with your feelings, and not run counter to your engagements to unite with them and those whom they represent in the celebration of an event which has added so much to the glory of the history of our country.

In the meantime we remain

Your obt. serts.

Wm. Love
 Benj. Norris
 Geo. Wilfong
 Larkin Stowe
 J. A Ramsour
 M. Hoke
 L. E. Thompson
 M. Rinehardt
 Wm. Williamson
 Thos. Williamson
 T. M. Abernathy
 Geo. Neal
 W. G. Abernathy
Com. of Inv.

FROM BEDFORD BROWN

Caswell, N. C. 31st October 1840

My Dear Friend

Before this reaches you, enough of the States will have voted to decide, the present conflict between parties and in my opinion by far the most important, to the liberties and future happiness of this country which has taken place since the government was established. The intense interest, which I feel in the result, induces me to write you a hasty letter during this war of the political elements and to express the fervent wish, that the perilous crisis through which our country and government are passing, will be succeeded by a brighter and more cheering prospect.

If the efforts of the Democratic party, shall prove successful, they will deserve the brightest and most honorable page, in the nation's history and to yourself will be due the imperishable honor of having led them to victory over the most mercenary, profligate and powerfully organized parties, which the hope of plunder and the promptings of ambition have ever banded together.

After having attended the celebration, at Kings Mountain I visited some of the large counties, in that part of the State and addressed public meetings in them. I went into those, that gave the largest majorities against us in August, in the hope, that I might be able to produce some impression. I am flattered with the hope, that there is a change in our favor, not only in the western counties, but also in most others in the State. The change, I fear however, is not sufficient to give us the State, at the approaching election. If the federalists do not turn out in full force, we shall beat them, as I have never seen more enthusiasm, among the friends of the administration. I however, do not despair, under any circumstances, of beating them, as I am confident that many changes in our favor, have taken place in almost every part of the State. While I do not despair of success, yet I am of opinion, that the probabilities are against us.

I was invited to address a Meeting in a county adjoining this, some two or three days since and although it rained the greater portion of the day, the attendance was very numerous. I mention this, as a mere incident, to show the ardour of our Democratic friends, in the present contest.

The leading Democratic press, at Raleigh has acted very badly towards myself during the Autumn. Whenever, I have made addresses, assaults from the federal presses of course were made in abundance and I have been left without defense from that quarter, which I had a right, to expect it from. This malignity has been carried so far, that my visit, to the Western counties and even my participation, in the proceedings of the great meeting at King's Mountain has been up to this time, carefully suppressed in that paper.⁵¹ It results from the control, which an individual has over the press, who imagines that his own importance requires, that the exertions of others to redeem the State, should remain unnoticed. If the recent developments of election frauds in New York and elsewhere, do not arouse public indignation and overwhelm the party who rely on such means for success, we may consider the state of republican government as settled. I believe, Virginia will go for the democratic party and have not lost hopes of Georgia. After the almost self-sacrificing efforts of yourself and northern friends for years past, to relieve her from her Indian difficulties, if she now proves faithless, *Georgia faith*, will hereafter become synonymous, with the term *Punic faith* and her conduct will present an example, of treachery; for which there is no parallel to be found, in the history of modern civilized states.

I shall await with intense anxiety the results of the Virginia and New York elections. If they prove true, to their ancient faith all will be well.

With the most fervent good wishes for your success, which is the cause of the country and of the constitution,

I remain most
truly your friend,

His Excellency.
Martin Van Buren
President of the U. States.

⁵¹ The account of the Kings Mountain celebration appeared in the newspapers the following week. *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), Nov. 4, 1840.

FROM BEDFORD BROWN

Caswell, N. C. 17th. February 1841

My Dear Sir,

I have been, for some time past, intending to write you, which I now do, with much pleasure and avail myself of the occasion, to acknowledge the receipt of a copy, of your Message to Congress, which you did me the honor, to send me shortly after the commencement of the present session.

I think, I do not exaggerate its merits, when I express it, as my opinion, that it is exceeded by none, ever communicated to Congress, by any of your eminent Predecessors, either for sound and orthodox republican principles or for beauty, simplicity and strength, as a composition.

While the strong array of facts in regard to matters of finance contained in it, afford, the most conclusive refutation of federal falsehoods and the highest evidence of great national prosperity, the principles which it advances, in regard, to all the great questions of policy, concerned with the administration of the federal government, deserve to be considered, hereafter, as constituting the true political creed of the republican party.

If the friends of the country and the Constitution have failed in their wishes, to place you in a situation, to carry out these principles, for the next four years, so honorably and nobly maintained amidst so many difficulties, it cannot be otherwise than a course of infinite satisfaction, both to them and to yourself, to reflect, that the great mass of the virtuous and patriotic rallied, to their support.

I consider the sovereignty of the people, as having been subdued, in the late contest, by foreign influence and domestic corporate influence united together, and brought to bear, on the ballot Box. The nation is bound by every principle of honor and of freedom to redeem itself, from so humiliating a condition, on the first occasion that presents itself. I know not, what the opinion of the great body of the Democratic party is, but my own is that the nation owes it to itself to seek their vindication, by your reelection, to the Chief-Magistracy. Without this, it would be incomplete and wanting, in the great lesson, which a republican people should teach, to both their friends and enemies—that a faithful public servant, who has fearlessly risked himself for the public good, shall be sustained.

If the Democratic party, at the next session of Congress shall be able, to prevent the federalists from establishing a National Bank, then the prospect for the ultimate success of our party will be quite encouraging. If however, the federalists shall succeed in constructing this mighty fortress, for their mercenary bands to shelter themselves behind, and to make war on republican principles then there is but too much reason to apprehend, that they will succeed in effecting, in regard, to the future destinies of our government all that Jefferson feared and all that Hamilton wished.

I beg you, to be assured, of the lively recollection which I entertain of our past personal and political associations and that none will feel more

anxious, for your happiness and success, in future, than myself. M^r. B. requests her kindest remembrances to you and be pleased to accept my own warmest regards.

His Excellency

Martin Van Buren.

FROM BEDFORD BROWN

Raleigh, N. C. Dec. 31st. 1842

My Dear Sir

I consider it due to yourself, to inform you, that I have received a letter from Gen^l. R. M. Saunders requesting me to inform him whether I had said in conversation, as reported in the "Raleigh Register" that "you had told me, that you had long known him (Saunders) and that he thought no man in North Carolina capable of filling an office but himself."⁵²

I have to express my sincere regret, that a moment of excitement, occasioned by the manner, in which the Senatorial election was conducted, permitted myself to use your name, in reference to M^r. Saunders. Some individual present whom I do not know when I was conversing on this subject caused publicity, to be given to my remark in the Register. I do not recollect the precise words used by me, the idea intended to be conveyed however, "was that you had remarked to me, that you had considered M^r. Saunders as urging his claims to office, too much to the exclusion of others in North Carolina and that he seemed to consider none other in North Carolina, as capable of filling office or entitled to fill office, but himself."

I cannot say, after the long lapse of time, since this conversation between us, on this subject that this was your precise language, the substance of it however, to the best of my recollection, is the same. The conversation referred to, occurred while you were presiding in the Senate and about the time when the appointment of M^r. Saunders as Commissioner, under the Treaty with France expired and when his name was presented to Gen^l. Jackson for the appointment of Comptroller or Minister to Spain, I cannot now remember which.

I have again to express the strongest regret, that in a moment of unusual excitement, that your name, should have been introduced. I have thought it right, to give you frankly this explanation of the manner and circumstances under which it was done, and what I said on the occasion, as M^r. Saunders may probably make it the subject of a letter to you. In answer to his letter I shall write the same in substance, that I have communicated to you.

In reference to the public sentiment of our State, in regard to the presidential election, I am quite sure that three fourths of the Democratic mem-

⁵². A part of the correspondence later appeared in the *Raleigh Register*, February 3, 1843. See Richard Dobbs Spaight to Van Buren, Feb. 16, 1843.

bers of the Legislature, are in your favor and, so far as I am informed, public sentiment accords, with that of the Legislature. I trust and believe that Virginia entertains similar sentiments. I am certain, that the prospects of Mr. Calhoun have been injuriously affected, if not much impaired, by the movements of his friends, in the Legislature, as regards the senatorial election. It is possible, that their conduct here, is indicative of what may be expected, from them in the National Convention.

My friend Edwards⁵³ who is with me, in the singleness of his heart accords with these views, and desires his most cordial regards, with the assurance, that no one wishes you better than he does. Believe me, My Dear Sir, to be your

Sincere friend

P. S. I do not expect to leave here sooner than the 15th. of January.

Hon. Martin Van Buren.

FROM RICHARD D. SPAIGHT⁵⁴

Clermont near Newbern N C

February 16th 1843

My dear Sir

A few days ago a friend sent a number of Weekly Raleigh Register, of the 3d of this month in which with regret I saw published a correspondence between Gen^l. R. M Saunders and Mr Bedford Brown, who were candidates for the appointment of U. S. Senator before the Legislature of this state at its last session. That regret was increased by observing in the correspondence published a letter from you to me in answer to one written by Mr W. N. Edwards & myself requesting your interest in procuring an office for Gen^l Saunders. Although the letter was an open one and sent by Gen^l Saunders, as he himself declares yet I deem it improper that it should have been published without your consent Fearing you might think I had inconsiderately allowed its publication, I write to exonerate myself from the suspicion of such impropriety and to assure you that it has been done without my consent or even knowledge With the best wishes for your welfare and happiness

I remain Respectfully

Your Obedient Servt

Honble M Van Buren

P. S. Not knowing your present post office & not wishing to delay its progress I enclosed to a friend in New York for the proper direction

53. Weldon N. Edwards was an outstanding Democrat.

54. Richard Dobbs Spaight was the last governor of North Carolina to be elected by the legislature. In 1836 he was opposed by Edward B. Dudley who won the election. After this Spaight resumed his law practice in New Bern and took little active part in public affairs. Ashe, *op. cit.*, IV, 404.

FROM W. O. GREGORY

Waterloo N Carolina Novr 9th. 1843

Dear Sir

Although I am utterly unknown to you I hope the importance of the subject of this letter will excuse the liberty I take in troubling you with its reading. I have seen with much pain and apprehension the rapid decline in public morals in this country. I believe that our banking system is the chief cause in producing it. With the reasons for this belief I will not tire your patience. You have no doubt reviewed the subject in all its bearings. I believe that a corrupt people can never be well governed except by a despot. I believe that a restoration of the Democrats to power can never be permanent so long as we retain our present banking system. Our wise Nathaniel Macon used often to say it was impossible to legislate for an indebted people. Whenever our people are in debt and distressed they will be sure to turn out those who may happen at such a time to be their rulers. Hundreds can feel distress, for one who has capacity to understand the causes which produced it. I believe that if our banks are allowed to increase or diminish at will the amount of money to be circulated amongst us, your election to the presidency or the election of any other democrat can only retard, and that but for a very short time our downward progress in demoralization. I say with Haman "all this availeth me nothing so long as Mordecai the Jew sitteth at the Kings gate." I do not believe that one in a hundred of our citizens understands half of the evils moral & pecuniary which the banks inflict on us. Our newspapers are in debt to them and afraid to show them in their true colors. In this state of things, with a view to draw public attention strongly to the subject, I propose to address to yourself and to the other Gentlemen who are in nomination for the Presidency the following questions. Do you believe that the power to increase or diminish at will the amount of money in the United States can be safely or properly given to individuals, corporations, or to the General Government or any department of it? Do not the banks in the U S Now possess that power? Would not a U S bank with a large capital have that power together with a greater facility in increasing it that the state banks now have? Do you not believe that the exercise of this power has been and will continue to be greatly demoralizing in its effects upon society? Has not experience, in your opinion proven that when this power has ever been given, all laws enacted with a view to its control are inefficient and useless?

I have ever been a firm supporter of Democratic principles having voted twice for Gen Jackson and twice for yourself for the Presidency. I do not wish at this time to endanger your election. But entertaining the opinions above expressed in relation to the evils of paper money I am extremely desirous to have from all of the Presidential candidates answers to the foregoing questions. Is it requiring too much to ask you to give me your views in relation to the propriety and expediency of propounding them at this

time? Your answer shall be strictly private if required. Gen. Dromgoole⁵⁵ of Va or Gen. Daniel⁵⁶ our member of Congress from this (the Granville) district will satisfy you that there is nothing treacherous herein intended and give you my character.

I am with the highest respect for your public & private character your fellow citizen

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Private

W. City 6 May 1844.

Hon. M Van Buren

Dear Sir

I thought you ought to have refused to answer Hammet but that is past. No doubt your attention has been arrested by a publication which purports to be a copy of documents communicated to the Senate with the Texas Treaty. Now supposing them to be genuine I beg you to do me the favour to refer to them again and to assist me with a confidential reply to the question I have proposed below—I do not wish nor intend under any circumstances to let another person see your answer and no one knows that I address you at all. I want to see your advice and arguments & I ask you for them because I honor and respect you as the leading Democrat of this Nation and I hope I do not presume too much in believing that you will recognize in my signature the name of a faithful and tried friend. The question is this:

The Prest. through his Secy of State invited Texas to propose annexation—Texas declined—The President again urged Texas to propose and after conversing a great deal and threatening some the assurance was pretty distinctly made that 2/3 of the Senate would ratify. This must have been a prevailing motive for acceding to the proposition—Texas has proposed upon these repeated assurances of the U. S.—

The Senate knew (it may be) that Mr. Upsher⁵⁷ has opened negotiations for Texas and yet confirmed his appointment after it and pending that negotiation—

The Senate (it may be) knew that Mexico had threatened to fight if it was consumated—

The Senate (it may be) with all this notice confirmed Upsher—& took no steps to stop progress. At his death it was a common piece of news

55. George Cooke Dromgoole (May 15, 1797-April 27, 1847) served in both houses of the Virginia legislature; was elected as a Democrat to the House of Representatives in Congress; and served from March 4, 1835, to March 3, 1841; and from March 4, 1843, until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 921.

56. John Reeves Jones Daniel (Jan. 13, 1802-June 22, 1868), statesman and farmer, served in the legislature of North Carolina, as attorney general, and as a member of the House of Representatives in Congress from March 4, 1841, to March 3, 1853. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 878.

57. Abel P. Upshur went into the cabinet of President Tyler as secretary of the navy; in 1843 he became secretary of state; and on February 28, 1844, he was killed by the explosion of a gun on board the warship *Princeton*. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 127.

in the country that a Treaty of annexation was on foot and Mr Calhoun was nominated Secy for the sole purpose of *continuing that negotiation* and another.—

The Senate confirmed him with haste and unanimously—Well knowing that he had avowed a desire to annex Texas as a reason for admitting her Independence—(See his Speech in Senate)

Mr Calhoun (it may be) made the Treaty and now I propose to ask how Texas is to be compensated for the *irremediable* mischief she will suffer by having been trapped into an offer—Which offer has ruined her with other Nations? and we have disclaimed it. Will the faith of the Nation stand fair after a refusal by Senate to accept this treaty? Is not our position this that we must break faith with Texas & do a dishonorable act for which we cannot compensate her or else risque consequences with others?

Please consider this question also and let me have your advice viz:

Suppose Texas had ceded to the U. States a *part of her Territory* only and the U. States ratified the Treaty leaving Texas to settle her contest with Mexico and leaving the U. States to settle the title with Mexico of her purchase—by purchasing from Mexico if to be made would that be any thing in principle more than we have done by sending Comm^{rs}. & entering into Convention to fix the Northern boundary of Texas by a Treaty with Mexico? My own opinions are not to be inferred from my manner of stating these questions—I have *doubts* enough and hardly any that's like opinions—My anxious wish is to *do right*—leaving results to a higher power.—

Rely upon my honour with perfect confidence. Your letter shall not be seen again even at your own request, and I keep no copy of this one

I do not mean to embarrass you nor to trespass on you and if disclaimed for any cause to consider & to reply I shall not feel slighted

Your friend

FROM THOMAS LORING⁵⁸

Raleigh, N. C. June 29, 1844.

Sir:

I hope you will pardon this interruption from one unknown to you, at least personally. You may possibly have noticed me in the crowd of your admirers & most ardent supporters, through the North Carolina Standard, which I had the honor of sending to your address.

I shall not trespass long upon your time, & will explain my motive for troubling you, in as few words as possible.

I send by this mail a copy of *the Independent*, a paper, which, having occupied a neutral position for one year, has come out in support of the

⁵⁸ "T. Loring," as he signed himself, had been editor of *The North Carolina Standard* following which he became editor of the Raleigh, later the Wilmington *Independent*.

Whig ticket. You will perceive, by my introductory address, if you will do me the honor to read it, the ground upon which I have based my position.

That the wishes of the Democratic Party have been defeated by a Club, who have the dismemberment of the Union in view, is believed—& that Club, with Calhoun at its head, dictated the measures of the Baltimore Convention, & controlled its action. And not the least disagreeable feature in this matter, is the fact, that the instrument however to effect the object, was a man who was more strongly impelled by personal malignity, than any other motive—I mean Mr. *Saunders*.

Many of your friends here have taken the ground I occupy. Our object is to break the staff of iniquitous power in this State—to serve the public, by exposing & stopping of their influence, base & dishonest politicians.

It is needless for me to be more explicit. Your comprehensive mind will at once grip the subject in all its bearings—and if you can, consistently with your views of propriety & honor, write a letter that you will permit me to publish in the *Independent*, that may cheer your friends & aid their object, & help us to disappoint the scheme of wicked ambition, & to check the progress of a man (*Saunders*) who has assumed an attitude in matters that concern the destiny of nations, high above his legitimate destiny, you will gladden the hearts of many who will never cease to bless your memory.

Whether you do this or not, be assured of my high respect & gratitude for your public services, & of my esteem for your character, both personal & political

With great respect,

FROM NATHANIEL O. PALMER

Cherry Hill near Milton N. C.

July 29th 1844.

My Dear Sir

I was one of the earliest supporters for the Democratic cause in this State in the Election of 1824, although not old enough to vote I called and attended the first Jackson meeting held in North-Carolina. After your shameful & uncalled for rejection by the Senate as minister to England, My paper (the *Milton Spectator*) was the first to nominate and advocate your election to the Vice Presidency and afterwards to the Presidency. I sustained with all the ability I possessed your Administration and your re-election which was defeated by the unexpressive tactics and measures of 1840. I had fondly hoped after the result of the election of 1840, when the eyes of many who had voted against you in that election were opened to the great and manifest injustice that had been done to you, the Democratic party could have united on one man to wipe off that injustice. But to my great mortification and that of many of your true friends Mr

Calhoun and his friends together with the Texas enthusiasts or land jobbers they have succeeded in defeating your nomination. The movement of Gen. Saunders (who can boast that he defeated you and Mr. Brown of this State) and other friends of Mr. Calhoun in this State—if Mr. McDuffie and other friends of that Gentleman in South Carolina, together with the uncalled for pledges of Mr. Polk not to serve but one term if elected, is evidence satisfactory to my mind, that the Calhoun faction are to be the Democratic party: if the present Democratic convention succeeds, and if defeated we are to have Nullification and Disunion revived.

Under those circumstances and in view of the recent events I have determined as the least of evils to support the nomination of Messrs. Clay & Frelinghuysen. Although I differ with Mr. Clay in opinion on some matters, yet I believe him to be a true patriot and fond of his Country, and if he shall become satisfied, that any measure, of which he advocates, will be detrimental to the interest of the Country, and in opposition to the wishes of the people he will abandon it.

I have not seen our friend the Hon. B. Brown since his return from Missouri to which state he is about to emigrate, yet & hear that he is deeply mortified at the result of the Baltimore Convention. I should be pleased, as one of your old and mutual friends, to have your views in relation to the course I have determined to take in the present contest.

Yours truly,

Hon. Martin Van Buren.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Hon M. Van Buren

Dear Sir

Several years ago I received from you (through the agency of Col Stevenson) a lot of Fruit-Trees Pears and Plumbs:—I am still anxious to transplant into N. Caro: Some of the fruits of Kinderhook not only because they are good but because I have always felt pride & pleasure in being regarded as *your* friend &c.

So I make bold to say that I will be greatly obliged to you if you can send me a few more such Trees. Those I got before have all died (in consequence of their long delay in the transportation). And the failure of my first attempt to rear something of the kind as a living memento of the *Giver* has only increased my wish to renew it—

Should you find it convenient to gratify me I would suggest direction to the Gardiner. "To bind a little free soil about the roots with canvass, and send to the care of Messrs. Peebles White & Davis of Petersburg":—

I have no part or lot in politics now a days. And it is well I do not care for such things at present as the region in which I live would promise but little success . . . believing as I do that it is neither *right* nor *Constitutional* to plant Slavery in a free soil by the sanction of a Govern^t.

like ours: Of one thing however I feel certain & that is that No: Caro. can never be brought to go for *disunion* because Congress does not consent to let her Slaves go to California & be slaves still.

The politicians who may make that experiment upon *our* people will be wœfully disappointed in the end

I am with high respect now as ever

Your friend

[Mar. 11, 1849]

Raleigh, N. C.

FROM WILLIAM HAYWOOD, JR.

30 May '49

Hon M Van Buren

Dear Sir

I am again under obligation to you for the solicited fruit trees sent to me thro: R. C. Witmore of N. Y. but I am sorry to add that they were delayed in their way until all appearance of vitality is extinct. I am (though disappointed) sincerely thankful to you. I see in the public newspapers that our friend Col Benton has at last turned upon his pursuers & perhaps it is not unknown to you that my advice in the council of his friends was that he should have done it long since. Had he believed it consistent with the welfare of our party & the Country he would have tried consequences upon this subject in the matter of Texas annexation—Altho: I had some agency in maturing the compromise or alternative scheme it was not undertaken, before I had expressed my own poor opinion against the Col's yielding an inch! nor before I had made known to him my willingness to stand upon the same platform. The contest in Missouri must produce good results—yet I find it no easy point to settle whether his friends ought to wish him success in his *State* or not? Surely the North will not—cannot allow such a man to be victimized upon such a question without vindicating his injuries—

I am out of the correspondence and intercourse of politicians yet my own mind aided by the lights of a past experience suggests as a probable event—that the equivocal attitude of the new admⁿ. upon Territorial Slavery is about the worst one they could occupy for themselves or the Country—Doubtless they rely upon seeing California settle the question by an interdict upon Slavery in her provincial Govern^t. But will that effect any thing for the Admⁿ? Will not the South say to them your influence defeated us? Will not the North say we prevailed without you? Will not the Hunker Demo't find in the action of California a pretext for reuniting their voice with the Ancient party? . . . maintaining that they only contended for the right of California to speak for *herself* & now get they so accorded—And how is it possible for Free Soil Whigs ever to get

back into the Federal fold at the North again? My own observation convinces me that there is less sensibility in the South about the question than her politicians pretend there is—and I rely for my correctness upon what I hear & see about me—Few members in N. C. to respond to the address—Only one that I have heard of in the State—& that no great thing—Indeed I happen to be in its neighborhood & if the proceedings had not been put into newspapers I should hardly have known any thing of the great alarm of the people (so called) or the terrible thing it was in contemplation to do if the Proviso should be passed.

The Pol^s. are endeavoring to get up some excitement preparatory to August Elections for Congress. So far they are quite unsuccessful—I have no doubt myself that the People care very little (if let alone) whether Slavery goes to California or not—The timid politicians are afraid to encounter any degree of prejudice by attempting to resist that promulgation as a Southern doctrine, and those who are not afraid to speak out what they believe are not ignorant of the danger of such a discussion amongst themselves & therefore they hesitate—It will be a source of some anxiety to sober minded men whenever the time forces it upon us because it is one of those topics that no human power can keep out of the hands of Demagogues—In that sense it may do mischief:—

For myself I am satisfied to enjoy the privilege of thinking according to my conscience and to leave in other hands the agitation of this strife—Of one thing I feel sure and that is that our people (N. C.) will rise up against Disunion & Disunionists the moment they see that there is any peril of action—Tolerent of all sorts of theories they are & not even unwilling to embrace them as long as they see no discouraging acts—Yet they are *vindicative* against Traitors to the Union with or without California Slavery! There is evidently no little curiosity hereabouts to hear from Col Benton's first Speech! & I suppose we will soon be gratified: His Orations are of a kind to touch the popular nerve and he is emphatically a People! Orator—I look forward to his vote & Mr Clay's carrying the Jefferson Proviso thro: the Senate next winter when this matter will be put at rest. I really believe that we of the State suffer more from its being kept open for sectional disputation than we could possibly suffer by its determination against the Southern pretensions:—If Mr Clay & Col Benton should care to do this "What will Mrs. Grundy say?" Your old friend Tom Ritchie would die outright & I am apt to believe even that catastrophe would not be an unhealable misfortune to the Country or Party! Pardon me for inflicting a letter upon politics on your retirement and believe me now as ever your friend & servant

Raleigh, N. C.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My Dear Friend

I have just returned home from Newbern with my wife & family wither I had gone to bury Mrs⁵⁹ H's Mother who died on Friday the 26 April: This providence will disappoint my good daughter Betsy⁶⁰ in her expected visit to Mrs Blair & Mrs Lee: A sad disappointment it is to her She had been looking forward to this Month all prepared & determined as she was to leave here this week & spend a long time with you: Under existing circumstances she will be obliged to postpone the visit though she authorizes me to say to you & the Ladies that it is only postponed & God willing she will yet show you & them that she appreciates the sincerity of her friends—When she can do so is now no easy matter to determine further than this: that her duty to her Mother who is in deep affliction must forbid it this summer: With good wishes & most affectionate remembrance of their kindness & yours we all salute you & your house:

I have just recd your letter 2 May and to morrow or next day I expect to hear from my Petersburg friends more about the Heifer. I thank you:

I observe what you say about our poor friend Col Benton. I had no little apprehension even before that pistol scene, that he would be assassinated upon some pretext or another. Absent as I have been from the exciting scenes at W. City I have not ceased to feel anxious for the old Col's triumph over all his foes: some of whom I detected long ago under a cloak of pretended respect for him: My hopes were always strong that he would prevail in the end unless he should lose his self-controul for a moment under the presumption he was tired wining—Offer to him my best wishes & kind regards:—Who believed a short while ago that Genl Taylor would find himself thrown upon Benton to support his Admⁿ.? Against Whig-chiefs like Clay & Webster! :—The only injustice that Col Benton *deserves* is that he is now receiving at the hands of Cass & Co! The only error I *think* he has fallen into is the notion that Niggerdom will not get into Cal^a &c without a prohibition:—My convictions are strong the other way—No doubt you recognized my hand in the private letter w^h got into the *Post & Courier* of N. Y. about North Caro: & the Nashville Convention—I was quite provoked at its publication tho: I now incline to believe it did good by forcing the politicians of our State to *action* a little sooner I need not add that I have been gratified to find my predictions verified Not a County meeting (where resistance was offered) has voted for the detestable scheme and I had more than once scolded at the politicians of the State for their cowardice:—I wonder at the folly of the South again as I have oftentimes had occasion to do before in respect to "Niggers"—Do you remember I told you a great while ago that the people of N. C. detested the *Slave traffic* & that southern representatives ought to put it down

59. William H. Haywood, Junior, married Ann Shepard of New Bern. Ashe, *op. cit.*, VI, 296.

60. Elizabeth Haywood married Governor Edward B. Dudley. *Loc. cit.*

in your District—Behold nobody is against it! If the Northⁿ politicians would by common consent drop the subject Six Months—and let one long session pass over without so much as naming Slavery I verily believe that the South would move in a new direction about its existence in Dist Col:—But the present folly of the South I alluded to is this: to trust upon connecting Cal^a: & the Territorial bill together—It demonstrates the insincerity of men who declaim about “*Southⁿ rights*” That w^h they pretend to dread is the proviso. It is now certain that *it* cannot pass the Senate—*if put to a vote by itself*: Yet by putting it with California it *may*! Then: Let the Bill pass Senate—Let the House amend that Bill by adding *proviso* & the Senate refuse to concur in the Amend^t—If the House *adheres* the Senate will have the alternative of No Bill for Calif^a. or a Bill for Calif^a & the *proviso* to the Territories—Is any one prepared to say whether we shall not have another *Oregon* law proviso & all: Who knows that Cal^a. is not strong eno. to go through even with the proviso in it if the latter should be unnaturally forced into the same Bill against the will of such as support Cal^a! Outwitted we may complain. “Outwitted by ourselves” what right is there to complain of others about it. I am very sorry for some of the pol^{ns} who have made asses of themselves but the union is in no danger & we all see it is so—In a little while our people will become indifferent perhaps disgusted—The Disunionists are eating their own words—brimstonish as they were—I cannot conceive of any good reason why other men should pester themselves to build stairs for their decent descent back into the right of common sense & ordinary patriotism—why not let the factious race hang themselves in *their own way*? They have tried to break up the Union & the only reason they did not succeed is that the People are not willing—Now then wherefore should the patriots in public life make pets of these disorganizers & furnish either a cloak or the appearance of respectability to their Treason against our Union? Can it be possible that Mr Clay (old as he is) still look with longing eyes to the White House? Is he not yet convinced that these Southern Hotspurs do not know what gratitude in politics means & their escape from public execution will never excite them to recognize the benefactor of his movement to *save them*—not the Union? the latter has been saved *in spite* of them all by the mighty voice of a republican population! So far as respects President-making I apprehend that the passage of a *Territory* Bill or of part of it *without* the proviso will only increase opposition in the North and I am sure more silence about Slavery it will not ensure any favour with the leaders in the South: the latter never go for their friends unless they are “one of us”—undivided fealty is required before we of the South ever promise support to a *Northⁿ* candidate—Having thus destroyed him at home we then choose to drop him as *unavailable*. We first make him *unavailable* by the conditions we have inspired & then reject him for that very *unavailableness*! Should the joining of the two Bills in one be the means of rejecting both I am not able to foresee whether it will ensure to

the advantage of the old General (Taylor) or not: It will certainly make him or break him. Your letter does not hazard any conjectures upon the point. Whether this illigitimate union is to give success or force a defeat of California—My impressions lean to the one side to day & the other to morrow: Should the thing pass old Zach would seem to have been shelved: at least his policy will have been repudiated as the States repudiate—not by voting “we will not pay” but simply by not voting that “we will pay & here’s the money.” Wherefore is it my Dear Sir that you say nought of all this—Your silence about the probabilities of the future have obscured my vision by more cloud than those w^h. intercepted it before. For I take it now that those on the spots do not know what its to be the end of the present movement or you would have told me:

I am ashamed of the Senate—As for expelling Foote there is no danger—Old Tappan⁶¹ was regularly tried & convicted & only 2 days for expulsion & after that I put it down by a fixed fact that no one could ever be expelled from the Senate—Again: Footes gross impudence & breach of order were tolerated by that body a long while & until the culprit himself thought he deserved cudgelling and therefore prepared for his defence—I am afraid that the apprehension of his *Resolves* had something to do with this forbearance all the while or Senators would have stopped it and if it had there will be a plenty of pretexts for excusing the final *out-break*:—My excellent friend Benton was the very man who saved Tappan: He will have to eat a part of the fruit:

Oh I do rejoice that I was not a Senator & do not now fill the seat I once held there.⁶² Bitter: bitter indeed was the cup I had to take for daring to quit it—yet comfortable beyond my power to express without the appearance of affection have been my reflexion since:

It is barely possible that I may be obliged to go to N. York City on business the approaching summer If so I shall be certain to visit for a day or two at Silver Spring:

I am very faithfully your friend

Raleigh 7 May 1850.

FROM BEDFORD BROWN

Washington City, August 20. 1852.

My Dear friend,

I am now, on a flying visit, to Washington, and received to day through the hands of your mutual friend, Mr. Blair, your very kind and much

61. Senator Benjamin Tappan of Ohio, (through the columns of the *New York Evening Post* April 27, 1844), was critical of Calhoun’s proposed treaty for the annexation of Texas which was being considered secretly. As a result Tappan was severely censured by the Senate. *Senate Journal, 28th Congress, 1st session*, pp. 439-443.

62. In December, 1845, a low-tariff bill, which reflected the views of Robert J. Walker, was introduced. Haywood opposed it as an unwise measure which he could not support. Instead of voting against his political party he resigned his seat in the United States Senate. *Ashe, op. cit.*, VI, 300.

valued letter, with the Albany Atlas enclosed. Permit me to assure you, that notwithstanding the lapse of time, which has intervened since we last parted, in this City, that a letter from no one, could have afforded me such sincere pleasure.

I have for years past,—in part, owing to the inauspicious state of things, produced, by those, assuming to lead the Democratic party—been very much withdrawn from any participation in politics. The nomination of M^r. Pierce, so intimately identified as he is, with the brightest and most palmy days of Democracy, in your administration, and Gen^l. Jackson, inspired me with new zeal. The consequence has been, that I have been pressed into the service of the party at several meetings and the sketch of my remarks, which I sent my excellent friend Smith, was one of the results. I am greatly obliged to him, for causing it to be noticed with such honorable mention, an honor, which I little expected when I forwarded it to him. The allusions to the Democracy of the North, in my remarks, were purposely intended when I made them, to do justice in my humble way, to yourself and those of the North who sustained your administration and to recall to the Southern mind the leading acts of that administration, so purely republican and so eminently just to the South, as well as all other Sections. Another object which I had in view, was to claim for its true author as an Executive measure, the constitutional Treasury. The attempt has been after made to defraud your administration of the credit due to it, for that nobles of all our civil measures and to give it exclusively to the administration of M^r. Polk. The more calm dispassionate opinion of the public, sooner or later, will I trust, do justice not only to that glorious act of your administration, but will pronounce its general policy as standing in the very front rank, of republican Statesmanship.

In a conversation with Major Donelson, in the course of the last Summer, when your services were alluded to, in Gen^l. Jackson's administration, he very candidly admitted to me and indeed expressly said, that your aid and service were indispensable to its success and that without them, it could not have got along. I am gratified to say, also, that the inveterate prejudices of the extreme Southern faction are moderating and that in conversation with several of the prominent men of that party, they admit, that the party to the North, which you were so long at the head of, were true on all the great questions of policy and constitutional construction; as contended for by our old Southern Statesmen, than any other, and that they think it unwise and ungenerous, that divisions should be kept up on a question which has been adjusted by a final compromise. Others who are still desirous, of keeping up a Southern Sectional party of course, pursue a different line of conduct. I sincerely trust, that our excellent friends of the Democracy of the North who are pursuing such an elevated and noble course (and by which the unfortunate divisions heretofore existing, are in such a rapid process of healing, both North and South) will not permit any thing, that these firebrands, may say, or do, to divert them from their manly and patriotic course. I have not, on all suitable occasions, ever since

these difficulties occurred, hesitated to avow my belief, that the principal actors among the party of nullification, since the year 1834 had agitated the Slave question, with the fixed purpose of sundering the ties that existed between the Northern and Southern Democracy and that they had used that question, through all, *its phases* (even in the annexation movement '44) for that mischievous purpose and that they are mainly responsible for the difficulties which ensued. I have often thought, that nothing of the kind would give me so much pleasure, as a true history written by some competent person, giving a faithful account of this subject and the conduct of the actors for eighteen years past. If it could be done, the people of the South, would view the subject in a different light, from that, which they have heretofore. Col. Benton you are probably aware, intends, to devote a portion of the work on which is engaged, to that question. I have urged him, to do so, and endeavoured to aid him, by suggesting to him particular facts, in connection with it.

As you are aware, owing to what I have alluded to above, there are many persons to the South who are strongly prejudiced, yet you have many others who are disposed to do you more injustice and many others would, if they had the independence to speak out their honest opinions. All Democrats admit your administration to become one of the best we have had. John Bragg now a Member of the House from the Mobile District (although elected as an extremist) spoke of you some weeks since, to me, in a most kind and liberal manner.

I will now say, a few words, in answer to your kind inquiries, as to myself. I removed as you are aware, to Missouri in the fall of 1844 and remained till the summer of 1839 [sic.] and although delighted with the country and the people (for I was received with a noble enthusiasm) such was the general ill health of the country, that I could not with justice to my family remain. Having determined to return, I concluded to settle in old Virginia believing it to possess something of a better climate, than my old state and partly from its more convenient location in regard to the great commercial cities.

I first purchased in Albemarle (among Major's connexions, the family of Coles, a most excellent people) and not being very well pleased with my farm, I sold and subsequently purchased an estate, in the upper part of Fauquier County (12 miles west of Warrentown) on which farm myself and family are now residing. It is regarded by many as among the best lands of Virginia with a mansion elegant and spacious. Though nothing to boast of, in the way of wealth, yet a handsome competency and entirely free from embarrassment. A Railroad has been constructed from Alexandria which passes in about two miles and a half of my residence, which makes the travel to Washington, not more, than three and a half hours. I have thus endeavored to answer briefly your kind inquiries and have given you a brief sketch of my peregrinations, since leaving North Carolina.

I remained stationary all my life, near the place of my nativity, till my removal West and really after one removes, from their native place, I

believe it is extremely difficult ever to be satisfied, so far, however, as my farm, the climate, locations and all are concerned, I do not know, that I could be more eligibly situated, any where in the Union.⁶³ Excuse, my Dear Sir, these particulars, which I have been prompted to give from an entire belief, that you take an interest, in what relates to myself. I saw my excellent friend Smith, at Baltimore and learned from him, the tranquil life, that you are pursuing, and heard of your good health with great pleasure. It would give me sincere pleasure, to comply with your kind invitation, to visit you if I can possibly have it in my power this autumn. I should be most happy to have you or either of your sons, at my house, which is easily accessible from Washington. My Post office is Salem, Fauquier Cty Va. and shall be very much pleased at any time, to hear from you with my best regards to my friend Smith, I remain, truly your friend,
Hon. Martin Van Buren.

P. S. Believe that the triumph of Pierce will be so complete, that the *Whig* party will be annihilated and dismembered, as a party.

[*Concluded*]

⁶³ He returned to Caswell County, N. C., which he represented in the state Senate in 1858. In the same body in 1860 he led the opposition movement to secession, but after North Carolina was forced out of the Union, he ardently supported the Confederacy. In 1866 he was again elected to represent the State in the United States Senate, but he was never allowed to take his seat. Ashe, *op. cit.*, I, 184-185.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LOW PARTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by BUFORD ROWLAND

An interesting account of "the low parts of North Carolina" in the early nineteenth century may be found in a letter written by Daniel French to his wife in 1807.¹ French, a native of Connecticut, was known as a machinist and engineer. His patented inventions included a steam engine "for use on mills, boats, pumps, and all kinds of machinery," brick, a press "for cotton and other substances," an improvement for distilling and evaporating, and an "improvement in making shingles, splitting and shaving at the same time" which would produce 20,000 shingles per day.² In December, 1806, he received written permission from William Poynell, proprietor of one-fourth part of the New Lebanon estate in the Great Dismal Swamp of North Carolina, to "cut such timber for the making of any quantity of shingles as he may think proper for the space of one year to be computed from the first day of January 1807 with liberty to dispose of such shingles to whom he may think proper, and remove them from the estate . . . for a toll or rate of \$2.00 per thousand."³ It was while he was engaged in cutting shingles in the Dismal Swamp that French wrote his "observation on the low parts of North Carolina."⁴

Dear Wife

This being a Sunday and a leisure time with me I write some observation relative to this part of the country and the people inhabiting it.

The Country in this part for many hundred miles North and South is one continuous level or nearly so being in no part but few feet above the waters of the sea and the land indented with dead nasty swamps proper habitation for such animals as inhabit it as snakes of various kinds, turtles, frogs, pollywogs, snails, fresh water lobsters, lizards, some ducks and on the trees is seen the owls⁵ of various kinds and hawks and the turkey buzzard the nastiest of all living things subsisting on rotten flesh of any kind, the eagle, all the common hawks among us, and the snake hawk

1. The French MSS. are in the possession of Mrs. Dan Denman, Charleston, Mississippi.

2. Prospectus, September, 1810. French MSS.

3. Poynell to French, December 10, 1806. French MSS.

4. The letter is undated but is thought to have been written during 1807, since that year was the period covered by French's contract with Poynell. Written on the back of the letter is "Some observation on the low parts of North Carolina."

5. Mistakes in spelling and punctuation are here reproduced without comment.

which has a forked tail like a swallow, the Beasts of the swamps are the Deer, Bear, wild Cat, Raccoon, Squirrel, the Deer and Bear are very plenty, and the Bear is very large, weighing three and four hundred pounds, but seldom attack any one; these swamps in hot and dry weather send forth a deadly and poisonous vapour, which produces various sickness and death, and give a great part of the people a yellow, pale and death like countenance, which makes one shudder with horror, but now and then a fresh and rosy cheek is to be seen, the lands that are cleared is only here and there a little spot and the air being kept of by the surrounding woods makes the heat intolerable, and the elements are as unfavorable to health as the face of the country, the weather is very changeable one day at one hour very hot, and the next as cold, giving constant pluresies and other inflammatory diseases, I think if nature had not provided a remedy for the climate it would be almost destitute of inhabitants, but the thunder storms which are almost every day, coll and purify the air, the storms are many times very hard, we know but little about them in our parts, the people are as might be expected, pale weak and infebled in body and spirits, and equally feble in their exaction in business.

The manners and customs of the people to strangers are very kind, frank and open, and appear to be well disposed to mankind in general, even to their slaves, which in general in the neighbourhood where I am are well fed, and tasks easy, the inhabitants raise cotten of which they make a great part of their clothing, which they spin and weave very nice into many forms of figures and different colours, they raise their own indigo and rice, and the women in their industrious habits and attention to domestic concerns and manufatories are an ornament to society, the season for vegetation is early, this day we had green peas for sauce at dinner, and some corn is as high as my knees, some of the inhabitants make considerable wine of the natural grapes of the country which is very good flavoured and strong, the people feel much the want of good mechanicks and stoves which in so thinly populated country are difficult to be found without much trouble and going a great distance, the country is yet in fact a mere wilderness perhaps not more than two thousand people in the bigness of our state, land is not considered of any value in this part for want of inhabitants, as good lands as any can be bought of the state or have been lately for 25 dollars per thousand acres, Cattle and hogs are raised without feeding, they run in the woods and they provided for themselves, a good cow gives two quarts of milk per day.

The highest grounds are covered with various kinds of useful and other timber such as sap and heart pine which is an excellent timber for ships and house building, there are also oak of many sorts, some hickory and black walnut, mulbery, chincopin or dwarf chestnut which is a fine timber for ship building, the boxwood here is very large, Beach in some parts is very plenty, in the edges of the swamps groes a tree called sweet gum, from this is gathered a valuable medicine called Balsam of Talew, there are many other trees ornamental and useful peculiar to the country as well

as plants and roots of medicinal virtues and proper for the diseases of the people.

Considering the advantages there is for the lumbering business and the cheapness of the lands there is no part of the country where money can be made with more ease rapidly if a man will be industrious, a very few years is sufficient with health to acquire a handsome fortune.

A SOUTHERN GIRL AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, 1834¹

Edited by BARNES F. LATHROP

The sprightly letter here presented illustrates with freshness a custom of some prevalence among ante-bellum planters—the custom of taking summer journeys to fashionable watering-places. That such vacationing was common has often been remarked.² Generally we are forced to view it through the uninspired eyes of politicians or foreign travelers. In the present instance our medium is, on the contrary, the unrestrained chit-chat of a girl who “did not come here to listen to lectures and prayers,” regards Martin Van Buren as “the ugliest old thing I ever saw,” and does not forget to bid “howdy” to the servants at home. Her record of crowded passage, friends encountered, celebrities seen, and lectures suffered is trivial; but it surely represents with more than ordinary verisimilitude the atmosphere of a vacation at the North.

Saratoga 12th August 1834

My dear Sister

It seems as if I never shall get a letter off to you, for I have been trying to write almost every day—but my time has been so much occupied and we have been in such a continual state of excitement that I hardly know whether I am on my head or my heels a great part of the time—You will perceive by the date of my letter where we now are; after staying two

1. The author of this letter was Eliza Thompson, daughter of a ranking planter family of Bertie County, N. C. The recipient was her sister, William Ann Thompson, wife of William W. Pugh, a cotton planter at Turner's Cross Roads in the same county. In 1835 William W. Pugh and his wife moved to Assumption Parish, La. William Ann Thompson died in 1843, but her husband preserved this letter, and on his death in 1906 it passed to his son, Lawrence H. Pugh, of Thibodaux, La. I am indebted to Mr. Pugh for allowing its publication.

A word as to editing—or the lack of it—is perhaps in order. An initial conscientious effort was made to identify persons mentioned in the text. But the results were so paltry that I have been forced to content myself with inserting the full names of a few relatively well-known individuals. Roughly contemporaneous descriptions of Saratoga Springs are numerous, though somewhat stereotyped. See, for example, Davison, G. M., *The Fashionable Tour* (Saratoga Springs, 1825, 1830, etc.), section on Saratoga; Hall, Basil, *Travels in North America* (3rd ed., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1830), II, 7-28, *passim*; Stuart, James, *Three Years in North America* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1833), I, 189-95; Arfwedson, C. D., *The United States and Canada* (2 vols., London, 1834), II, 269-76; Latrobe, C. J., *The Rambler in North America* (2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1836), I, 126-44, *passim*; Buckingham, J. S., *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (3 vols., London, [1841]), II, 427-48; and Haskel, D., and Smith, J. C., *A Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America* (New York, 1843), p. 598. There is a drawing of Saratoga Springs about 1826 in Hamlin, T. F., *The American Spirit in Architecture*, p. 131.

2. “The need of summer sojourns in cooler climes made Southerners in some degree the discoverers of the charms of Newport, Narragansett Pier, and Saratoga, as well as of the Virginia springs and the Carolina Blue Ridge.” Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 365. See also Hart, A. B., *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 69; Dodd, W. E., *The Cotton Kingdom*, p. 77; Cole, A. C., *The Irrepressible Conflict*, pp. 201-04; Adams, J. T., *America's Tragedy*, p. 145.

days in Norfolk[,] part of a day in Baltimore, part of a one in Philadelphia, and ten days in New York—in the latter place we met with several acquaintances from Carolina—General Bryan and all of his party, Colonel Rhodes—Mr & Mrs Henry from Fayetteville and several others—by the way I must not forget to tell you that the Colonel was quite devoted to Cousin Helen, but I expect she would blow me up if she knew I had written such a thing—Doctor Freeman and Lady from Washington came up here with us from New York—but they only remained a few days. I believe they expect to return to Carolina in a week or two—The day we came from New York to Albany there were more than eleven hundred passengers. I never saw such a crowd in my life—the day was excessively warm and there was hardly a place to put your foot, let alone your head—that night we came as far as Schenectady and when we got there we could not obtain lodging for love nor money—at last however we prevailed on the people of the house where the Cars stopped—(which was a real common tavern) to put beds on the floor of the public room—the ladies in one room and the gentlemen in the other—however we made out to get through the night and the next morning about ten O Clock reached this place—when we first arrived we put up at Union Hall, a very respectable house, but the one where all the religious and sick people put up—there the first evening we had a lecture on the inutility of animal food, but I do not believe it was attended with any beneficial effects; for I thought the company the next day were unusually ravenous—The next afternoon we had a lecture on the destructiveness of tight lacing, but I do not believe it caused one cord to be slackened and that night had prayers in the house—and as I did not come here to listen to lectures and prayers I proposed that we should move to Congress Hall which is much the gayest and most fashionable house in the place—the first night we came to this house there was a large Ball which was a considerable change in the scene—There is a very great crowd in this house and some quite distinguished characters—among the rest Mr [Richard Henry] Wilde of Georgia—General [Stephen] Van Renseleer [sic] of New York who is called the Patroon of Albany—and his daughter, and General [James] Tal[1]madge of New York City and his daughter who is the prettiest girl that I have seen here—A Grand Daughter of Charles Carrolls, a grand daughter of Rufus King and divers other distinguished—We have also a real peer of the realm, Lord Powerscourt [apparently Richard, 6th Viscount Powerscourt]—There are besides several North Carolinians—Mrs & Mr Devereux, Mr Pollack and Mrs Smith, Miss Smith and Miss Armistead of New Bern who all board in this house— Mr Jack Ami and Daughter who are at the United States Hotel, and Messrs Joshua and Charles Skinner, Ladies, and Miss Hoskins, (William Clark[']s intended) from Edenton who stay at Union Hall—to night there is to be a Hop at this house, which is a distinction without a difference I believe from a Ball—At the Ball on friday evening Mr [Martin] Van Buren and Mr [Churchill C.] Cambreleng were present and I could not have conceived it possible that the Vice President of the United

States would have received so little attention—You may tell M^r Trezevant for his gratification, that his especial favourite received no more homage than if he had have been a shoemaker—he is the ugliest old thing I ever saw and it makes me sick when I think of his presiding in the Senate, over such men as [John C.] Calhoun, [William C.] Preston & tc.—he is in the village yet as he was here yesterday evening—I expect you are tired of all my nonsense, but I must beg of you not to show it to anyone else, whatever you do remember not to expose it to Cousin William—³ Direct [your reply to my letter] to the care of H[.] Waring and Son New York—when you write let us know how all are at Poplar Square and in the Marshes—tell our Servants howdy for us[.] My paper is almost exhausted so I must conclude with remembrances to all that inquire after us, and a hope of very soon hearing from you I am

Your affectionate Sis E T.

3. About two hundred words here omitted deal with family health and remembrances to relatives.

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By MARY LINDSAY THORNTON

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By Guion Griffis Johnson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 935. \$6.00.)

In 1790 Virginia was the leading state of the Atlantic seaboard in wealth and population; her statesmen were the nation's leaders. About 1830 the primacy of the South Atlantic group shifted to South Carolina, quite passing over the state which lay between, the Rip Van Winkle of the South as it was sometimes, slightly termed. By 1860 it appeared that North Carolina was becoming discontented with the minor rôle which had previously been hers. In what purports to be a study of the main currents of life and thought in North Carolina from the close of the Revolutionary period to the era of the Civil War, Dr. Johnson assigns herself the task of unravelling the processes of social change at work in the Tar Heel commonwealth.

Like her sister states North Carolina was far from being unified geographically and socially at the beginning of the period. Nature had divided her into three distinct regions: the coastal plain, the piedmont plateau, and the mountain country. The eastern belt had been colonized principally by people of English extraction. In the middle and western belts dwelt a mixed population, in which the dominant strains were German and Scotch-Irish. By far the largest single social group in the State was the small farmer element

Throughout the early decades of the century North Carolina's backwardness was commonly admitted even by North Carolinians themselves. Travelers commented at length upon the widespread ignorance and poverty they beheld. Yet such conditions were only to be expected in a region characterized, as Dr. Johnson says, by a singular combination of rural localism, conservatism, and superstition. In 1860 Wilmington and New Bern were the only towns in the State which had a population exceeding five thousand. Moreover, much of North Carolina's best blood was being drained from her by the westward migration of her people. At the close of the period the

total number of free persons born in North Carolina and living in the United States was slightly in excess of nine hundred thousand. Of this number thirty per cent lived outside the State.

Gradually North Carolina was aroused from its lethargy, and intellectual striving became more evident. In the forefront of the advance were such men as Archibald DeBow Murphey, whom Dr. Johnson styles "the most distinguished socially-minded statesman in ante-bellum North Carolina," Calvin H. Wiley, Joseph Caldwell, and others. As budding manufactures and a program of railroad construction promised to disseminate prosperity and dispel isolation, so the adoption of a system of public education in the eighteen-thirties and the growing importance of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill pointed the way to a reduction of the State's high percentage of white illiteracy.

Hardly an important aspect of social behavior during the period in question is overlooked in this survey. Rural life, town life, family life, religion, the slave code, the criminal code, sanitation and health—each in turn is treated exhaustively with many quotations by way of illustration from contemporary writers. Yet there are times when further attention to similar social phenomena in adjacent states would have added perspective to the picture. The rapid spread of Methodism is viewed by the author as one of the conspicuous social trends of the ante-bellum period. One sturdy citizen was so alarmed by the tendency that he applied a "blister-plaster" to his wife to cure her of Methodism! By 1860 nearly half the number of church congregations in the State professed the Methodist faith. One notices furthermore a trace of anti-Semitism in the attempt to exclude a Jew named Jacob Henry from a seat in the House of Commons in 1809. Henry's speech in defense was so able a production, however, that it was printed and widely circulated throughout the states along the Atlantic seaboard.

There are references to Panola, sometimes called the best managed cotton plantation in the entire South; to Hinton Rowan Helper, a son of the small farmer class of piedmont North Carolina, whose *Impending Crisis of the South* was al-

legedly "the best known book in the United States in 1860"; to the North Carolina penal code, "the bloodiest . . . of any state in the Union"; and to the long and tedious struggle for a native literature. Throughout the ante-bellum period North Carolina possessed no outstanding newspaper equivalent to the *Richmond Enquirer* or the *Charleston Mercury*. Only one journal in existence at the opening of the century, the *Raleigh Register*, survived the vicissitudes of the period following. Apparently the advantage it sustained through its connection with the *National Intelligencer* enabled it the better to withstand the storms of the period.

Historians at large will find in *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* a work of acknowledged scholarship. To a large degree the subject matter is based on manuscript materials and contemporary newspapers. No important sources of information appear to have been overlooked. Some improvement might have been wrought by compressing the treatment of such topics as camp meetings and revival movements, church benevolence, and the care of unfortunates. It is at least debatable to conclude that in 1860 "the State was again taking its place among the leaders of the nation" (p. 831). Frederick Law Olmsted is quoted elsewhere (p. 21) as placing North Carolina at the bottom of the list of slave states in 1856. For the most part, however, an objective approach to the subject is nicely maintained. Dr. Johnson's study represents a distinct contribution to a better understanding of social conditions in the ante-bellum South.

J. CUTLER ANDREWS.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
PITTSBURGH, PA.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY. By William Wade Hinshaw. Volume I. Records and Minutes of the Thirty-three Oldest Monthly Meetings Which Belong, or Ever Belonged, to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1936. Pp. xi, 1185. Lithoprinted. Distributed by Friends Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana. \$20.00.)

For a number of decades after North Carolina was first permanently settled by white men, the Society of Friends was

one of the most important of all Christian denominations within the province. The first sermon known to have been preached there was that by William Edmundson, a Quaker minister, and a short time afterward a visit from George Fox gave impetus to the spread of Quakerism. Influence of the sect became so great that, toward the end of the seventeenth century, a number of Anglicans were said to have turned Quaker so as to exert greater political influence. The first Quaker meetings were in the Albemarle or northeastern section of the province, but as population spread southward and westward new meetings were set up. A Quaker immigration from Pennsylvania into the piedmont added to the influence of the denomination. The Friends were especially vocal as dissenters, opposing measures which would benefit the established Church of England.

The Revolution struck a hard blow at the Quakers, for many of their young men deserted the group in order to fight for independence. Later various meetings took a strong stand against slavery, and thereby made themselves unpopular locally. As a result, many of them moved to the Northwest, especially to Indiana. Today there are still a few Quakers in North Carolina, but they no longer figure largely in the affairs of the State.

In the present monumental volume Mr. Hinshaw has brought together records of births, marriages, removals, and deaths of the oldest monthly meetings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. Of the thirty-three meetings, eight were in the coastal area of North Carolina, sixteen were in piedmont North Carolina, one was in Virginia, five were in South Carolina, and three were in Tennessee. Most of them are still active, but some no longer exist.

These records are particularly valuable in that, except in a few isolated and unimportant instances, no official vital statistics were kept in North Carolina until as late as 1913; and while official records of marriages have been required since 1740, the data that are now available are very incomplete for many of the counties. The information on removals from the various meetings is significant for students of population movements, especially students of emigration within and away from North Carolina.

In the preparation of the work the compiler has had the aid of several assistants, notably Miss Laura D. Worth, librarian of Guilford College, who spent a considerable portion of her working hours for three years in copying data from the fine collection of Quaker manuscript materials in her custody.

In assembling this vast mass of data Mr. Hinshaw has performed an invaluable service for genealogists and, to a lesser degree, for historians and others. It is to be hoped that he can complete his task for the entire United States, which he tells us is only half done in the present volume. The work of compiling appears to have been carefully and thoroughly carried on. The use of lithoprinting illustrates the possibilities of this form of publication. It is to be regretted that the volume is so expensive, but obviously a great deal of cost is involved in the preparation of such a compilation.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

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

THE HISTORY OF OLD TRYON AND RUTHERFORD COUNTIES, 1730-1936.

By Clarence W. Griffin. (Asheville, N. C.: The Miller Printing Company. 1937. Pp. 640. \$10.00.)

Mr. Griffin, who is county historian of Rutherford County, has spent more than fifteen years in collecting, compiling, and putting into final form the matter contained in this volume. The result is one of the most comprehensive local histories which has appeared in North Carolina. The author subscribes to the idea that there is no such thing as strictly local history, and, therefore, he has woven into his narrative many facts relating to the history of North Carolina and the United States. His aim has been "to record facts, not to interpret them." Following a chronological arrangement, he has recorded thousands of facts relating to Rutherford County, from the first recorded settlements down to 1936. The most impressive feature of the book is the great emphasis on genealogy and biography. Fully one-third of the pages deal with material of this nature. There are some 364 footnotes, most of them quite lengthy, which present sketches of people who have been asso-

ciated with the history of the county in some capacity. In addition to this there are many lists, scattered through the volume, of county officials at various times, of soldiers in various wars, of newspaper editors, teachers, preachers, gunsmiths, highway officials, bankers, Rutherford members of various state and federal agencies, incorporators of towns in the county, and organizers of railroad companies, mills and other business organizations. The author also presents many facts relating to tax rates, prices, land grants, population statistics, and many other things. This history has been written "from the viewpoint of a practical newspaper man," and many facts which might seem insignificant to a professional historian have been included. One wonders, for instance, if it is worth noting that former Governor O. Max Gardner opened his gubernatorial campaign at Forest City, that Thomas A. Edison once visited the county, or that President Franklin D. Roosevelt once ate lunch at Lake Lure.

For many years the Rutherford County region was "the outpost of civilization, and acted as a barrier between the Cherokees on the west and the adjoining counties of the east." Mr. Griffin thinks that perhaps this region was uninhabited by the Indians, but was used mutually by the Cherokees and Creeks. He has, however, no satisfactory evidence to support this theory. Neither does he have any proof for the statement that "the Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania moved into Lincoln and Rutherford counties as early as 1730." It was probably at least twenty years later that this migration took place.

Mr. Griffin begins his study with a discussion of the settlement and evolution of Tryon County, which was formed from Mecklenburg in 1768. He names early settlers, locates the places of settlement, lists various local officials, and gives other data relating to the county prior to 1776. He reproduces a number of documents which throw light on the rôle of Rutherford in the Revolution, the most interesting of which is Lieutenant Allaire's diary for the year 1780. There is a good account of social conditions after the war, the early courts, the militia system, monetary problems, and other phases of social and economic history between 1783 and 1812. The period

1812-1825 is described as a "period of awakening," and the decade 1825-1835, as an "era of prosperity and advancement." One of the best chapters is devoted to an account of the Bechtlers and Bechtler coinage. The period 1836-1850 witnessed many internal improvements in the State, and during these years the county made remarkable progress. The decade 1850-1860 is called the "era of uncertainty" and does not receive very adequate treatment. About fifty pages are devoted to Rutherford's contribution to the War between the States, chiefly a list of officers and soldiers from the county and a statement of their military record. In view of the fact that about one-fifth of all the North Carolina soldiers deserted, it is surprising that no deserters are listed from Rutherford County. One of the most interesting chapters deals with the Ku Klux Klan, the Red Strings, and other organizations in the county from 1870 to 1880. It includes a list of men who were "confined at the Democratic Hotel, for Ku Kluxing," and gives the results of their trials. The best known of these prisoners was R. A. Shotwell, who was sentenced to six years imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of \$5,000.

The latter part of the book covers the restoration of home rule, railroad development, the World War (with a complete list of the Rutherford soldiers), the "New Era" (1920-1930), the depression, and the New Deal. Mr. Griffin thus rounds out his chronological and genealogical history. Thereafter he adds several chapters on the textile industry, religious development, newspapers and the press, postal service, and education, from the beginning down to 1936. These are his best chapters and give a good picture of the State's progress in various phases of social and economic life.

A few errors have been noted. The boundaries of Carolina given on page 2 are those of 1665, *not* those of 1663. North Carolina was *not* divided into three "precincts" in 1729, and it was a colony at that time and *not* a "state" (p. 2). The battle of Lexington was fought on April 19, 1775, *not* May, 1775 (p. 15). There is no mention of resistance to the Stamp Act at Brunswick (p. 14). One wonders why the battle of Alamance was "disgraceful" (p. 14).

There is a map of Rutherford County in 1783 and one of

the county in 1937. There are also a number of illustrations and an index.

Mr. Griffin is to be commended for his work in preparing this volume, which must have been a very laborious task. As he says, "it has been a labor of love—both of the subject and the county—and has been done without any hope of remuneration."

HUGH T. LEFLER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE ANNALS OF LINCOLN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA. By William L. Sherrill. (Charlotte, N. C.: The Observer Printing House. 1937.)

My interest in this work has been continuous from the time the separate instalments began to appear serially in the *Lincoln Times*. Indeed, I subscribed to that newspaper in order to read the instalments as they appeared weekly; and when the last instalment appeared in November, 1936, I wrote to the *Lincoln Times* to express my approbation of the faithful, devoted, and painstaking labors of the Rev. Mr. Sherrill.

A number of years ago, when I was president of the State Literary and Historical Association, I did my utmost to stimulate the writing of county histories. Later I published in the State's leading dailies an article of some five thousand words, enumerating and describing all the county histories then in print, whether as articles in newspapers and magazines, pamphlets, or bound volumes. In this article I made a strong appeal, on general grounds, for the writing of North Carolina county histories, especially of the older counties with the richest and most interesting history. The present work, in a certain sense, may be regarded as one of the effects of the movement inaugurated by the writer.

The work under review is unusual in character. The technic of its construction is peculiar; and it is marked by a sort of irregularity and unevenness. It is more like a scrap-book of scattered information, haphazardly accumulated *data*, the *disjecta membra*, so to speak, of a county's history. Actually, the author describes the work, beneath the title, as "containing interesting and authentic facts of Lincoln County History

through the Years 1749 to 1937." The information is arranged, so far as possible, chronologically, according to years; and the book is a sort of annual community diary, interspersed with many brief sketches of men and narratives of events.

In detail, one may point out that Chapter I, six pages in length, is a smooth-flowing narrative, under the title, "The First Pioneers to the County West of the Catawba River." At the end of the book occur five chapters, XXII to XXVI inclusive, also narrative in form, bearing the titles: "Something about the Colored Folks"; "Industrial Growth in Lincoln County"; "The Progress of Education"; "Newspapers, Authors, Physicians, Lawyers"; and "The Church in Lincoln County." Features of particular excellence are: the twenty-eight page index, the simple and forthright introduction by Curtis Bynum of Asheville, and the method of publication, the production-cost being underwritten by twenty-two public-spirited citizens of Lincolnton, the author being included among the number. For the history and the glories of Lincoln County I refer the reader to the work itself.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

DAWN OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AND TENNESSEE HISTORY. By Samuel Cole Williams. (Johnson City: Watauga Press, 1937. Pp. xi, 495.)

The history of the United States will never be properly written until the history of its sections is correctly presented. If a man, properly qualified, were to spend his entire life working on one state, he might get somewhere near the truth, but a properly qualified man would be hard to find. He should have a close personal knowledge of the State and all its parts, for geography means little to one unless he knows the ground. To understand social institutions requires much intimate knowledge; and it is even necessary at times to know some of the details of family connections. Local historians have done a great service by furnishing this sort of information to those who work in broader fields, but the value of their work is often impaired by their limited point of view and by the excess of their local pride.

Judge Williams has devoted a large part of his life to the study, not of the state of Tennessee, but of Tennessee before the period of statehood. Such intensiveness is unusual but it is justified by the result, for the degree of accuracy which he has attained would not be possible had he covered a wider field, or devoted less time to his work. He has fairly exhausted the sources and in his published works has left no part of his story untold. Moreover, he has told it in such manner that the minuteness of detail does not detract from the readability of the chronicle. This is due largely to the fact that he deals not in general terms but with individual men and women—pioneers of whom we sometimes catch only fleeting glimpses, yet who never fail to hold our interest. The author would not deny that he is a loyal Tennessean, but he is not limited by a local point of view. The extra-territorial relations of the Tennessee country receive proper attention, and the highly factual nature of the work prevents any distortion by a man who is strictly critical in dealing with facts.

The present volume, starting with the earliest records and carrying the history of the Tennessee country down to the outbreak of the Revolution, has been preceded by the *History of the Lost State of Franklin* and the *Beginning of West Tennessee*, and is to be followed by volumes on the Revolutionary and territorial periods. The title is awkward because the subject is hard to define. There was no Tennessee at the time, and it is difficult to write a unified account of an area that lacked essential unity. The Tennessee and Cumberland valleys constitute in general the area under discussion, however, and the early history of these regions has been sadly neglected by previous historians, particularly in the period from 1732 to 1763. Yet the Indians who inhabited these valleys and the white men who came into contact with them roamed the forest from New Orleans to Canada, and traded both to the Gulf coast and to the Atlantic coast. Therefore the author had to extend his researches into many fields and seek his documents in sundry places. He has given an excellent account of the struggle between French and British imperialism among the Cherokees and Chickasaw Indians. Perhaps his greatest contribution consists in having shown the importance of these

nations in defeating the ambitions of the French in the lower Mississippi Valley.

The concentration of his research has enabled Judge Williams to correct many factual errors made by earlier historians, and there can hardly be a doubt that he has achieved his ambition to make the work definitive within its field. Of especial interest among documentary discoveries is the journal of William Richardson, a young Presbyterian clergyman who served at Fort Loudoun for a short time during 1758-59. Its entries throw light upon the attitude of the Cherokee just prior to their attack upon that ill-fated fort. Other significant matters which are developed in the course of the discussion are the importance of Fort Toulouse in the Alabama country as an outpost of French influence; the activity of the South Carolina Indian traders, and the lack of such enterprise in North Carolina and Virginia; the staunchness of the Chickasaw Nation as a whole, and of the Cherokee chief Attakullakulla in the British cause. Aside from a few typographical errors, only one slip of any consequence has been noted. In giving the southern boundary of the Granville tract, the author quotes the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV, 659, as stating that the line began at "a cedar stake set upon the seaside in latitude 30 degrees and 30 minutes." The reference should be IV, 660, and the quotation, "a cedar stake set upon the sea side, in the latitude of thirty-five degrees and thirty-four minutes."

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHARLES PINCKNEY TO THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN UNION. By Andrew J. Bethea. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1937. Pp. vii, 142. \$2.50.)

When Charles Pinckney in 1818 furnished Secretary of State J. Q. Adams a paper purporting to be a substantial copy of that missing plan for a constitution which Pinckney had proposed to the Convention of 1787, he unwittingly undermined his just claim to having been one of the chief makers of our fundamental law. The Pinckney draft sent Adams came under

suspicion almost immediately and is now known to be spurious by informed students. So similar is it to the completed Constitution and so different from the ideas expressed by Pinckney in the Convention and in a pamphlet printed by him immediately after adjournment of the Convention that no valid defense of the Pinckney draft of 1818 is possible.

Comparatively recent investigations have resulted in the removal of much of the mystery of the content of the original Pinckney plan. Its main features had been to a considerable degree ingeniously reconstructed by Professor J. F. Jameson when his conclusions were confirmed by his discovery among the papers of James Wilson of what he recognized as a skeleton of the Pinckney plan. (*American Historical Association Report*, 1902, I, 92, 94, 111, 128.) A somewhat fuller outline of the real Pinckney plan resulted from the investigations of Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, who found that Jameson's text and the outline discovered by him were not out of harmony in most particulars with the statements made by Pinckney in his *Observations on the Plan Submitted to the Federal Convention* . . . , published soon after the Convention adjourned. There was of course great variance from the spurious draft submitted to Adams in 1818 (*American Historical Review*, IX [July, 1904], 735-747).

It is a matter of regret that the author of the volume under review does not frankly repudiate the Pinckney draft of 1818. On the contrary, after a brief consideration of its authenticity the conclusion is reached "in the interest of historical accuracy" that "although the 'draught' thus supplied by Pinckney was not an identic or *verbatim* copy of the plan he proposed to the convention, it was 'substantially the same,' as frankly admitted by Pinckney, and furnished by him in good faith as such" (p. 47). The draft is reprinted in the appendix with no word of condemnation. The author, however, except in two cases noted below, refuses to use the Pinckney draft as evidence in support of the specific contributions made by Pinckney.

Pinckney is shown to have exerted an influence for a stronger government in the Congress of the Confederation, in the Convention of 1787, and in the ratification of the document by his own State. Ample evidence is presented to justify the

claim that his contribution was very great. As a member of Congress, 1784-1787, he made three definite efforts for a stronger Union, not the least of which was his motion for the appointment of the grand committee which reported a series of comprehensive amendments in August, 1786. Although the author is hardly justified in labeling these "Pinckney amendments," Pinckney, as chairman of the grand committee and of its sub-committee, was probably largely responsible. It is the opinion of McLaughlin that these amendments greatly influenced the actual plan proposed by Pinckney to the Convention (*The Nation*, April 28, 1904).

In summarizing the specific Pinckney ideas which found their way into the completed Constitution, the author presents an interesting and helpful comparison by placing the Pinckney proposals and the completed Constitution in parallel columns. The list of ideas and proposals here credited to Pinckney is for the most part sound, since it is drawn from the Jameson and McLaughlin outlines or from such sources as the *Convention Journal* or *Madison's Notes*. In two cases, however, the author falls into the unintentional error of citing the draft of 1818 by quoting Chief Justice Fuller's citation of that document (pp. 67, 74). There is more justification for crediting Pinckney with ideas found in the proposed amendments of 1786. Proper qualification of the list is made by the author's statement that "it would be fatuous to assert" that Pinckney should be given sole credit for all of the ideas here credited to him. The list, however, is impressive and re-emphasizes McLaughlin's conclusion that thirty-one or thirty-two provisions of the completed Constitution were suggested by Pinckney.

Bethea's book in spite of an overly patriotic tone and lack of restraint in the use of superlatives is interesting, timely, and worth while. Its basic thesis, that probably no individual suggested more of the content of the Constitution than did Pinckney, is sound. It would be a stronger summary of the best scholarship supporting this thesis if it had claimed somewhat less. There are a few misleading statements. Thirty-nine, not thirty-six, members of the Convention signed the document (p. 11). The South Carolina legislature of 1788 was not divided seventy-six to seventy-five on the calling of a

ratifying convention (p. 97), but merely on the meeting place of that convention. Pinckney was not the agent through whom the United States purchased Louisiana, as a quoted biographical sketch would indicate (p. 118).

In spite of the imperfections of the book the author has performed a service by bringing together in convenient and attractive form the evidence of Pinckney's contributions. He has made a thorough study of his subject, as the adequate bibliography attests. An index is provided. The publishers have done a fine job, and the proofreader has caught almost all of the misprints.

C. E. CAUTHEN.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
COLUMBIA, S. C.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY: THE SETTLEMENTS, III.

By Charles M. Andrews. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937.
Pp. xiii, 354. \$4.00.)

Volume I of this definitive study of American beginnings based upon long years of joyous research covered English colonizing activities in the New World through the establishment of the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1652. Volume II concerned itself with the founding of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Haven, and the proprietary colonies of Barbados and Maryland. The present volume deals with the conquest of Jamaica and New Netherland and the peopling of the Jerseys, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania.

The English mind had undergone a basic transformation between the period covered by the first two volumes and that covered by the third. In the former, it was still under the sway of religious emotionalism and tended to dwell in the past. By the latter, it had freed itself from theological shackles and had become frankly materialistic with mundane joys of the hour lending zest to life. This change in outlook was accompanied by a social realignment of the utmost significance. The landed gentry was slowly giving way before the mercantile element which was destined to control affairs to our own day and to reshape English institutions in the light of its own philosophy.

Overseas expansion was, naturally, profoundly affected by the course of events at home. The first period of English colonization witnessed the settlement of New England, the Caribbean sugar islands, and Maryland. Preoccupation with the momentous struggle between King and Parliament led to an actual cessation of settlement in the next generation. From 1634 to 1670, no new colony was founded in America. The wresting of Jamaica from Spain and the conquest of New Netherland ushered in a new era. Seizure as well as settlement was regularly employed thenceforth to augment the empire. The year 1655 consequently becomes a pivotal date in English colonial history. Likewise, while little attempt was made to develop or to regulate the colonies in the first period, the ascendant commercial element was inclined to view them as business ventures and to subject them to increasing supervision thereafter. A definite colonial policy was ultimately inaugurated after the triumph of 1688.

Professor Andrews demonstrates with his usual deft touch that Cromwell's West India expedition was a semi-piratical undertaking staged without declaration of war in a vain effort to solve the Protector's financial worries. It was woefully mismanaged. The English turned to Jamaica only after having been repulsed at Hispaniola. Jamaica proximity to the Spanish treasure fleet's route and the facilities it afforded for illicit trade with the Spanish Main gave it tremendous strategic value. The English appeared without warning. Two hundred men supplied with three cannon offered little resistance and the island was taken within a few hours. Its subjugation, however, proved ruinous in men and money and was not completed until three years after Penn and Venables had returned home, heartily sick of the whole affair. The immediate object of providing ample stores of money was never realized, but Jamaica ultimately became the most valuable British possession in the Caribbean.

The attack on New Netherland was instigated by English merchants, who had long been restive under Dutch commercial supremacy. It was little more than a series of scattered trading posts and was taken without difficulty. Acrimonious conflicts attending the transition from trading corporation rule to a

proprietary regime and ultimate royal control were rooted in the colony's heterogeneous social structure. English genius asserted itself in reconciling clashing interests within a generation. The undeniable benefits of English control did much to win over non-Englishmen to their new connection.

In his discussion of the proprietary settlement colonies—the Jerseys, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania—Professor Andrews emphasizes the factors rendering private ownership of extensive trans-Atlantic domains incompatible with the new political order in the metropole. Truly, the tribulations of the proprietors were legion and their reward was scanty. Their perseverance in the face of endless boundary disputes, lawsuits arising out of rival claims, and complete lack of coöperation on the part of most settlers cannot but evoke admiration. The protracted struggle over Perth Amboy's status is for the first time set forth satisfactorily. Carolinians will, of course, have particular interest in the chapters dealing with their own section. They are by far the best brief account of the subject in existence and might well, by arrangement with the publishers, be reprinted for general use in the high schools of both North Carolina and South Carolina.

As always, Professor Andrews documents his text thoroughly and his footnotes occupy a generous portion of practically every page. These are of particular value to the specialist because of the large amount of direct quotation, and they supplement the smooth-running narrative in excellent fashion. Even the layman cannot fail to be struck by the immense number of sources employed. As in its predecessors, there is nothing pedantic about this volume.

All in all this is an admirable book, reaching the highest level of historical craftsmanship, which will delight and inspire its readers for generations to come. The inclusion of several maps per volume, preferably contemporary ones, would add the finishing touch to a truly great work.

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CHARLES OSBORN IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT. By Ruth Anna Ketring. (Columbus: The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xi, 95.)

In popular descriptions of the anti-slavery movement a generation ago there was a tendency to consider that the invention of the cotton gin and its extensive use put an end to the effective spread of the anti-slavery ideas of the humanitarian leaders of the Revolutionary period, and that when anti-slavery notions next appeared they were practically coincident with the rise of the fanatical abolitionists. In 1908 Alice Dana Adams published *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America* (1808-1831), a volume which laid the groundwork for dispelling these erroneous conceptions, and other writers, particularly those in the field of American church history, have done much to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the anti-slavery movement as a whole. Because of the comparative obscurity of the leaders of the plain frontier folk who were the backbone of anti-slavery organization during the "neglected period," it has not always been easy to obtain the data for a sound understanding of the aims and methods of these men. Miss Ketring, who is curator of manuscripts in the Duke University library, has had the interest and persistence to follow the career of one of these leaders, the Quaker, Charles Osborn. The little volume which she has written is not a biography, but because Osborn was in almost constant association with anti-slavery movements, his life becomes the thread upon which the author strings much that concerns the history of anti-slavery.

Charles Osborn (1775-1850) was born in a Quaker community of North Carolina, lived in his early manhood in Tennessee, became a minister of the Society of Friends in 1806, and, as an itinerant, travelled not only through much of the American frontier country but even to Europe. This phase of his career, however, Miss Ketring treats in a single chapter. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the anti-slavery movements in which Osborn had a part.

A summary of his activities in this connection will perhaps serve to make his significance clear. He was chiefly responsible for the organization of a manumission society in Tennes-

tee in 1815; he was instrumental in forming other similar societies there and in North Carolina; he began in 1817 to publish his paper, *The Philanthropist* at St. Clairsville, Ohio, where two years earlier Benjamin Lundy had founded Ohio's first anti-slavery society; he was active in urging anti-slavery interests among the Indiana Friends, and for this activity, he, with others, was disqualified from service and membership in the Meeting for Sufferings in 1842; thus deprived of power within the organization, he was one of the group who organized the separatist Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, and until his death he was a member of that body.

In the national anti-slavery movement, the most that Miss Ketring claims for Osborn is that in founding the *Philanthropist* he was "the first impulse in a long train of anti-slavery activity,"—this because the paper elicited the interest and help of Benjamin Lundy and later was a factor in Lundy's decision to publish the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. With good judgment she rejects George W. Julian's claim that Osborn was the abolitionist who first proclaimed the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, showing that Osborn's early concern was with manumission and the improvement of the Negro's lot. Presumably he, like the Quakers generally, rejected colonization as a solution of the problem. It is clear that he was an earnest but not a fanatical advocate of emancipation. He took his convictions seriously even to the point of breaking with the conservative Indiana Yearly Meeting. In her exploration of the separation Miss Ketring makes a significant contribution to the story of the effect of anti-slavery on the churches in America. But Osborn's connection with the anti-slavery movement is most worthy of study because it illustrates clearly the historical process by which anti-slavery ideas were promulgated.

Miss Ketring has performed her task with care and with caution. At no point does she strain the evidence—always a temptation when dealing with a minor character. And if she does not write with distinction, if there are none of those well-turned sentences which make for the reader's enjoyment, at least there are no muddy, incomprehensible passages. The volume has a useful though not complete index. It is a good

study of one figure of anti-slavery history, well-placed in its proper perspective, and creditable to the author and to the society under whose auspices it is published.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. William Kenneth Boyd, professor of history at Duke University, died on January 19. Born at Curryville, Missouri, January 10, 1879, he received his college and graduate training at Weaver College, Trinity College, and Columbia University. By the last named institution he was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1906. Since 1901 (except for brief periods) he had been a member of the history department of Trinity College, later Duke University. He was the author of a *History of North Carolina (1783-1860)*, *The Story of Durham*, and other works. He was a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission and of various other historical organizations. As Director of Libraries of Duke University he had done valuable work, especially in building up a fine manuscript collection.

Governor Clyde R. Hoey has appointed Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City to fill the vacancy in the North Carolina Historical Commission caused by the death of Dr. Boyd. Mr. Griffin is the author of the *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, published in 1937.

Dr. David A. Lockmiller of North Carolina State College has had published a volume, *Magoon in Cuba* (University of North Carolina Press), and an article, "Blackstone as a Lawyer," *Case and Comment*, March 15, 1938. The *Hispanic American Historical Review* has accepted for publication his article, "The Settlement of the Church Property Question in Puerto Rico."

Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill, acting assistant professor of history at Davidson College, 1937-1938, will serve during Dr. Lester J. Cappon's leave of absence for 1938-1939 as acting assistant professor of history and as acting archivist of the library at the University of Virginia.

Mr. J. A. McGeachy, now completing his work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago, has been elected associate professor of history at Davidson College for 1938-1939. He

has a master of arts degree from the University of North Carolina. His specialty is classical and early medieval history.

Dr. Josiah C. Russell of the University of North Carolina has published "Length of Life in England, 1250-1348," *Human Biology*, IX (December, 1937), 528-541; and (with H. L. Honeyman) "Master Elias Dereham and His Connection with Durham," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, XV (January, 1938), 15-26. He has accepted an invitation to read a paper, "Decline in Population, 200-700 A. D., and Its Social and Intellectual Consequences," before a session of the Eighth International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Zurich, Switzerland, at the end of the coming summer.

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina will read a paper, "Medical Service in Medieval French Hospices," at the International Congress of the Historical Sciences mentioned above.

Mr. Henry Stroup, for the past two years a teaching fellow in history at Wake Forest College, has been promoted to the position of part-time instructor.

Visiting teachers of history in the Duke University summer school will be Dr. C. W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas, Dr. E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia, Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga, Dr. O. G. Hale of the University of Virginia, and Dr. Ralph B. Flanders of New York University.

Professor Richard H. Shryock of the department of history of Duke University has resigned to become professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, an appointment effective in the fall.

Dr. Theodore Ropp, an instructor in history at Harvard University, next fall will become instructor in history at Duke University.

Dr. Bayard Still of the State Teachers' College of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, will become assistant professor of history at Duke University at the beginning of the next academic year.

Books received include: Early Winfred Bridges, *The Masonic Governors of North Carolina* (Greensboro, N. C.: privately printed. 1937); Frances Latham Harriss, editor, *John Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1937); Robert K. Krock, *Archibald Cary of Amptbill: Wheelhorse of the Revolution* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1937); Jennings B. Sanders, *Early American History* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1938); Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc. 1937).

Recent accessions of the North Carolina Historical Commission include (in round figures) 67,000 pieces of manuscript court records of Bertie County, 25,000 pieces of court records of Hyde County, and 7,500 pieces of court records of Pasquotank County; a few hundred marriage bonds from Bertie, Mecklenburg, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Wilkes counties; photostats of plans of the state capitol; a photostat of a map of the town of Halifax, N. C., 1769, by C. J. Sauthier (original in British Museum); and 20 volumes of inventories of printed or multi-copied inventories of records of counties in various states of the Union, presented by the Historical Records Survey.

The North Carolina Historical Commission announces the publication of *The Historical Records of North Carolina*, Volume I, *The County Records, Alamance through Columbus*, edited by Charles Christopher Crittenden and Dan Lacy. The volume includes an introduction and inventories of the records of twenty-six counties. All copy was prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration.

Tar Heel Tales, a series of episodes in North Carolina history, is being broadcast every Thursday evening at 6:45 by Radio Station WPTF, Raleigh. The series is sponsored by the Commercial Printing Company of Raleigh, and the historical script has been prepared by Miss Mattie Erma Edwards, Collector for the Hall of History.

The North Carolina Historical Commission is continuing to coöperate with three Works Progress Administration projects: the Historical Records Survey, the Survey of Federal

Archives, and a National Youth Administration project.

Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, has delivered addresses to a number of historical and patriotic organizations.

The North Carolina Council of State has made available funds for research for the historical-highway-marker program, so that the work can now proceed more rapidly than has been the case for several months.

The National Park Service has announced that it will accept the title to Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, of which offer was made in May, 1936. The area of 16.45 acres is now the property of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Wake Forest College has recently acquired the library of the late Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson. The collection contains a large number of pamphlets and is rich in North Carolina and Baptist historical materials.

Under the supervision of Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College there has been compiled a list of obituary notices to 1877 in the *Biblical Recorder*. About 5,000 names are included.

A stone containing an inscription concerning the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" is said to have been found on the banks of the Chowan River, in northeastern North Carolina. It is now in the possession of Emory University, and is being studied by Professor Haywood Pearce, Junior, and others. Historians believe that there are many problems to be solved before the question of its authenticity can be determined.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Lawrence Foushee London is general research assistant on the staff of the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is employed in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Buford Rowland is junior archivist in The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

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

