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## PROGRESS IN THE NORTH CAROLINA-SOUTH CAROLINA BOUNDARY DISPUTE<sup>1</sup>

By MARVIN LUCIAN SKAGGS

Commissioners had coöperated in running the boundary line in a northwestwardly direction in 1735. Before the survey of that year was completed, however, the representatives of South Carolina halted and refused to continue the survey because of their failure to receive what they considered just compensation for their services. The portion of the boundary contemplated for that year was completed by the North Carolina commissioners and accepted by both colonies and the Board of Trade.

Governor Johnston of North Carolina continued to push the survey of the line to completion regardless of dissension in South Carolina. He continued by correspondence to urge her authorities to act. On March 24, 1735/6, the South Carolina council sent a message to the lower house reading:

We hereby send you a Letter from His Excellency the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of North Carolina, whereby you will see how desirous that Gentleman is to Comply with His Majesty's Royal Instructions in having the Boundary Line Between the Two Prvinces Finished.

We have the same very much at heart, but are at a Loss how to proceed on that Service,

as the former commissioners "Intirely decline" to serve again. Abercrombie and Skene, the commissioners, felt "So very Ill rewarded" for their previous services that they refused another commission.<sup>2</sup> The council urged that a resolution be sent to

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<sup>1</sup> An account of the first boundary survey between the Carolinas will be found in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (July, 1935), 213-232.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. Council Journals, 1734-1737, p. 209; Commons House Journal, 1734-1736, pp. 557-559. S. C. Historical Commission, Columbia, S. C.

Governor Johnston in reply to his request, lest they be held responsible for delay in finishing.

The commons house immediately replied that they had expressed themselves on the boundary question in a message to the council on January 30, to which the council was referred.<sup>3</sup> That message forcefully reiterated their stand for £5 per day instead of £7. It was also recommended that a "proper person" be appointed to run the rest of the line at £3 per mile and equip himself.<sup>4</sup> The council became angry and impatient, and in their reply sarcastically enquired of the lower house "if any of the Members of your House will undertake that Service at £5 Diem in full of all Trouble and charges." Constant wrangling among the South Carolina officials and commissioners, and between the two houses of the assembly, with the accompanying confusion, prevented any definite action being taken toward extending the line at that time.

Early in 1737 the colonies resumed negotiations on plans of procedure. Three of the North Carolina commissioners who had signed the original compromise agreement, Moseley, Rowan, and Halton, continued the survey; and Abercrombie, Skene, and Walters again served for the southern government. Evidently Skene and Abercrombie had been given satisfaction as to compensation for their previous services. By the end of April plans were complete, the "manner of running it . . . agreed upon by both Colonies."<sup>5</sup> The work was delayed, however, by disagreement over the question of who should bear the expense. The commissioners were taking no chances in the second survey, and they were justified. Governor Johnston informed the Board of Trade that the survey was "farr from being compleated"; that the North Carolina assembly was refusing to pay the commissioners anything and was "very positive" it should be paid for by the crown.<sup>6</sup> In view of the fact that North Carolina was at that time a royal colony, this position would seem logical and justifiable. At any rate, the question of who should be responsible for the cost of running the line had been a great obstacle to the progress of the survey from the beginning. It

<sup>3</sup> S. C. House and Council Journals, March 24, 1735/36. Major Pawley was then recommended for commissioner.

<sup>4</sup> S. C. Council Journal, January 30, 1735/6.

<sup>5</sup> Johnston to Board of Trade, April 30, 1737, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV, 249. (Cited hereafter as *C. R.*)

<sup>6</sup> *C. R.*, IV, 249.

has been shown that the South Carolina commissioners dropped their work in October, 1735, on account of receiving poor remuneration for their labors. A year later, Governor Johnston sent the unpaid account of the North Carolina commissioners to the Board of Trade, commending their "great diligence and exactness," and significantly adding, "Before they finish this Affair they want to be directed by your Lordships when to apply for payment whether to His Majesty or to Assembly here."<sup>7</sup> In 1737, he frankly informed the Board that the agreement on the line could not be executed until the question of remuneration was determined.

North Carolina agreed to meet the expenses and salaries of her commissioners, however,<sup>8</sup> and the work proceeded. The survey was resumed at the termination of the line run in 1735, at "a point two miles northwest of one of the branches of Little Pedee."<sup>9</sup> The line was extended in the same northwestward direction for a distance of twenty-two miles to a stake in a meadow, "erroneously supposed to be the point of intersection with the 35th parallel of north latitude."<sup>10</sup>

Authorities have made erroneous statements regarding these early surveys. A few examples will serve to illustrate. In the report of the Geological Survey of North Carolina of 1875, W. C. Kerr states that the North Carolina-South Carolina line was first established by commissioners from 1735 to 1746, having been run from Goat Island to the thirty-fifth parallel (supposedly); thence westward to a point near the Catawba River; thence along the Salisbury Road to the southeast corner of the Catawba Lands. But there was no survey in 1746, the line was not extended to the Salisbury Road until 1764, and it was not extended directly to the southeastern corner of the Catawba Lands until 1813. The United States Geological Survey makes the same errors by quoting Kerr.<sup>11</sup> A century after the survey, Governor Swain made an error in date when he stated that

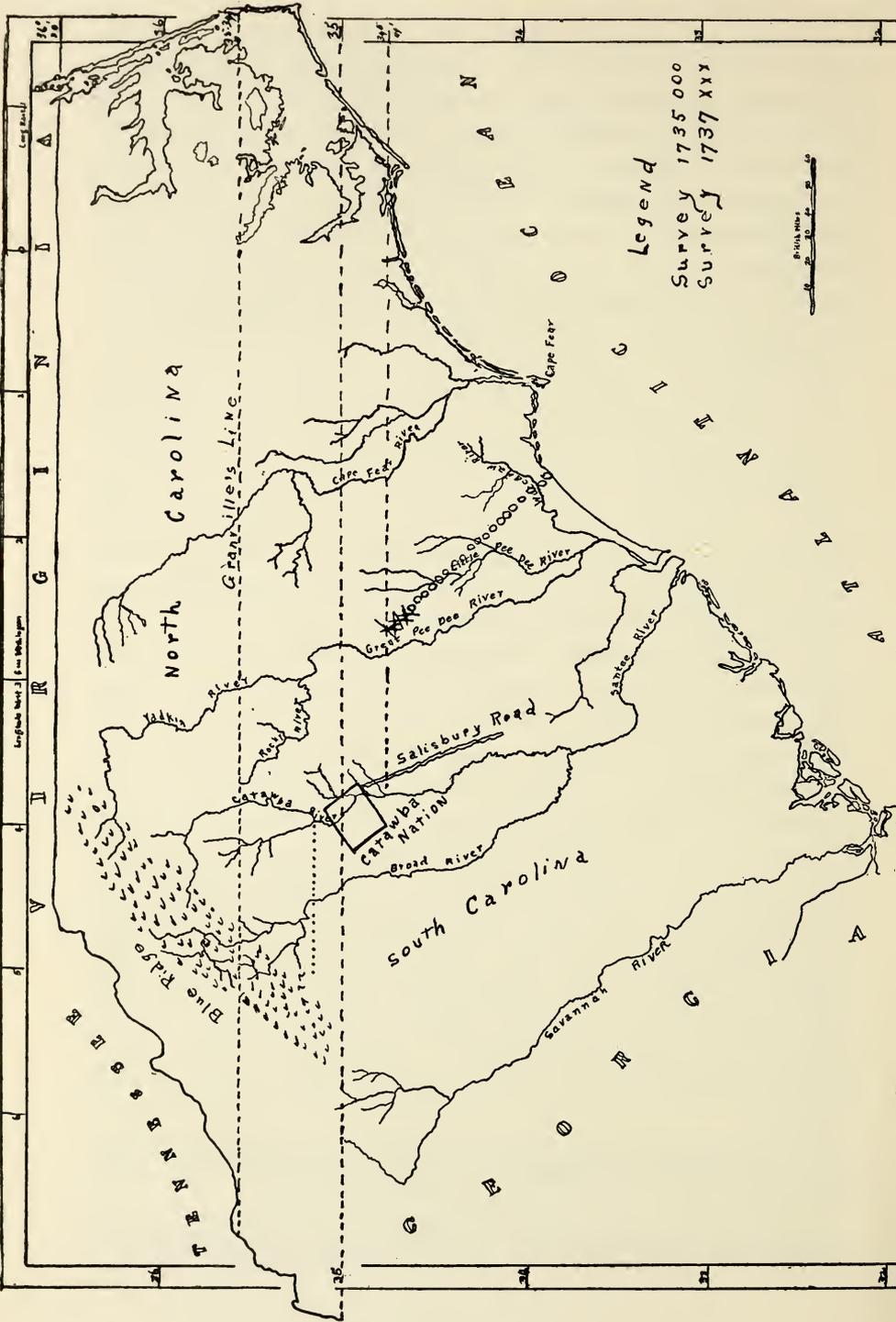
<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> This fact is assumed because the commissioners proceeded with the survey, and in September, 1737, the council paid the account of the North Carolina commissioners at the rate of £1 per diem, pronouncing it "upon the whole a most just, modest and reasonable claim." Minutes of the Council, September 18, 1737. Quoted in *ibid.*, 281-283.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. viii.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.* See official survey following page 344.

<sup>11</sup> See Gannett, Henry, *Boundaries of the United States and of the Several States and Territories with an Outline of the History of All Important Changes of Territory* (U. S. Geological Survey, *Bulletin*, No. 171), p. 101.



the twenty-two mile extension was made in 1735, thus ignoring completely the survey of 1737.<sup>12</sup>

Though official work of extending the line was discontinued when it was thought by the commissioners that they had reached the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, it was soon extended several miles in a "due west Course" by private persons acting without authority from either government. Their work was accepted by settlers on both sides for many years.<sup>13</sup>

The two colonies again began wrangling immediately after the survey was made. Resentment arose when South Carolina initiated a second attempt to obtain an alteration of the line as soon as the work of 1737 was completed. Governor Johnston took a decided stand against the proposed change. He reported to the Board of Trade that he was informed that "the Gentlemen of South Carolina" were urging the Board to "set aside" the boundary line "as . . . settled at their own request about three years ago."<sup>14</sup> He argued against the proposed change on the following grounds:

1. The question of the location of the line had been the occasion of many "warm disputes" for years before the survey was made.
2. The agreement was a result of South Carolina's initiative for ascertaining and running the line and had been "consented to with great joy."
3. The South Carolina assembly had approved it.
4. South Carolina had coöperated in running the most difficult portion of said line.
5. The Board of Trade had approved it.
6. The Crown had granted 1,200,000 acres of land near the line to some London merchants,<sup>15</sup> thus confirming the agreement.
7. The surveyor-general of the province, with sixty men and horses, had spent months surveying it.
8. All sums of money spent in running the line to its pres-

<sup>12</sup> Swain to Joseph T. Cogswell, March 27, 1835; North Carolina Executive Letter Book, 1833-1835, XXX, 339, Archives of North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

<sup>13</sup> *C. R.*, VI, 777.

<sup>14</sup> Johnston to Board of Trade, June 13, 1738.

<sup>15</sup> This large grant was in the region of Anson County. It was granted to a land company, among whose members were Henry Eustace McCulloh and Arthur Dobbs, the latter of whom later became governor of North Carolina.

ent extent would be a complete loss should the agreement now be set aside.

9. If this agreement were voided, South Carolina would likely want the next also set aside.

10. North Carolina's side should be fully heard and carefully considered.<sup>16</sup>

This array of argument was effective with the British authorities, and the line was allowed to stand as run and marked, causing resentment in South Carolina toward the Board.

Governor Johnston again took the lead in the work of extending the line. In a letter of June 13, 1738, to the Board of Trade he "did . . . press the Settling and adjusting of that Boundary Line." The letter was read before the Board in January following and received some consideration but nothing was done. A reply was finally written in the fall of 1739, in which the Board declared that no application had been made on behalf of South Carolina for settlement, but when such application should be made, they would further consider it and inform him of their action.<sup>17</sup>

The cause of the next phase of the boundary dispute is to be attributed directly to the Board of Trade. It appears that that body either deliberately or carelessly ignored their responsibility to both of the provinces in regard to the controversy when drawing up instructions to their governors. In the draught of instructions to Governor Glen of South Carolina in 1739 the Board of Trade simply inserted a paragraph identical with the old instructions given to Governors Burrington and Johnson in 1730,<sup>18</sup> ignoring the changes mutually made by North and South Carolina and approved by the Board itself, the survey of almost one hundred miles, and its acceptance by the settlers near the line.

With the outbreak of the War of Jenkins's Ear, the boundary question was subordinated for some years to the more important question of self defense. In the summer of 1740 Governor Johnston received instructions to raise troops for the war, and he called a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose. Considerable military preparations were made and the

<sup>16</sup> *C. R.*, IV, 295.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 376.

colony experienced a wave of patriotism which largely crowded out other questions.<sup>19</sup>

Toward the close of the war, confusion began to arise over land grants along the line. Arthur Dobbs' interest in McCulloh's lands, after he had received a grant for his portion of them in 1745, led to plans for having them surveyed. They were occupied by "lawless persons" who opposed all surveys and claimed to be in either province, as suited their policy of evasion, holding these lands by force. Many such intruders were in Anson County, on Sugar and Reedy creeks. They later formed a company of militia, pretending to have authority for such action from South Carolina. This situation caused great resentment between the colonies. Some members of the North Carolina assembly vehemently charged that South Carolina was openly encouraging them.<sup>20</sup> The settlers also insulted and abused Dobbs on his own lands "to the great reproach of all Government," and defied all law. When the sheriff of Anson, with his deputies, attempted to calm their violence and in the King's name commanded the peace, they "damned the King and his peace," and wounded many of the sheriff's deputies, taking the sheriff himself prisoner. Indictments against them were returned "not executed" on account of threats against the officers of justice, "and the protection they met with from the South Carolina Government."<sup>21</sup> A report was widely broadcast from South Carolina that the receiver-general of that province would not demand quit rents for lands north of Crane Creek in the disputed area. In 1753 the North Carolina council complained that many settlers, under pretense of having authority from the surveyor-general of South Carolina, had surveyed lands in the Waxhaw region and adjacent sections in the province to the "great Disturbance" of their peace, and to the great loss of North Carolina land owners. The council urged the governor to have the guilty persons apprehended and prosecuted.<sup>22</sup>

Abuses in the granting of lands became constantly more frequent, and disputes became more bitter. By 1765 Governor Dobbs was complaining to the Board of Trade that South Carolina was "daily" granting warrants of survey within the differ-

<sup>19</sup> Governor Johnston to Newcastle, November 5, 1740. *Ibid.*, IV, 421.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 795.

<sup>21</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 33.

ent tracts belonging to the associates of Murray and Crymble, which had been held by patents from the North Carolina government since 1746.<sup>23</sup> In January and August of the following year he filed with the Board a similar complaint, and he closed the year by sending two accounts of "Distractions" arising from illegal grants near the boundary.

Governor Dobbs renewed his pressure on the Board of Trade at the opening of 1759. In January he again informed them that grants were issued "daily" for lands in Anson County, but he added that they were then coming from both governments, stating that if two persons apply and one secures a warrant, the other goes to South Carolina and applies for a grant, "which is never refused." For this reason, he states, "the bordering Counties can't be settled."<sup>24</sup>

In 1762 Dobbs turned from the Board of Trade to the governor of South Carolina to urge action. He declared that settlers on his own tracts were refusing to recognize his ownership, and pretending they were in South Carolina, because the boundary line had not been run and marked. They threaten to seize "violently" his surveyors, he said, and carry them to Charleston for trial.<sup>25</sup> Six weeks later he wrote Boone that South Carolina officials "went off in Triumph" with a Magistrate of Anson County, taking him "forcibly" without a warrant, for helping survey his lands, under pretense that they were in South Carolina territory. He charged that Simpson, the clerk of the South Carolina council, was the "chief Supporter" of the applicants for our lands.<sup>26</sup>

As the summer and fall of 1762 wore on, the correspondence between the two governors became more heated. Upon the eviction of two South Carolina grantees by North Carolina, the governor and council of the southern province threw off all restraint and expressed their feelings in a bitter message to the northern governor. The recent evictions of South Carolina land grantees were called steps "taken precipitately and unseasonably." The South Carolina governor instructed citizens of his province to treat the eviction order "with the contempt it deserves and in

<sup>23</sup> Dobbs to Board of Trade, October 31, 1756. *C. R.*, V, 641; see also *ibid.*, IV, 759, 784.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 718-719.

<sup>25</sup> Dobbs to Governor Boone of South Carolina, May 17, 1762. *C. R.*, 779.

<sup>26</sup> *C. R.*, VI, 779.

no respect acknowledge the Jurisdiction of North Carolina." He also accused Governor Dobbs of indifference "because a few paultry Acres of your own are in Question." Furthermore, he declared he would confidently take up the whole matter with the authorities in England.<sup>27</sup>

Governor Dobbs replied in kind, concluding by declaring that such threats and proceedings "shall in no way intimidate me . . ." <sup>28</sup>

In December following, the North Carolina council, in a message to the king in council, defended Governor Dobbs against South Carolina charges that he was "Creating disturbances between this province and that of South Carolina," declaring that Dobbs was only endeavoring to quiet citizens in their possessions in North Carolina, as directed in his instructions. They countered by accusing the South Carolina officials of encouraging settlers to "persist to insult and abuse your Majesty's Governor and maltreat the Officers of the Crown" in a "contemptuous and open manner."<sup>29</sup>

Both colonies continued to issue land grants, however, and by the close of 1763 North Carolina had granted lands far southward of the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, both east and west of the Catawba lands.<sup>30</sup>

Confusion over payment of taxes on lands along the boundary was as great as that arising from the question of land grants. Evasion and disorder had become so prevalent by 1749 that Governor Glen of South Carolina reported the situation to the Board of Trade, stating that landholders refused to pay taxes when approached by officials of either government and pretended they were within the territory of the other.<sup>31</sup> Governor Dobbs also complained, stating that habitual taxpayers were now imprisoning the tax collectors, and expecting to be defended by South Carolina, and added that if the practice continued he would "be obliged to use force also, and consequently throw both provinces into a flame. . ."<sup>32</sup> Dobbs stated further that settlers north of and along the thirty-fifth parallel, for a distance of one-hundred and fifty miles were "all in a flame" because of South Carolina's

<sup>27</sup> Governor Boone to Governor Dobbs, October 5, 1762. *Ibid.*, pp. 792-793.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 789.

<sup>29</sup> N. C. Council Journal, December 10, 1762. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 776-777.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 207.

<sup>31</sup> Glen to Board of Trade, July 19, 1749. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 364, 641, 642.

encouragement. By 1757 the settlers living near the thirty-fifth parallel would "not take out Grants from this Province being all in Rebellion, and will pay of late no quit rents" under pretense that the lands belong to South Carolina. At the close of the same year the tax collector for Anson County stated in a deposition that there were great "divisions and distractions" among the people regarding payment of taxes; that they seemed unanimously resolved not to pay their rents until the boundary line was determined and marked. He stated that he had been warned against prosecuting for recovery of rents, lest he "run the risk of loosing [*sic*] his life."<sup>33</sup> He was firmly convinced that if the line was run all disputes would subside. Obstacles to coöperation were too great, however, for South Carolina was now demanding all lands south of Lord Granville's line by the original instructions.<sup>34</sup>

Great confusion and some violence arose over the question of jurisdiction over the Catawba Nation and their lands. They occupied a section of territory through the center of which ran the thirty-fifth parallel, which was called for in the original instructions to Burrington and Johnson. Governor Dobbs urged the Board of Trade to declare the Catawbas to be within the limits of one of the colonies. He attempted to interfere in their local politics, however, by commissioning a popular half-breed, called "Prince of Wales," as a captain to make him more eligible for election as king in King Haglar's stead. This Indian was friendly to the claims of North Carolina, while Haglar favored the pretensions of the southern government.

The authorities of South Carolina were also quite aggressive. Governor Glen cultivated the friendship of the Indians on every convenient occasion. In April, 1754, he wrote a letter to King Haglar stating that the Indians' lands were reserved to them, by himself and the council, including their hunting grounds within a radius of thirty miles from their towns; and as he had ordered all white men to remove, he urged Haglar to drive off all white people within that territory. The Indians were told

<sup>33</sup> Deposition of John Hamer, Receiver for Anson County, December 12, 1757. *Ibid.*, V, 938.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 718-719.

that Glen had written to the British king regarding the grant and were assured that King George would approve it.<sup>35</sup>

North Carolina strongly resented these actions. The settlers complained of the Catawbas killing their stock and destroying their crops. The governor protested against the excessive amount of land allotted to them, saying they were given 2,500 acres each; while the Tuscaroras received only 287 acres each. He also protested to the Board of Trade that Glen had "buoyed up" the Catawbas, had attempted to give them nine times as much territory as the Tuscaroras had received, and had set them against North Carolina, "alleging they are his Indians."<sup>36</sup> Later, in 1762, when commissioners from South Carolina and the Catawba Nation met, by a previous agreement, to run the Indians' boundary lines, North Carolina protested strongly, on the grounds that there was the "highest probability" that the whole area would fall within North Carolina when the boundary was determined. At a conference with the Indians at Augusta, Georgia, the following year, however, a treaty was signed confirming the Catawba boundaries negotiated by South Carolina, and both provinces coöperated with the Indians in completing the survey begun by South Carolina.<sup>37</sup> The colonies thus had a free hand to extend their own dividing line.

It will be well to review the status of the boundary controversy at the close of the reign of George II and to attempt an estimate of its general effects on the life of the two colonies up to that time.

The governors of the two colonies, in an effort to compromise the opposing claims of North Carolina, extending to the Santee River, and of South Carolina, extending to the Cape Fear River, had reached an agreement in 1730 that the line should run parallel to the Cape Fear River at a distance of thirty miles southwest of that stream. It was accepted by the Board of Trade but Governor Johnson of South Carolina influenced the

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Glen to King Haglar, April 8, 1754. Reported by Acting-President Rowan. *Ibid.*, V, 124, 144, 358. Glen was still acting on the basis of the old instructions, which had been re-issued in 1739.

<sup>36</sup> Dobbs to Board of Trade, August 24 and October 28, 1755, and January 20, 1757. *C. R.*, V, 364, 440, 742. In August, 1757, Dobbs again reported that the Indians had been "spirited up" by Glen's tactics and had even "had the impudence" to insult the chief justice of the Salisbury District Court sitting at Salisbury. *Ibid.*, p. 784. See also *ibid.*, VI, 58, and Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 304.

<sup>37</sup> *C. R.*, VII, 147, 290.

Board to add a provision which included the Waccamaw River as a part of the line, but on account of gross ignorance regarding the course of the Waccamaw, the line was hopelessly confused. Governor Burrington was strongly opposed to the Cape Fear parallel line, while Johnson and the Board of Trade joined against him in favor of that location.

Such was the status of the dispute when Gabriel Johnston succeeded Burrington as governor of North Carolina. The South Carolina Assembly then supported their governor and the Board of Trade in opposition to North Carolina, in demanding that the Cape Fear parallel line be accepted. Governor Johnston, however, in spite of the decision of the Board of Trade and the insistence of South Carolina, brought about a very sensible compromise when he led the commissioners of the two colonies to agree on a straight line from the sea coast to the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude. The colonies were therefore expected to run a line accordingly. The line was surveyed to the thirty-fifth parallel (supposedly) and discontinued. Proceedings regarding the boundary during the remainder of the reign of George II consisted of agitation, proposals, and counter proposals.

By the end of George's reign, the boundary question had vitally affected every phase of the life of the two colonies, as well as the relations between the British authorities and the colonies. The popular branch of the North Carolina legislature consistently refused to pay a share of the expenses of the survey of 1735. The South Carolina governor was later removed from office for insubordination.

The land policy of the two colonies was also affected by the controversy. Grants in the region were withheld pending settlement, slow settlement of the region resulted, and confusion and loss in tax collections followed. Grantees often imprisoned tax collectors. Duplication in land grants became a serious problem. South Carolina claimed all lands south of Granville's line ( $35^{\circ} 41'$ ).

Interference with and confusion in court procedure in land cases was common in the border counties. South Carolina even arrested magistrates in Anson County and carried them to Charleston for trial and imprisonment. Agriculture and com-

merce were also affected by the proposed location of the line, for farm lands and water routes were involved, including the levying of customs duties on the navigable border streams.

The effect of the controversy on Indian relations was marked. The settlers were constantly at odds with their Indian neighbors on account of the absence of a definite boundary line. The Board of Trade was warned that further failure to run the line would mean hostilities which would be fatal to the colonies.

Service in the militia in the two colonies was also affected. Settlers in the disputed territory, particularly in Anson County, organized militia companies, claiming to have authority for their action from South Carolina. With all the complications, disorder, and confusion connected with the controversy, a spirit of ill-will developed between the two colonies which had an important bearing on all their relationships. This unfortunate attitude very probably affected the degree of coöperation so necessary between the two colonies in time of war. As a case in point, during the Cherokee War, when the two colonies were seriously endangered by the hostility of the Indians in 1760, the militia of North Carolina refused to leave that province to aid South Carolina. Wars in the colonies had the general effect of checking the survey of the line between the provinces.

Thus it is seen that at the close of the reign of George II an incomplete survey had been made northwestward from the sea coast, supposedly to the thirty-fifth parallel, and that both colonies were agitating for further action on the question. South Carolina had pursued a consistent policy since the early surveys, insisting upon an alteration of the line more to her advantage. North Carolina had reversed her policy of defending the early surveys by advocating the adoption of the Pee Dee River and Winyaw Bay line as a permanent boundary. With this situation existing, the colonial and imperial authorities were forced to await the outcome of the Seven Years War before the line could be further extended.

# A GEORGIA PLANTER AND HIS PLANTATIONS 1837-1861

By DOROTHY SEAY MAGOFFIN

George Jones Kollock of Savannah, Georgia, was one of the planters of the ante-bellum South who left records and letters from which it is possible to obtain a view of the social and economic life of that day.<sup>1</sup> He represents that element of the Old South whose way of living determined the social, political, and economic life of that section. Kollock planted on a far less extensive scale than a Manigault or a Carter.<sup>2</sup> He cultivated but one plantation at a time, and the number of his slaves never reached one hundred. He never gained the prominence of Jefferson Davis or Robert Toombs who have long been figures of interest because of their political positions. Thus Kollock represents not the great landholders or the outstanding statesmen of his day, but the far larger class of planters who possessed adequate land and slaves, and who lived in comfort but not in opulence. An understanding of the life of such planters is essential before a complete history of the Old South can be written. This understanding can be gained only through a study of the many manuscripts, letters, journals, and diaries such as those left by George Kollock. The ready availability of political material has been largely responsible for the many political histories of the South. The social and economic life is known largely in the form of a romantic tradition,<sup>3</sup> developed since the Civil War. To balance the picture, wide study of the Kollocks of the Old South must be made.

George Jones Kollock's father, Lemuel Kollock, was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1766. In 1792 he moved to Savannah, Georgia, and there practiced medicine until his death in 1823. In 1802 he married Maria Campbell of Augusta, Georgia, by whom he had three children: Miller, born in 1804; Mary Fenwick, born in 1806; and George Jones, born in 1810.

<sup>1</sup> Biographical material is taken from the collection of Kollock family letters (1822-1860) now in possession of Miss Susan Kollock of Atlanta, Georgia, and from information supplied by Mrs. Lula Kollock, youngest daughter of George Jones Kollock, also of Atlanta. The information concerning the overseers is taken from the collection of forty letters from the various overseers to George Kollock, also in the possession of Miss Susan Kollock.

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South*; and Flanders, R. B., "Farish Carter, A Forgotten Man of the Old South," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XV (1931).

<sup>3</sup> For an exposition of this thesis see Gaines, Francis Pendleton, *The Southern Plantation, A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York, 1924).

All three of the Kollock children were educated in the North. Miller went to Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, and later to Harvard University. In 1823 he returned to Savannah to practice medicine, and, as so many professional men of the South, also became a cotton planter. Mary Fenwick was educated at Beverly, Massachusetts. She then returned to Savannah, and some years later married an Episcopal minister, the Reverend David Neufville, of that city. George Jones attended an academy at Germantown, Pennsylvania, and studied law at Yale University.

While at school George was a sort of commission agent for his entire family. Scarcely a letter went to him without a request for some article of clothing or furniture to be bought in Philadelphia and sent to Savannah. After Mary Fenwick's return to Savannah she frequently ordered shoes, six pairs at a time, for herself and her friends. When Miller began plans for housekeeping he left the greater part of the buying of household furnishings to George. He wrote George describing tables, dishes, beds, silver, decanters, irons, and many other things which he wished the latter to buy for him. These letters are filled with detailed instructions as to the time of, and methods for, shipping these articles to Savannah. They were usually sent by boat from Philadelphia, but the dates of departure and arrival were most uncertain.

In 1832, his education completed, George Kollock returned to Savannah. For the next four years he practiced law, but devoted himself chiefly to the social life of Savannah and Augusta. On February 24, 1836, he married Augusta Johnston. The Kollock and Johnston families had been neighbors and friends in Savannah for many years, and George and Augusta had become intimate friends during summer vacations in the North.

Through this marriage George Kollock acquired his first plantation. A tract of land some nine miles above Savannah had been granted to the second Sir Patrick Houstoun in 1772<sup>4</sup> by the royal government for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of silk. In 1774 Sir Patrick married Ann Moodie.<sup>5</sup> Ann

<sup>4</sup> Book of Grants, I, 769. State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

<sup>5</sup> Information concerning the Johnston and Houstoun families was taken from the Kollock family tree. Mrs. Lula Kollock described the seal of the grant to Coffee Bluff as bearing a woman kneeling and holding up a skein of silk. The seal is preserved at Woodlands, the Kollock home in north Georgia.

Houstoun, daughter of Sir Patrick, married James Johnston in 1797. Augusta and Susan were the only children of James and Ann Houstoun Johnston. Augusta Johnston inherited the land, then divided into two plantations, Coffee Bluff and Retreat.

On November 30, 1836, Augusta Johnston Kollock died at the birth of her daughter Augusta. The child was cared for by her aunt, Susan Johnston, and on November 25, 1840, George Kollock married Susan. By his second marriage Kollock had three sons and six daughters.

Shortly after Kollock's first wife died, he established his residence at Retreat, and began planting at Coffee Bluff. Retreat, or White Bluff (both names were used for the place), lay on the Savannah River about nine miles north of the city of Savannah, and Coffee Bluff was just beyond. At Retreat there was a white frame house built with a high porch in front opening from the second floor, with winding steps running from the ground to each side of the porch. The house was large and rambling, with servants' quarters built not far behind. It was at this place that Kollock made his permanent residence, and Retreat remained the "home place" until the family abandoned the land in 1863.

Both George and Miller Kollock, as was customary for many planters living on the Georgia coast,<sup>6</sup> took their families to Saratoga or to some other Northern resort for the summer months. Traveling, however, was not only slow and expensive, but was also inconvenient for men who like the Kollocks did not like to leave their business interests for an indefinite stay at a summer resort. These facts, together with the severe depression in cotton prices, turned the attention of coast families to the possibilities offered by the north Georgia mountains for summer homes. The result was a colony of coast families who no longer spent their summers in Northern travel, but built summer homes in the mountains of Habersham County.

As early as 1840 Miller Kollock bought a tract of land, and built a home which he named Sleepy Hollow. His wife died before the house was finished and Miller lost interest in the project and wished to sell the property. He offered three hundred acres of land and the house for sale for three thousand dollars, but the place was not sold and in 1844 George Kollock took his fam-

<sup>6</sup> Coulter, E. Merton, "A Century of a Georgia Plantation," *Agricultural History*, III (1929), 149.

ily and Miller's daughter to Sleepy Hollow for the summer. The vacation proved so satisfactory that George purchased five hundred acres of land adjoining Sleepy Hollow, and built a home which he called Woodlands. The lumber was purchased and the house constructed under the supervision of Robert Habersham, Kollock's factor in Savannah. The building was done principally by hired white carpenters, but Kollock used one slave, who was trained as a carpenter. The building progressed slowly, but by 1851 the family was able to move into the house.

After the completion of Woodlands, Kollock and his family spent the summers there and the winters at Retreat, and made frequent trips to his plantation. He took a great interest in the social life of his day. Hunting and fishing were favorite pastimes with him. He was well educated, and his library of more than a thousand volumes shows his continued interest in the classics, history, law, and agriculture. Like many coast planters, he belonged to the Episcopal Church. In politics he took an active interest, but never held public office. When secession became the most important question of the day, he favored the immediate secession of Georgia without waiting for any coöperative action on the part of the other Southern states.

George Kollock was a lawyer by profession, but he turned to the business of planting early in life. In 1837 he began planting on Coffee Bluff, the land which had come to him through his wife. In 1838 he purchased Rosedew Plantation a few miles north of Coffee Bluff, and remained there until 1849 when he moved to a plantation on the south end of Ossabaw Island off the Georgia coast. He cultivated the island plantation until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Throughout the period from 1837 to 1861, Kollock recorded the business of the plantation in record books.<sup>7</sup> During 1837 and a few months in 1838 he kept these books himself; after that date they were turned over to the various overseers. Kollock did not use a printed form of plantation book as many planters did,<sup>8</sup> but kept his records in large bound notebooks. These journals were kept with care by the overseers, and followed the

<sup>7</sup> Information concerning the plantations, unless otherwise designated, is taken from the plantation record books, 1837-1861, now in the library of the University of North Carolina. These books have no page numbers, and consequently the citations will be to the records by years.

<sup>8</sup> Stephenson, W. H., "Quarter Century of a Mississippi Plantation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (1936), 355-357.

same general plan from 1837 to 1861. Kollock himself wrote the date, the name of the plantation, and the overseer's name on the first page of the book. In 1840 he wrote, also on the first page, three rules for the care and discipline of his slaves. Two rules were added in 1841, but after that date they no longer appeared in the journals, and doubtless were given by letters, along with other instructions. Information recorded in the journal was put under the following headings: Names and Rates of Hands, Births and Deaths, List of Sick, Allowances, Articles Delivered and Articles Received, General Statement of Work, and Daily Record of Employment. Since all phases of the care of the Negroes as well as all matters connected with the business of planting were recorded, it was possible for Kollock while living at Retreat and Woodlands to be fully informed about the events of the Plantation.<sup>9</sup>

The Negroes were listed by name and rate<sup>10</sup> in the field at the beginning of each year. Following the names of the Negroes, a space was reserved for births and deaths during the year. A detailed list of those who were ill was kept from 1839 to 1849. The date was written in the margin and the names of those sick on that day followed. Occasionally the nature of the illness was mentioned. After 1849 the detailed list was abandoned in favor of a summary of days lost from work each month. This was more useful since the average loss was the important fact to the business of planting, and that portion of the journal which gave the daily events showed the names of those Negroes who were sick.

Food allowance was distributed to the Negroes once a week, and the entire amount given to all the hands was listed. Allowance given to Negroes who for any reason were not counted with the field hands was listed separately as was all foodstuffs sent to Retreat.

Beginning in 1859 by name and under date was recorded the number of pounds of cotton each hand picked. Since the pounds were never totaled, it is probable that this list was used as a basis of determining the efficiency of individual Negroes,

<sup>9</sup> Absentee planters used various methods for keeping in touch with their plantations. Kollock made frequent visits to his plantation and read the journals while there. George Noble Jones required his overseer on Chemoine Plantation in Florida to send him a copy of his journal every two weeks. See Phillips, U. B., and Glunt, J. D., eds., *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> The slaves were rated as full or half hands and children.

and as a basis of reward for exceptionally good labor during the plantation's rushed season.<sup>11</sup>

After 1847 a yearly inventory was made, and the supplies, tools, and stock were listed. A column for the stock was kept throughout the year, showing increase and decrease and occasionally reasons for the changes.

One of the most important sections of the journals was that given to "Articles Received" and "Articles Delivered." Articles bought for the plantation consisted of all necessary supplies not produced, such as oils, medicines, leather goods, lumber, nails, chains, salt, cloth, and paper. These were listed by the overseer. In the same way articles shipped from the plantation were listed. Until 1844 the products sold consisted largely of cotton. After that year Kollock's interest in a variety of crops is evidenced by frequent lists of corn, rice, oranges, cattle, and wool, as well as cotton, which were sent to Savannah. This was in line with the general movement for agricultural reform in the South. Planters generally were turning to diversified crops as a means of overcoming the depression in cotton prices, and for the purpose of soil preservation, which was advocated by agricultural journals and societies.<sup>12</sup> On Kollock's plantation no revolutionary changes were made, but he turned to the use of manures, and the acreage in non-staple crops was increased. Although this reduced the production of cotton, which was the money crop, it made possible the growing of food-stuffs on the plantation, and thereby reduced the amount of supplies which formerly had been bought in Savannah.

The journals gave a summary or general statement of work for the entire year. This section referred entirely to the crop, and gave dates on which various plantings were begun and finished. The following example, taken from the Journal for 1847, is typical:

March 8 Com' plowing corn ground (2 acres a hand)  
March 15 Planted sugar cane  
March 15 Com' planting first corn

<sup>11</sup> Many planters gave rewards to encourage labor on the part of the slaves. The form in which the reward was given depended on the individual planter. Frederick Law Olmsted tells of the custom of giving a sum of money equal to a dollar for each hogshead of sugar produced on a plantation in Louisiana, to be divided among the slaves at Christmas. *Journey in Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy*, p. 660.

<sup>12</sup> Flanders, R. B., *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, p. 89.

- March 16 Finished laying off corn ground (for first planting)  
 March 17 Finished planting first corn (21 days planting 50 acres)

The main portion of the record books was devoted to a day-by-day account of the work.<sup>13</sup> Here the overseer recorded his distribution of the Negroes by the number at each job. Those not at work, either because of sickness or because they had run away, were also noted. There was a column reserved for weather and remarks. The amount of information put down in this section as well as the detail with which the whole record was kept depended on the individual overseer.

Over a period of twenty-five years Kollock had ten overseers. Considering the frequency with which overseers were hired and fired in the Old South, this was not an unusual number. The salaries paid and the duties required of overseers depended on the individual owner. On the Georgia coast salaries ranged from \$175 to \$1,000 a year.<sup>14</sup> In 1837 Kollock paid Silas Hollis \$110 from the middle of April until December 30. In 1838 he hired William Hoffman as overseer for one year at \$250. No further salaries are recorded, but it is probable that as Kollock increased his holdings he paid the overseers more, with the amount decreasing with the depression of 1840, but increasing again by 1850. The Kollock overseers were given complete charge of the plantation, and were required to keep the plantation record books and to write fortnightly letters to Kollock reporting on the business of the plantation. The evidence of legible hand writing and fairly accurate spelling and English in the journals and letters shows that these men were above the usual educational level of overseers.<sup>15</sup> This may account for some of the changes of overseers, since the more capable of the small farmer class, to which most overseers belonged, were usually anxious to acquire land of their own, and to begin farming for themselves when it became possible.

Of all the overseers, Hoffman, hired in 1838, was the most

<sup>13</sup> Typical entries in this section for 1848 are:

March 1—1 gining [sic] 2 whipping cotton 5 sorting 1 over hawling cotton 3 ploughing  
 1 cook 1 with Mrs. Kollock 1 nurse 5 sick July still absent 5 cutting lumber 2 carpenters 14 listing cotton land  
 July 15—6 ploughing 1 threshing rice 1 hoeing road 1 picking peas 1 in town 1 sick  
 26 hawling cotton.

Sept. 21—1 cooking 4 cutting rice 2 guarding 2 digging potatoes 4 hawling rice 2  
 sorting cotton 1 in town 5 sick 18 picking cotton

<sup>14</sup> Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>15</sup> See Bassett, John Spencer, *The Southern Plantation Overseer as Revealed in His Letters*, and Phillips and Glunt, eds., *Florida Plantation Records*.

illiterate, and he was totally incapable of handling the Negroes. On April 28, he wrote:

flog grace this day for covering corn bad, then flog her again for insolence, which Mr. Kollock did not seem to like, when the owner takes the part of the negro against the Overseer who wishes to forward the interest of the owner It never fails to bring Mr. dont care on the place and ruin the Negroes and make the owner a bankrupt the reason that existed Mr. Kollocks dislike for Graces flogging was an accidental cuff close her eye which he Mr. Kollock thought was done through temper or intention.<sup>16</sup>

On June 12 Hoffman wrote:

Hannah a wench of houstoun and myself had some altercation on Sunday the 10 th inc. in which she used much violence against my Person for which I struck her 3 or 4 times with my fist for which she run away and returned on Tuesday Morning with a letter of pardon under the protection of her master Houstoun who dont ought to own a Negro.<sup>17</sup>

Hoffman frequently recorded runaways. His inability to manage the slaves and his use of personal violence in dealing with them were probably the reasons for his discharge. He was replaced in 1839 by Jacob Crosby, who managed Rosedew for three years. He recorded the events of the day in the journal with conciseness, giving the distribution of the hands, list of those ill, and the weather. There was almost no mention of disciplinary troubles, and no remarks which would throw any light on Crosby's character. He left in 1841.

For the next eight years Rosedew was managed by William D. Black. That Black was successful both in making the crop and in disciplining the Negroes is evident from his long term of management. Another change of overseers was made when Kollock left Rosedew and began planting on Ossabaw Island. This change to the Sea Island was probably the cause of Black's leaving Kollock's employ. Few white people desired to live permanently on the islands because of the prevalence of fever.

The year 1849 began with G. W. Gillian in charge on Ossabaw Island Plantation. For June 13 the single statement, "G. W. Gillian arrested and carried to Savannah"<sup>18</sup> appears in the rec-

<sup>16</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1838.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1849.

ord book. On July 24 he returned to the island. One week later he received his discharge and with his family left the plantation for good. In the meantime the management was taken over by James Kersh, who remained for the next five years.

By 1854 Kollock's business had increased to such an extent that he hired a sub-overseer. Cornelius Gieger, who lived on the island, served in this capacity. During the last year of Kersh's management and in 1856, while William Hazel was in charge, Gieger had managed the plantation during the regular overseer's absences, and had written many of the letters to Kollock. Hazel was one of the most able of the overseers. When unusual problems of discipline arose he proved himself capable of handling them. He made improvements on the plantation by increasing the drainage facilities. He dug ditches for this purpose and designed a gate for use in the ditches which would automatically close with the tide.<sup>19</sup> Hazel kept the record books in great detail, noting especially all unusual events on the plantation. He recorded Kollock's visits and his own frequent absences. These absences were caused by his own and his wife's continued illnesses. On October 4, 1856, he wrote Kollock:

Dear Sir: This island is so sickly that I have come to the conclusion that I will hunt for business so I let you know in time. I am sorry to leave these good lands, but I must try for a healthier situation.<sup>20</sup>

Hazel stayed on the island until the end of the year by which time he must have found a location which suited him better as he resigned. He was followed at Ossabaw by John E. Jarrell. He was a capable manager but spent much of his time away from the plantation and did not get along well with the other planters on the island. In August, 1857, he wrote to Kollock requesting the latest laws on road duty. He had planned to make a new road and was in the midst of a heated argument with McDonald, a neighboring planter, who wished to rework the old road.<sup>21</sup> In the end McDonald reworked the old road and Jarrell built a new one.

Probably for these reasons Jarrell was replaced by Robert C. Corley. Corley, however, remained only a few months, and the

<sup>19</sup> William Hazel to George Kollock, June 21, 1856.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> John E. Jarrell to George J. Kollock, August 3, 1859.

management of the plantation was taken over by M. T. Duke in 1861.

When George Kollock began his planting enterprise at Coffee Bluff in the Spring of 1837, he was but twenty-seven years of age and without any experience in the business of planting. Much of his land was uncleared, the plantation was insufficiently stocked, farming tools and implements for cultivating the crops were yet unbought, and the houses on the plantation were in a bad state of repair. On the day he assumed the rôle of a planter, Kollock wrote:

I took possession of this place, Retreat and Coffee Bluff with the negroes I purchased and hired this day, Saturday, April 8, 1837. There is not a seed in the ground and there are but eight acres of ground prepared for planting corn and sixty or seventy, and a part listed and a part bedded for cotton.<sup>22</sup>

The time, however, was propitious for successful planting in Georgia. The period from 1825 to 1840 was one of economic and agricultural progress in the State.

Great cotton plantations dotted the State, even up in the Cherokee section. The cotton gin was in full swing. The demands for Negro slaves were constantly increasing, and the State was in a satisfactory swing of prosperity.<sup>23</sup> Kollock enjoyed the fruits of this prosperous period and his first year's crop was a successful one.

Kollock began planting with a slave force of thirty-three Negroes, twenty-eight of whom he bought and five of whom (women) he hired from a neighboring planter. They were rated as full hands, half hands, and children. The half hands were those Negroes not quite grown, or those in poor health who were given the lighter tasks on the plantation. Among the Negroes Kollock bought were eleven full hands, four half hands, and eight children. One Negro woman, Ranger, and her two children were at Retreat as house servants, and Jo, one of the boys, was the overseer's personal servant. Of the five hired women and their six children Kollock wrote:

The above negroes I hired from when I commenced planting until the first of January next at 40.00 a piece for the workers and clothes

<sup>22</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1837.

<sup>23</sup> Howell, Clark, *History of Georgia*, I, 490.

and food for their children. I therefore rate at Coffee Bluff 15 full hands.<sup>24</sup>

Forty dollars per year was an average price for the hire of unskilled laborers. Skilled artisans, however, could demand as much as four hundred and twenty-five dollars and they were often hired by planters who lacked skilled laborers among their own slaves. When women were hired, the care of their children was a part of the price paid for the mothers, and any children born during the time that the women were hired out belonged to the owner.<sup>25</sup>

The first year was a most expensive one for the master of Coffee Bluff. The plantation never produced all the foodstuffs needed for the slaves and stock, but during 1837 all the corn and other foodstuffs used on the plantation, as well as tools and stock, had to be bought. The journal for 1837 is filled with records of purchase:

- May 23 . . . I had to send out ten bushels of corn for which I paid \$1.25 per bushel, and 149 lbs. of bacon at 10c per lb.
- June 3 . . . I purchased a mule from Mr. Habersham for \$120.00. My corn is out and so is the bacon, both to be purchased next week.
- June 17 . . . Last week I sold the old horse I purchased from Mr. Houstoun at auction, got \$11.00 for him, and had to purchase another mule from Mr. Habersham for \$120.00. I had to purchase two barrels of mackerel at \$6.00 per barrel.
- November 10 . . . I sent out a corn sheller this week priced \$14.00. . . . I purchased a roller gin from Pattell for \$70.00. . . . I purchased also 4 grubbing hoes.
- November 25 . . . I purchased two mules this week for which I paid \$150.00 for the two \$75.00 apiece.

Kollock found the slave quarters in a poor state of repair. On September 9 he wrote, "I hauled three loads of lumber this week from town for the purpose of repairing my negro houses."<sup>26</sup> On October 12 he wrote, "One of my houses is still unfinished, Jim being still laid up with his leg."<sup>27</sup> And on November 10, ". . . The houses are all finished. I had to send two hundred and ninety feet more board out of which I paid 6 dollars."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1837.

<sup>25</sup> Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, pp. 194-197.

<sup>26</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1837.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

Thus it was mid-November before the houses were fully repaired.

Kollock did not have a great deal of disciplinary trouble the first year. Only once did he record a runaway Negro. Doll, one of the hired women, left the plantation and was gone for some ten days. Kollock's lack of trouble was probably due to the small number of Negroes on the place, and to his personal supervision of them. On small plantations where the slaves were under the direct supervision of the master, discipline was never the problem that it was on large plantations where the slaves were under the direction of an overseer, or on plantations where the master was not resident and the overseer was in full control of the Negroes. The slaves usually held the master in great respect since he was the giver of food and clothing and the ultimate authority in all their disputes. The overseer, however, whose duty it was to work the Negroes in order to produce a crop, was often held in contempt by the Negroes. The low class of society to which the overseer usually belonged and the fact that he meted out punishment to the disobedient Negroes were the two primary causes for this feeling.<sup>29</sup> That they had greater faith in the clemency and justice of a master than in that of an overseer is shown by their desire to carry grievances directly to the master. A slave on James K. Polk's plantation in Mississippi traveled to Tennessee in order to place his case before Dr. S. M. Caldwell, Polk's brother-in-law.<sup>30</sup> Cornelius Gieger, the overseer on Ossabaw, wrote Kollock in 1853 that several of the Negroes had run away and had said that they would return only when Kollock visited the plantation, in order that they might appeal to him for a redress of their grievances.<sup>31</sup>

The health of Kollock's slaves was generally good. Numerous entries in the journals, however, show that they suffered from accidents and minor diseases. Kollock recorded twenty-four days lost from work in one month because of sickness. This was in September when many of the Negroes had fever.<sup>32</sup> With fifteen full hands there were four hundred and fifty working days in a month. Thus the twenty-four days lost constituted

<sup>29</sup> Bassett, *Southern Plantation Overseer*, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>31</sup> C. Gieger to G. J. Kollock, November 8, 1853.

<sup>32</sup> This is contradictory to Charles Lyell's statement that Negroes on the Sea Islands were seldom ill in the summer. Lyell, Charles, *Second Visit to The United States*, I, 264.

less than 5½ per cent of this number—a small loss under normal conditions. During the first year Kollock was most unfortunate with the babies of his Negroes.

They seldom lived more than a month or two after birth. On September 9, 1837, Flora's child was born; it died on September 23. In October Nancy gave birth to a child which died shortly after with "spasms."

The work of the plantation was done entirely by Negro labor, and usually by the task system. Each slave was given a definite amount of work to do each day. This amount varied with the type of work being done. For instance the task of thinning the cotton to a stand would be less than the second or third hoeing. Likewise, the task varied with the weather. Kollock lightened the work of his Negroes during the hottest part of the summer. The type of work necessarily varied with the season, but the everyday schedule remained much the same through the year. The regular routine was interrupted by rain when all hands were kept indoors. When this was necessary the slaves were given tasks which could be done in the house, such as sewing for the women and shelling corn for the men. Those hands who were not required for the usual tasks during the slack seasons were put to cleaning lands and preparing new grounds for crops.

In 1837 Kollock planted eighty acres in cotton, twenty-nine and three-fourths acres in corn, and six acres in peas. On May 27, he wrote: ". . . the cotton is somewhat affected by the cold weather, but in general looks well, and most of it seems little, if any, behind my neighbor's which was up before mine was planted."<sup>33</sup> The cotton was worked five times. The 1837 crop was slow in maturing and the picking of the cotton was delayed by unfavorable weather conditions. The last entry in November, 1837, states that more than eighty bags of cotton had been gathered. It is not possible to determine whether or not more cotton was gathered from the 1837 crop, since Kollock failed to keep the journal during December, 1837, and January, 1838. On August 16, 1837, Kollock purchased for two hundred dollars a tract of land adjoining Coffee Bluff, containing about

<sup>33</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1837.

twenty-one acres, which had belonged to the estate of John M. Morrel.<sup>34</sup> On February 22, 1837, Kollock wrote:

On the twenty-ninth day of last month I employed Mr. Hoffman as an overseer who is to oversee for me one year from the day I employed him for \$250.00. I have purchased this year Rosedew Plantation from the estate of Mr. Jepe Cooper for which I pay (\$4,000.00) four thousand dollars. I have also purchased from the young Mr. Coopers 38 head of stock cattle at \$9.50 a head . . . and also two sows and 10 pigs for \$12.00.<sup>35</sup>

Thus in his first year as a planter Kollock had equipped Coffee Bluff and had made a successful crop which enabled him to increase his original holdings and to purchase another plantation on the Savannah River not far from Coffee Bluff.

In 1838 the main theater of planting shifted from Coffee Bluff to Rosedew Plantation, and in 1849 to Ossabaw Island off the Georgia coast.

Cotton was the principal money crop at both Rosedew and Ossabaw, although it was never the only crop grown. Just how much cotton was harvested it is impossible to determine since the overseer never recorded the total amount. The quantity of 80,239 pounds of cotton had been picked by the end of October, 1839. No record was made of any further picking that year, but since the cotton was rarely all picked before the end of the year, we may surmise that the crop was much greater than this. The white and yellow cotton had to be separated and ginned before it was ready for the market. The entire crop was seldom sent to market at one time but was shipped in bags or bales at various times during the year. Fluctuating prices influenced the time of sale. Many planters shipped their crops to the factor at the end of the season and had it stored until the best price could be obtained. Kollock, probably because of the nearness of the market, and the ease with which the crop could be gotten there by boat, did not make a practice of storing his cotton in Savannah. Eighty acres of cotton were planted on Rosedew in 1844, but only four bales were shipped to Savannah that year. Kollock was probably holding a part of the crop for rising prices. The acreage planted in cotton was increased to ninety-five in 1846, and the acreage was gradually increased after Kollock moved to

<sup>34</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1838.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

Ossabaw. The number of pounds picked in 1857 was 14,610, and in 1858, 14,675. In 1859 cotton was planted on 144½ acres. On July 8 of that year the overseer, Jarrell, wrote Kollock that he anticipated the best crop he had ever grown.<sup>36</sup> The harvest was 105,135 pounds, which was an average yield of 729 pounds per acre—a very high yield.<sup>37</sup>

Sea island cotton was grown on Ossabaw plantation. This cotton was more difficult to gin than the upland variety,<sup>38</sup> but it brought a higher price on the market.

Kollock was a scientific and progressive planter and made a study of fertilizing as a means of increasing his production of cotton and other crops. On this problem he consulted such works as Brown's *Field Book of Manure*, Edmund Ruffin's *Essay on Calcareous Manures*, and Liebig's *Chemistry in Its Application to Agricultural Physiology*.<sup>39</sup> He used cotton seed, domestic manures, and marsh mud on the Ossabaw plantation. Cotton seed and domestic manures were used widely in the South, but the use of marsh mud as a fertilizer was peculiar to the Sea Islands. It was obtainable on the uncultivated portions of the islands, and supplied minerals taken from the soil by continued cultivation.<sup>40</sup>

The corn crop was important as the chief source of food for both the slaves and the stock on Kollock's plantations. This was true of the South generally. When Charles Lyell visited the United States in 1854, he noted that the greater part of the food for the slaves was grown on the plantations.<sup>41</sup> On the Telfair plantation near Savannah, one of the most important duties of the overseer was to see that a sufficient amount of corn was grown for use on the plantation,<sup>42</sup> and on George Noble Jones plantation, El Destino in Florida, 523 acres were planted in corn and 545 acres in cotton.<sup>43</sup> There was a steady increase in the number of acres planted in corn at Ossabaw and a corresponding increase in the number of bushels sent to market. In 1859, 89 acres were planted in corn, and 1,250 bushels were produced. In 1860 the acreage was increased to 99, and in 1861 to 103½.

<sup>36</sup> John Jarrell to George Kollock, Ossabaw, July 8, 1859.

<sup>37</sup> Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, p. 87.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> These books are listed in the Plantation Record Book, 1860.

<sup>40</sup> Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 220-224.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States*, I, 246.

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 236.

<sup>43</sup> Phillips and Glunt, eds., *Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 337-338.

The minor crops at both Rosedew and Ossabaw consisted of potatoes, peas, oranges, rice, and sugar cane. Potatoes and peas were grown almost entirely for use on the plantation. In 1860 nine acres were planted in potatoes, and in 1861, eight acres. Occasionally potatoes were sent to the market in Savannah. Oranges were raised at both Rosedew and Ossabaw, but only about eighteen dozen were sent to Savannah each year. As early as 1840 Kollock planted rice at Rosedew. The number of acres in rice was increased during the first years on Ossabaw, but no rice was planted after 1859. The island, because of the lack of fresh water, was less favorable to the production of rice than the mainland,<sup>44</sup> and rising prices for cotton made that crop more profitable in the late fifties. Sugar cane was grown in small quantities and used to make molasses for food on the plantation.

Both plantations were supplied with meat from cows and hogs raised on the place. In 1845 Kollock raised enough meat to supply his own need and to ship some to the market in Savannah. The overseer reported that in 1846 he killed and cured 1,340 pounds of bacon. In 1848 forty-six hogs were killed, from which Kollock realized 2,491 pounds of pork. This article, as well as corn, was an important part of the slaves' food and was raised for use on the plantation rather than for the market.

The crop was sent from Rosedew to Savannah, a distance of about twenty miles by wagon, and supplies returned in the same way. From Ossabaw the crops were sent to market by boat. Robert Habersham, Kollock's factor in Savannah, often sent a boat to transport the crop to the Savannah market. At other times the crop was entrusted to one of the ships plying the coast for the purpose of delivering the crops of island plantations to the wharves in Savannah. In February, 1858, Gieger put a consignment on board one of these vessels, and obtained a signed statement from the captain as follows:

Received on board the sloop Liberty of which I am master, in good order and condition 21 bags of cotton marked O. K. bearing the numbers one to 21. Also one balance scale which I promise to deliver in

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<sup>44</sup> Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, pp. 115-118.

the same good order and condition to R. Habersham & Son of Savannah they paying customary rate, the danger of navigation only excepted.

James Barrett.<sup>45</sup>

Kollock, like most planters,<sup>46</sup> utilized the factorage system for the sale of his crop and for buying supplies. The crop was sold through Robert Habersham and Sons in Savannah,<sup>47</sup> and the overseers sent to them throughout the year for the supplies they needed. Supplies bought were balanced against the value of the crop, and credit was extended when necessary. Robert Habersham was a personal friend of Kollock as well as his factor. He made trips to Ossabaw for holidays, and made tours of inspection for Kollock during the latter's frequent absences. This intimate relationship between planter and factor was not unusual in the Old South.<sup>48</sup>

The number of slaves employed on Kollock's plantation gradually increased during the twenty-four year period. In 1837 he started planting with twenty-three Negroes whom he purchased and five whom he hired. He, however, hired slaves for only two years. His disciplinary trouble during those years came principally from the hired Negroes. Of the ten whippings recorded, six were given to the hired Negroes; and both Doll and Hannah, hired women, frequently returned to their master, Patrick Houstoun, when they were corrected by the overseer. Kollock found it more satisfactory not to have Negroes belonging to other planters employed at Rosedew and Ossabaw. By 1847 his slave force had grown to fifty-five, by 1857 to sixty-one, and by 1861 to seventy-two. This gave the plantation a working force of thirty-three and one-half hands in 1857 and thirty-four and one-half hands in 1861. Throughout the entire period the record books note only eleven Negroes bought and five sold.<sup>49</sup> Of the sixty-six children born, twenty-six died.<sup>50</sup> Thus the greater

<sup>45</sup> This statement was copied in the Plantation Record Book, 1853.

<sup>46</sup> Stone, Alfred H., "Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *American Historical Review*, XX (1914-15), 557-565.

<sup>47</sup> Habersham was also factor for Charles Manigault and Alexander Telfair. Phillips, U. B., ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, I, 123.

<sup>48</sup> Stone, "The Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *American Historical Review*, XX (1914-15), 559.

<sup>49</sup> This number is doubtless incomplete, since buying and selling of slaves would be done by Kollock, and no accurate account kept by the overseer.

<sup>50</sup> It is probable that the overseer did not record *all* births and deaths, and there would be no record of births and deaths of the slaves at Retreat.

part of the increase of the slaves was by birth.<sup>51</sup> Kollock probably bought more than eleven Negroes, and probably sold more than five, but his buying and selling of slaves was insignificant. The slave personnel remained much the same during the twenty-four years except for the changes caused by births and deaths. Beck was the most prolific of the women. In fourteen years she gave birth to seven children, all of whom died except one. Of the twenty-six children who died between 1837 and 1861, few lived more than a week, although several times the overseers noted deaths of older children from lockjaw. Gieger in 1853 blamed the high per cent of infant mortality on the midwife,<sup>52</sup> who was probably a Negro serving in that capacity for the entire island.<sup>53</sup> Whether the cause was an inefficient midwife, lack of pre-natal care of the women, or carelessness of the children's health after birth, Kollock must have taken steps to remedy this condition, since the deaths decreased noticeably in the later years of the period. In 1837 two babies were born and both died and in 1843 four were born and all four died. But in 1860 of six babies born only one died.

The health of the Negroes was an essential factor in the success of any plantation. Illness meant loss of time from work, and death meant loss of invested capital. The duty of caring for the sick usually fell to the mistress of the plantation and was one of her most frequent and burdensome tasks.<sup>54</sup> Since the Kollocks were not resident at either Rosedew or Ossabaw, the overseer was responsible for the care of the sick on these plantations. He was given a medical book and a supply of medicines such as laudanum, quinine, rhubarb, calomel, magnesia, castor oil, turpentine, and adhesive plaster.<sup>55</sup> With the aid of the medical book and the medicines he treated the minor ills of the slaves, but the serious cases were cared for by Kollock's

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<sup>51</sup> Number of slaves in 1837—	23
Slaves bought .....	11
Children born (lived) .....	40
Total .....	74
Slaves Sold .....	5
Grown slaves died.....	14
Total .....	19

<sup>52</sup> C. Gieger to George Kollock, October 24, 1853.

<sup>53</sup> Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, I, 127.

<sup>54</sup> Stephenson, "A Quarter Century of a Mississippi Plantation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (1936), 371.

<sup>55</sup> Plantation Record Book, 1855.

brother, Dr. Miller Kollock of Savannah. Arrangement for the care of the sick on Southern plantations varied. Some plantations had a hospital or infirmary, while on others the sick slaves were cared for in their own quarters. Some planters hired doctors by the year to make weekly visits of inspection; others called a doctor for special cases only.<sup>56</sup> Dr. Miller Kollock made occasional visits to both Rosedew and Ossabaw for the purpose of inspecting the health of the Negroes. At other times all cases with which the overseer was unable to cope were sent to Savannah for Dr. Kollock's treatment. One or more of the Negroes was almost continually in Savannah for treatment. In September, 1857, Beck suffered a sunstroke, and was sent to Dr. Kollock.<sup>57</sup> In 1858 Fanny was sent to town with a sprained shoulder.<sup>58</sup> In 1856 Uriah sprained her ankle, and remained in Savannah for one month.<sup>59</sup> When the overseer was unable to distinguish between actual sickness and malingering on the part of the slaves they were sent to Savannah and Dr. Kollock diagnosed their cases. In June, 1856, Hazel, the overseer at that time, wrote Kollock that York was complaining of his hand, and since he felt that the Negro was making the most of it, he would send him to town in order that Dr. Kollock might look at the hand.<sup>60</sup>

There was scarcely a day when one or more of the Negroes was not away from work because of illness. The work days lost per month ranged from twenty-four to one hundred and eighty-five over the twenty-four year period. The greater per cent of the illness came in the late summer and fall, and was caused largely by fever. In October, 1858, Jarrell wrote Kollock that he and all the Negroes were sick with fever.<sup>61</sup> In spite of frequent illnesses and considerable loss of time, the health of Kollock's slaves was better than that of those on the neighboring plantations. Dr. Kollock's care was probably more effective than that of a physician who had no direct personal interest in the slaves would have been. There were only fourteen deaths, other than those of infants who died shortly after birth, and

<sup>56</sup> Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, p. 165; Coulter, "A Century of a Georgia Plantation," *Agricultural History*, III (1929), 154.

<sup>57</sup> John Jarrell to G. J. Kollock, September 27, 1857.

<sup>58</sup> Same to same, October 23, 1858.

<sup>59</sup> Same to same, November 1, 1856.

<sup>60</sup> W. Hazel to G. J. Kollock, June 21, 1856.

<sup>61</sup> John Jarrell to G. J. Kollock, October 15, 1858.

these resulted largely from old age. There was one accidental death when Joe was drowned.

The health of the Negroes was largely dependent on their food. At both Rosedew and Ossabaw a food allowance was given to the slaves once a week. This allowance varied with the season and with the amount of work being done, and was supplemented by fish, vegetables, and molasses. The Negroes on the Kollock place were given a plot of ground on which they raised such products as they wished. The practice of giving gardens to slaves for their own use was almost universal on Georgia plantations.<sup>62</sup> Most of the Negroes raised vegetables and poultry, and these products supplemented the regular allowance. When the hands went to the fields at sunrise, they took their pots and provisions with them, and at twelve o'clock prepared and ate their meal in the field. For this purpose they were given one hour in winter and two hours in summer. Both the morning and evening meals were prepared and eaten in the cabins. Either this method of feeding the Negroes or that of having a central kitchen from which all of them were fed was generally used on Southern plantations.<sup>63</sup>

Kollock purchased clothing for the slaves twice each year, usually in April and November.<sup>64</sup> A heavy cotton cloth ranging in price from ten to twenty-five cents a yard was given to the men for shirts and trousers, and calico was given to the women and children for dresses. Thread and needles were supplied, and the women who could sew made the clothes as a part of the regular day's work. Clothing was supplied for each child at the time of its birth. Shoes, supplied to each Negro once a year, ranged in price from eighty cents to one dollar and thirty-five cents. In addition blankets were given about once every three years. They cost from one dollar and thirty-five cents to two dollars each. Flannel for extra clothing was given to those who for any reason especially needed it. On the Kollock plantation, as on almost all plantations,<sup>65</sup> the Negroes used as house servants were indulged to a greater extent than those who worked in

<sup>62</sup> Starnes, Ebenezer, *The Slave Holder Abroad*, pp. 498-499.

<sup>63</sup> Olmsted, F. L., *The Cotton Kingdom*, I, 243.

<sup>64</sup> From 1846 to 1861 Kollock kept a clothing book in which he recorded the cloth given to the Negroes by names and amounts allowed to each, and in which he also listed shoes and blankets under the dates on which they were given to the slaves.

<sup>65</sup> Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, p. 160.

the fields. They were supplied with shoes whenever needed, and were given flannel and other extra clothing more often. The Negroes chosen for house work were those who showed the greatest intelligence and they performed the duties of maids, butlers, cooks, and personal servants. On the large plantations they held positions superior to that of the field hands, who had little or no contact with the white family.<sup>66</sup>

Through the twenty-four year period the discipline of the Negroes remained a major problem. The contentment of the hands was as necessary to the success of the plantation as was their health. An overseer who could not control the Negroes and who could not obtain the greatest amount of work from them, was unable to produce a maximum crop. Kollock wrote rules for the treatment and care of his Negroes in the plantation record book for 1840. They are as follows:

- 1 No Negro on my plantation is to receive more than ten lashes unless I am present.
- 2 Every hand shall be in the field by sunrise unless sufficient excuse is given to be judged of by the overseer.
- 3 Every hand shall bring his or her provisions and pot into the field in the morning and at twelve o'clock all shall knock off work to eat. They shall have from 12 to 2 in summer and from 12 to 1 o'clock in winter at their meals.

In 1842 the number of lashes permitted was increased to twenty, and a rule requiring the overseer to inspect the tools of each hand once every three months was added. The Negroes were whipped for failure to complete a task or for disobeying instructions in other ways. Whipping and the denial of the privilege of going to town were the only punishments used. The Negroes sometimes protested against mistreatment by running away from the plantation. Usually they remained away only a few days, but there were times when they would be gone for weeks. Little attempt was made to hunt for the runaways. They were usually allowed to return when they saw fit, but other slaves were sent to hunt for those who had run away twice. Doubtless more time was lost from work by having the hands away looking for those who were absent than would have been lost by letting the latter remain away. Occasionally the over-

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<sup>66</sup> Lovell, Caroline Cooper, *The Golden Isles of Georgia*, p. 192.

seer himself went in search of those who had left the plantation.

The Negroes were not allowed to leave the plantation without permission. Such permission, however, was given freely, and the Negroes visited on other plantations or in Savannah. In Savannah they were subject to police control. On April 5, 1847, one of the Kollock Negroes was arrested in Savannah and put in the guard house. Consequently he did not return to the plantation until noon the following Monday. The slaves were given a holiday each Sunday and three days at Christmas. When December 25 came on Sunday, four days were given. Some of the Negroes were allowed to go to Savannah for these holidays. Fourteen went each year from 1855 to 1858.

The slaves on the Kollock plantation were subject to less discipline than were the slaves on many Southern plantations. Much more rigid rules were observed on Joseph A. S. Acklen's plantation in Louisiana and on James Hammond's plantation in South Carolina.<sup>67</sup> Alexander Telfair, whose plantation was near Savannah, allowed his overseer to inflict fifty lashes for offences.<sup>68</sup> Kollock appears almost lax in his lack of rules regarding the visiting of the slaves. Both Telfair and J. W. Fowler of Mississippi used an elaborate system of signed tickets for Negroes leaving the plantation and for those visiting on the plantation.<sup>69</sup>

The work on Rosedew and Ossabaw plantations was carried on, as was true of Coffee Bluff, by the task system. A portion of a field would be assigned to each Negro, with the sizes of the portion depending on the type of work and on the strength of the Negro. In 1848 seventy-six acres of cotton were planted by twenty-seven hands in three days. In 1856 twenty-four hands hoed fifty-eight acres of cotton in one day; this, however, was not the first hoeing. In 1861, when the overseer was fertilizing the fields, hauling two cart loads of manure made one task, and the hands were doing three tasks a day. During the cotton-picking season the work was measured by the number of pounds picked. At both Rosedew and Ossabaw the hands averaged forty pounds a day. This was a low average compared with the Peach

<sup>67</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 262.

<sup>68</sup> Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, I, 126.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-126.

Point plantation in Texas, where the slaves picked from sixty-three to three hundred and nineteen pounds per day.<sup>70</sup> At Ossabaw Billy picked 1,908 pounds and Big Jim 1,818 pounds of cotton in one season, while on the Chemoine plantation in Florida the hands picked from 3,797 to 10,190 pounds each in one season.<sup>71</sup> Those Negroes not engaged in planting, hoeing, picking, or ginning the crop were used to clear new lands, work on the roads, sew, repair the buildings, and perform other necessary labor. The work to which the Negroes had been assigned for the day began at sunrise and was continued after noon until the appointed task was finished. The remainder of the day was allowed to each Negro for his own work or play. It was during this time that the Negroes worked their gardens. Kollock bought from the slaves such products as they wished to sell. Fodder was often purchased from them, and the number of pounds offered by each Negro was noted and he was paid accordingly. In 1848 the largest account was gathered by Davy who had 230 pounds and the next largest by Christmas who had 160 pounds. Kollock also purchased poultry and eggs from the Negroes. In 1858 Jarrell sent supplies to Savannah by boat, among which were twenty-two chickens and one dozen eggs, which Elize, Andrew, and Christmas were sending to Mrs. Kollock.<sup>72</sup>

Some of Kollock's Negroes were skilled laborers. Jack and Billy were carpenters. Jack was sent to Woodlands, when the house there was under construction, to work with the hired carpenters; and Billy was hired in 1846, together with Andrew, Harry, March, Little Jim, July, and Mingo, to work at Sible's Brick Yard. In the same year Kollock hired Phillis to J. E. Mauley. Tom was sent to Savannah to learn a trade where he remained for several years. Apprenticing slaves to learn a trade was not an uncommon practice in the Old South. Negroes who showed ability were often trained as domestic servants or as artisans and hired out.<sup>73</sup> On the Kollock place, however, hiring Negroes out to work was the exception rather than the rule.

<sup>70</sup> Curlee, Abigail, "History of a Texas Slave Plantation," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1926), 116.

<sup>71</sup> Phillips and Glunt, *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 540.

<sup>72</sup> John Jarrell to George Kollock, July 30, 1858.

<sup>73</sup> Flanders, "Farish Carter, A Forgotten Man of the Old South," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XV (1931), 156.

Kollock's planting enterprises came to an end with the Civil War. He had steadily increased his land and the number of his slaves during the period from 1837 to 1860. He had moved his business to richer land on Ossabaw Island, and had acquired a considerable and valuable piece of property in north Georgia. There were years when the plantation could not have paid because of short crops and low cotton prices, but the credit system, functioning through Robert Habersham in Savannah, made it possible for Kollock to carry over until favorable years when sea island cotton sold at profitable prices.

In 1863 Kollock abandoned Retreat and moved into Savannah. From there he planted Ossabaw Plantation, to which he rowed each day. Because of the difficulty of getting laborers, and because his health was broken by malaria, Kollock finally gave up the plantation and moved his residence to Woodlands, where he lived until his death in 1894. Ossabaw was sold, and Retreat was transferred to Kollock's eldest daughter, Augusta, who kept the land until about 1876 when it, too, was sold.

# WILLIAM MACLEAN'S TRAVEL JOURNAL FROM LINCOLNTON, NORTH CAROLINA, TO NASH- VILLE, TENNESSEE, MAY-JUNE, 1811

Edited by ALICE BARNWELL KEITH

William Maclean, Sr. (1756-1825), Surgeon's Mate, First North Carolina Regiment, 1779-1781, was a prominent physician and surgeon during the formative years of the state of North Carolina. Although listed merely as a surgeon and physician in Revolutionary service,<sup>1</sup> it was said that he was "the dread of both foreign and *domestic* enemies" and was reckoned among prominent and staunch Whigs of the war period.<sup>2</sup> He was present at the defeat of Ferguson in the fighting around Charlotte, and his opinion concerning this event was referred to on more than one occasion.

After the Revolution he resided in Lincoln County, which he represented in the house of commons in the sessions of 1778, 1789, 1790, and 1791, and in the senate in 1814.<sup>3</sup> He was also a member of the state convention of 1789 and in this capacity voted for ratification of the Federal Constitution. He voted against a second convention and against a bill submitting amendments for the Constitution. Maclean's work as a statesman is difficult to trace because of the carelessness of the clerks in writing his name, which he spelled "Maclean" but which occurs as "Maclaine" in the records of the session of 1788, "McLean" in 1789, and as "M'Laine" in 1790. His identity is further obscured by the fact that Archibald Maclaine was a member of the same assembly for a portion of the time and that in some instances the surname alone is used.<sup>4</sup>

William Maclean was apparently a useful member of the house of commons. He was faithful in attendance on sessions; served on important finance committees, both as chairman of

<sup>1</sup> "Will Polk to Gen'l. Davie," November 3, 1788, William R. Davie Papers, 1778-1817. Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh. (Hereafter referred to as N. C. H. C.)

<sup>2</sup> *Raleigh Register*, November 25, 1828.

<sup>3</sup> "William Maclean to Mrs. Mary D. Maclean," December 17, 1814, Robert L. Adams Collection. N. C. H. C.; *Manual of North Carolina*, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Unless otherwise stated information has been obtained from the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* and the *State Records of North Carolina*.

the committee from the house of commons and as a member of a joint committee of the two houses; was a spokesman for the western counties and consistently opposed bills designed to fix a permanent capital (which would have been in the interest of the section farther east); was chosen to direct the balloting in the house on numerous occasions; voted against letting lie over until the following assembly a bill for granting a loan to the University of North Carolina; and showed a marked interest in promoting navigation in North Carolina.

His correspondence shows that he was intelligent and well informed, as well as endowed with an affectionate and friendly nature.<sup>5</sup> He continued the practice of medicine after the Revolution and acquired an "enviable reputation" for being "skilful and assiduous" in his profession.<sup>6</sup> He was not without recognition in his own county. His name appears in the list of justices and militia officers, 1782-1806,<sup>7</sup> and under field officers in the list of justices of the peace, 1800-1810.<sup>8</sup>

The original of Maclean's journal is found in the Robert L. Adams Collection, in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh. It presents an interesting day-to-day narrative of his journey on horseback from Lincolnton, North Carolina, to Nashville, Tennessee. There is a meticulous account of the expenses for himself and for his horse; and there are descriptive bits about the inns, the people, and his own experiences on the way, with occasional observations on the health of the populace. The great number of former acquaintances and relatives of acquaintances whom he lists bears testimony to the large emigration of Tar Heels to Tennessee.

Maclean was at this time fifty-five years old.<sup>9</sup> His journey to Tennessee was in connection with his land interests. He supervised the re-survey of his tract of 2,560 acres on Buzzard Creek in Robertson County and found there the trees which he had marked with his own initials when on a visit to the same spot fourteen years earlier.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See his personal correspondence (very few letters) in the Robert L. Adams Collection. N. C. H. C.

<sup>6</sup> *Raleigh Register*, November 15, 1828.

<sup>7</sup> List of Justices and Militia Officers, 1782-1806. N. C. H. C.

<sup>8</sup> List of Justices of the Peace, 1800-1810. N. C. H. C.

<sup>9</sup> *Raleigh Register*, November 15, 1828.

<sup>10</sup> Recorded in the notebook with his journal.

Journal to Tennessee May 12<sup>th</sup> 1811

This day left home & proceeded to Lincolnton – Out fit at this place

One Hat from M <sup>r</sup> . Shewford	\$6,00
Two pair stockings from Hosk	3,00
One p <sup>r</sup> . Ditto Ditto - - - - -	1,62½
One pair saddle bags from Rams <sup>r</sup> . - - - - -	5,00
One Bridle from Ditto - - - - -	4,00
Lodging for self & son Schenks - - - - -	0.75
One hat for son Sp <sup>r</sup> . - - - - -	1 50

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\$21.87½

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> At 8 O'clock proceeded from Lincoln by the Ferry<sup>11</sup> near this place to Maj<sup>r</sup>. Hendersons who advised me from the Morganton road to that which leads through Whitesides settlement, – from Hendersons to Jn<sup>o</sup> Hoyle sen<sup>r</sup>.

18 miles Dinner & horse feeding here \$0 25

From this to Adam Mewneys 10 miles

Supper lodging & horse - - - - - \$0 37½

Tuesday from thence to Jn<sup>o</sup>. Armstrongs on Muddy Creek Horse fed – nothing, the distance was 18 miles –

From this to M<sup>r</sup>. Burguins, head of Catabaw 12 miles horsed feeding – \$0,12½

From this to the top of the Blue ridge the new way 7¼ miles – good road considering the ground on which it lies – From the top of the ridge to Daltons, Dinsmores old place 3 miles – – – Supper lodging & horse – – \$0,37½

Wednesday – From this to Maj<sup>r</sup>. David Jones 8 miles Breakfasted here & fed my horse From this to Asheville 10 Miles – Arrived at Maj<sup>r</sup>. Erwins in this place 11 O'clock found M<sup>r</sup> Henry<sup>12</sup> & agreed to set out in Co. tomorrow Morning

Expense Here

Self & Horse 24 hours - - - - - \$1,00

1 Sursingle - - - - - 1.00

Thursday half after seven O'clock set out From this to M<sup>r</sup>. Roberts 20 Miles

Dinner & horsefeeding here - - - - - \$0.62½

From this to Barnells Station 1½ Miles Turnpike expense paid here \$,25<sup>ts</sup> from this to the Warm Springs 12 Miles Supper Lodging & Horse feeding \$1,25

Friday from this to the ferry 1½ Miles two ferriages here - \$0.12½

from this to Hollands ferry 13 Miles expense here - - - - \$0 12½

<sup>11</sup> Probably across South Fork, a branch of the Catawba River.

<sup>12</sup> Probably Patrick Henry of Virginia, who was greatly interested in Western lands.

From this to Mr. Walls on Long Creek 3 Miles - Horsefeeding & Breakfast - \$0 50

From this to Fines ferry on French Broad 9 miles this ferry is opposite to Newport the Village of Coke County ferriage 12½ Cents from this to Mr Garrets one Mile on Big Pidgeon where there is a Cotton Baging Manufactory erecting with Machinery for breaking hemp - This is fixed with a spring pole to the Break & worked like the gate of a saw mill. Here I met with Co<sup>l</sup>. Thomas Grey an old quaintance who informed me he was seventy years old - Is yet firm, Active & full of Vivacity From thence we were piloted two miles by a Mr *Hoskins* whos name is tatoood on his arm he is a blacksmith, five Miles to Mr. Mc-Clenahans we arrived here at nine oclock We forded big Pidgeon which is about 150 yards Wide or so near as I could estimate, it is as wide as S<sup>o</sup>. Fork of Catawba over at Armstrongs ford Supper, Horse feeding & lodging \$0.50

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup>. From this we proceeded early to Lownes Ferry upon French broad 8 miles road good the River here said to be 200 Yards wide & 20 feet deep at common water, it runs with an easy current & is furnished with a good ferry boat - At Lownes Breakfast horse feeding & ferriage \$056½ Cents From this to Dandridge 5¼ miles People flocking in to this place to here sermon - The Sacrament of the supper to be administered here tomorrow by Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr Anderson Dandridge is the County town of Jefferson county - Road good from Lownes ferry to this place & shorter than the way by Seahorns ferry which is the way commonly traveled - Seahorns ferry 5 miles above Lownes Nollachuckey River empties into F B [French Broad] above Seahorns a little way

At Dandridge we fell in Company with Matthew Burjess of York District S<sup>o</sup> Carolina going into West Tennessee From this place to Thompsons ten miles - good road - Land gravelly & poor generally - Limestone water -

Fodder for our horses here & Oats \$0.25 Cents

From this to Cuningham 10 miles Poor land generally road good there we stayed till Sunday afternoon Mr. Cunningham is a sober religious sensible man Conversation on Politics Religion & natural Philosophy - Expence here \$1,50 and paid by me from this to the ferry at the mouth of Holstein 11 miles ferriage 6 pence Virginia money paid by me - From thence to Knoxville 5 miles. Here we put in at James Parks - A good house but dear - Expense paid by Henry \$3.25 From this to Campbels Station 15 miles here we tarried all night being Monday the 20<sup>th</sup>. Expence here \$1.25 Cents the one Dollar paid by me From thence to Kingston 25 Miles the last ten miles Very hilly. In the Town we put up at the house of Isaac Swan - A full

cousin of Joseph Swans on Steel Creek - Horses fed with oats & fodder Dinner & Cyder to drink Cost \$0.75 paid by me - Horses saddled at 3, o'clock. Stopped by two or three showers of Rain - Here wrote a letter for home & put into the Post Office Postage 20 C<sup>ts</sup>.

From thence to Walkers a quarter of a mile above the Postoaks springs seven miles from Clinch - good soil scrubby Post oak timber - No fodder here - Corn supper & lodging \$1,00 paid by me Here we turn off the main road for the Squatchee Valley

Ferriage on Clinch River 25 Cents this paid by me also -

From Walkers to M<sup>r</sup>. Majors 12 miles this road chiefly up a valley, some spots of good land & timber - from Walkers to Whites Creek 10 miles this Creek about the size of Crowders Creek Very clear & rapid - from the fording on this Creek the road leads up the southern fork one mile until it falls in on what is called the Georgia road falls into a road that leads up into the Turnpike road that crosses Spencers Hill - From Majors to Wawsons ten miles one mile from this to the road forks, the left hand goes down into Hywassay & Fields Trace the right takes into Girtmans Trace Breakfast, & horses fed here at Majors with Timothy grass Cost 67½ Cents paid by me Seven miles to Piney River this River is about 4 poles<sup>13</sup> wide - Supposed to cross in the Crab orchard runs south & empties into Tennessee - At Wassoms good land - pretty large plantation Dutch people, appear to be cleanly M<sup>r</sup>. Majors abominably dirty - Corn for Horse cost 25 Cents - From this to the foot of the mountain 2 miles, the first bar of the mountain is called Wallands Ridge - From the foot of this Ridge to Maj<sup>r</sup>. Looneys 14 miles the assent to the top of this Ridge is pretty good - three places in the assent which is Deep but not Long - On the top of this ridge there is a most commanding view - The Smoky top Mountain presents itself at the distance of 40 miles - the country between looks like clover ground the road on top of the mountain level and good - the Desent on the west side very great & we estimated it at a mile long very Rocky - Extremely bad carriage way - at Maj<sup>r</sup>. Looneys we stopped for the night Corn for Horses supper and Lodging \$0.50 - - Henry Pd

May 22<sup>nd</sup>. From this to Doss,s at the feet of the Western Bar of the Cumberland mountain 8 miles Horsefeeding, breakfast - half a pint of Brandy \$075 Doss was formerly a waggoner at Fullenwidars - Here I saw Joseph Henderson brother to Samuel on Crowders Creek<sup>14</sup> - He lives near this place has no land - Lives with a Woman calld Blewit - It is nearly one mile from Doss,s to the top of the Mountain, which is very steep consists of three Branches not very

<sup>13</sup> A pole = 5½ yards or 5.029 m. Webster, *New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

<sup>14</sup> Crowders Creek is a branch of the Catawba River. It rises in the vicinity of Kings Mountain, North Carolina, and flows into the Catawba River on the South Carolina side.

Rockey, on the side of the Mountain we past a Waggon going up with 22 Children & many grown people - While we stoped with them they made one movement by which they advanced about six feet notwithstanding their load was light & their wagon also, - Horses light & but three of them - Mountain 22 miles accross, a good deal broken - Many mirey branches timber low & some places very scarce - Western side pretty well covered with Chesnut timber The dessent on this side is steep but not very rough & I think few better from the Mountain Near to the foot of the Mountain lives a M<sup>r</sup>. Crane on a south branch of the Caney Fork River, Horses fed here cost 12½ Cents. From this the road crosses this branch of Caney Fork - To Jo<sup>s</sup>. Smith Esq<sup>r</sup> 5 miles - Horses supper & lodging \$1.00. This Jo<sup>s</sup>. Smith is a son of Jo<sup>s</sup>. Smith the saddler on Allison's Creek - long since dead, & Nephew of Matthew Smith the waggon maker - s<sup>d</sup>. [said] Jo<sup>s</sup>. now works at little wheel making - Matthew Smith lives in the big bent<sup>15</sup> of Tennessee - on Indian territory - Is now driven off by the federal troops - Jo<sup>s</sup>. Smith has good land but much injured by limestone sinks—He expects a suit for his land - It is claimed by Clark - *Speculator* From this to Enock Jobs 12 miles road hilly & part of it barren other parts very good Horse fed here Cost 25 Cents - May 23<sup>d</sup>. at noon -

Parted with M<sup>r</sup>. Henry half a mile from Jobs - he took the Elk River road & I the Nashville road - From this to Rockey River 6 miles, this River about as wide as the south fork of Catawba Runs N. East & falls into Caney fork - from there to Adam Teddles on Mountain Creek 5 Miles good road passes by a M<sup>r</sup> Byers who moved from Rutherford County N. C. Mountain Creek falls into Collins River - Much Barren land on each side of Rockey River - Mountain Creek somewhat larger than little Catawba creek - From Teddles set out late in the evening - 4 miles to Thompson Newbys He owns a mill - Miserable lodging - this night slept on slab boards & under a dirty Coverlet - nothing but Corn for my horse & Bacon & eggs for supper - Cost 25 cents From here set out early - The road leads through a remarkable barren no houses for 5 or 6 miles - Falls in upon the head of Stones River At the head of this River is a considerable Ridge On the West side of this Ridge I met with David Moore long since of Bethel - Carrying whiskey over into White County - lives near Gen<sup>l</sup>. Dickson - Could not ascend the Hill with his Waggon without unloading - The road leads down a branch of Stones River - Here sugar trees are plenty & several sugar Camps - passes by Esq<sup>r</sup>. Cummins on to Maj<sup>r</sup>. Taylors, near Moores Mill - Here breakfasted - No coffee - other materials for breakfast very good - plenty of Corn & fodder - Cost 37½ Cents Here much discourse on Politics - From this to Reedys Mill six miles thought them very long - a muster here - Reedy a genteel man. In-

<sup>15</sup> The "big bent" was the name given to the big bend of the Tennessee River. The Muscle Shoals area.

forms me that it is 12 miles to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Dicksons - 3 o'clock Saturday evening - Moved on briskley - Road Rocky - Turned out of the Nashville road at the Big Spring M<sup>r</sup> Sharpes within a mile & half of Dicksons. Arrived at Dicksons a little before sunsetting - Dickson well settled land tolerable - House 28 by 22 logs post oak - Two stone Chimneys four fireplaces - 3 Rooms below two above - Under floor white ash - the rest of the work inside of popular - stairs in the Piazza this 2 story & open above as well as below - Here I met with M<sup>rs</sup>. Smith, her Daughter Matilda - Her son Thomas & his Wife - Rested here on Sunday - Monday morning set out for Co<sup>l</sup>. James Hendersons - Gen<sup>l</sup>. Dickson goes with me - 8 miles to Hendersons Here meets with John Henderson a proposition to leave my horse with him & ride one of his - Upon being assured that he was gentle I acceded to the proposition - Took dinner with Co<sup>l</sup>. James - The exchange of my horse brought on delay for this day - M<sup>r</sup>. Greaves came on in the evening & invited me to breakfast with him next morning - this agreed to, go with John Henderson to spend the evening & advise in M<sup>rs</sup>. Hendersons case who now does, & long has enjoyed bad health - Tuesday morning From Jn<sup>o</sup>. Hendersons to James from this accompanied by Ja<sup>s</sup>. to M<sup>r</sup>. Greaves which is four miles land good some parts Rocky Breakfasted with M<sup>r</sup>. & M<sup>rs</sup>. Greaves From this I directed my course towards Richland Creek, Accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Greaves as a pilot 4 miles Also by a M<sup>r</sup>. Love & M<sup>r</sup>. McCurry - The former a Driver of Cattle - the latter a Merchant in Knoxville - On this course we proceeded 12 miles to a M<sup>r</sup> Biler Here I fed my horse & proceeded alone - could no acc<sup>t</sup>. of Miller proceeded to flat Creek 15 miles Lodged with a M<sup>rs</sup>. Ward - Good clean bed & comfortable entertainment - Cost 50 Cents - This a Private house - Here I concluded to go to Colombia It being court week in hopes of hearing of or seeing Miller - Distance 10 Miles - Arrived in Colombia 11 O'clock Wednesday - Put into Cheatham's Hotel - Immediately was addressed by a son of William Sharpes, as Major Holland - I informed him of his Mistake - He then introduced me as Maj<sup>r</sup>. Maclean - Went in quest of the Polk family & connections - Immediately found Sam<sup>l</sup> Polk. T. M. Neal, John Campbel & John Tate - Col. E. Polk on the Grand Jury - Tab on the Petty Jury - Sam<sup>l</sup>. Polk informs me of Miller living in Williamson County on the Head of Big Horpeth - soon had an opportunity of speaking to Col Polk Who invited me home with him as it was on my way to see Miller Dined in Colombia - 5 past noon set out with G. Polk for his house distance 7 or 8 Miles - Arrived at sanpling - Introduced to M<sup>rs</sup>. Polk who is young handsome & Agreeable - Polly not at home Sent for immediately, came - Very glad to see me - Thursday spent this day paying my respects to the Near Relations in company with Miss Polly - First to Sam<sup>l</sup>. Next to Williams - Next to M<sup>c</sup>.Neals where we dined, & spent the Evening at Jn<sup>o</sup> Campbels Prudy Nelson dined with us - Thurs-

day night again with Col Polk Friday Morning it was agreed that Polly should Accompany me to Carolina - From this I set out to Franklin put up at Boydes Here after some difficulty get directions to Millers 15 Miles From Franklin to Hardimons 9 or ten Miles - Here I was informed Miller had moved, but also informed particularly where he lived From this to Geo. Keynards 4 Miles The appearance of a threatenng cloud occasioned me to turn in for the night - Good lodging - Saturday Morning my horse so foundered he could scarcely be brought from the Stable - This gave me great uneaseness - Had him bled in the mouth - saddled - started on my way on leading him & M<sup>r</sup> Keynard driving him after - In passing over 50 or 60 poles with difficulty came to a stream of Water in this I let him stand some time & drink - then moved as well as I could but this was slow, altho some better than when I set out - A mile & half from Keynards to a Blacksmith shop where I had some thoughts of putting shoes on the fore feet It took me upwards of an hour to pass this distance - Walked all the way except about a quarter The exercise made him move better When I came to the shop had to call the Smith out of his corn field about 300 Yards. During this time the horse standing still stiffened so that he could scarcely move - Asked the opinion of the smith concerning the propriety of shewing - Who thought it was improper - soon found that this smith was William Price who formerly worked at Capt<sup>n</sup>. Brevards - He expressed great satisfaction in seeing me. Asked me to his house to take breakfast & would put my horse on a grass lot & cut some green oats for him to this I consented - Introduced to M<sup>rs</sup>. Price who is a Daughter of Jonathan Pott,s - Was exceedingly glad to see me & hastened to prepare Breakfast which when bro<sup>t</sup>. in was very good, & offered with so much good will that is an additional relish - M<sup>rs</sup>. Price is far advanced in Pregnancy & expects to lyin the last of July or first of Aug<sup>t</sup> - Has I think five Children - M<sup>r</sup> Price lives among the Nobs on the head waters of Big Haspeth Here he has purchased 60 Acres of land which affords him a private farm on hill sides - two or three little grass lots in the valley & plenty of Popplar wood to make coals of for his Smith Shop - His buildings are very small, but he informed me intended to build himself an house the ensuing fall & had a tree selected for the purpose This surprised me & made me ask if he meant to build an house out of one tree. He answered Yes, & that it was not uncommon in this Country to do so - Breakfast over & examined my horse found him no better & determined to move him as I thought nothing would be more beneficial for him than motion. M<sup>r</sup>. Price asked me to wait until he could finish a small job of smiths work in his Shop & he would go alongst with me - Two miles & half from here to Millars & the way leads past Rob<sup>t</sup>. Baggers, & Richard Browns - An hour after breakfast M<sup>r</sup> Price was ready & I again start on foot - Horse so lame we could scarcely get him over the Draw bars -

something more than a Mile to Browns, Beggar lives between Price & Brown - Not at home - Arrive at Browns & petition him for a boy to lead my horse about all the time I stay This was granted - they took him to a level & smoth piece of ground & kept him in Motion for three hours, in this time Mr. Brown had provided a large sassafras root which we tied to the bridle bit & put into his mouth - Price having left me here - Brown undertook to conduct me to Millers. Having fixed the sassafras root, We proceeded on foot. The Horse by this time was not so stiff as he had been but his feet very tender - We arrive at Millars - He not at home - His Mother very old, decent & sensible - Had the misfortune to get her leg broken last winter - Is yet a cripple walks with a staff - Her foot & leg swells every evening - she finds relief from the pain which the swelling produces by holding her foot & leg to the fire & rubing it gently - Mr. Brown so polite as to wait with me for company until Mr. Millars arrival in the evening - When Millar came he prepared a large handful of sunflower seed by beating it & mixing it with Corn Meal for my horse after this gave him Meal and Water to drink after this we let him grase until bedtime & then shut him up in stable with a little corn before him until morning - Conversed through the evening on the subject of the duplicate Warrant purchased of Esqr. Conner - small probability of geting it without a copy of a Grant issued to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Dickson which took the land - This Grant necessary to shew that the Grant & entry or location correspond Sunday Morning 2<sup>nd</sup>. of June. My horse better I conclude to move on slowly to Nashville or as near as the Ability of my horse would admit - Mr. Miller goes with me to Mr. Browns - From this Mr. Brown & Mr. Millar both accompany me - Mr. Millar two Miles & Mr Brown ten, which put me into a Main Leading road to Nashville - From this I proceeded alone my horse not stiff but very tender in his feet - About 3 in the afternoon I stoped at Mr. Nollens a public house - Horse fed 12½ Cents Here I found a Robert Wilson of the Rockey River Wilsons - He recollected me from the Wilmington campagne - He is a drinking man and his kindness were rather troublesome - In company with him was a Mr. Edmiston - son of old Mr. Edmiston at the head of Catawba - We agreed to ride together as they designed going into the neighbourhood of Nashville that night - We prepared our horses Wilson as the moment of departure approached visited the Bottle the oftener - Edmiston & I mount and proceed - Wilson lingered a little but soon overtook us & passed us by - He stoped at the next tavern which was only 3 or four miles from Nollens Here we found him drinking but refused to alight or wait for him - From this we proceeded until we came within 9 or 10 miles of Nashville When a heavy cloud arose & made us seek for shelter in the House of a Captain Williamson - This Williamson is now a candidate for a seat in the senate of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Assembly & has been a member for several years - His family

has been very sickly through the Winter - some deaths - particularly a Daughter grown to womans Years The disease is the Winter fever or Typhus Meteor of Dr. Cullen - The Physicians are said not to understand it - Dr. Crocket of Franklin his practice most approved of in this family. Medicine given by him chiefly was Sp<sup>l</sup>. Menderer<sup>16</sup> - Doct<sup>r</sup>. Robinson of Nashville had attended until the death of the Daughter above mentioned - For her he had advised the cold bath - Which brought on great misery & she died the following day - The Gen<sup>l</sup>. practice was to bleed Physic, & Blister freely -

The common opinion is that the Physicians have offered very little relief in any case & that the cold bath is pernicious

Doct<sup>r</sup>. Crocket of Franklin was thought by Mr. Williamson to have done less harm & perhaps more good by his method of healing the disease than any of the others - so far as I can learn the principle medicine administered by him was Sp<sup>t</sup>. Menderer<sup>16</sup> He did not approve of bleeding or Blistering much - Monday 27<sup>th</sup>. We proceeded Mr. Williamson along to Nashville 10 Miles - By the way passed several handsome platations [plantations] - The first of note is the property of Doct<sup>r</sup> Moore son in law to Judge Haywood a man tolerably well esteemed as a Physician he is not spoken of with great applause no [nor] decreed as being without knowledge - At present he is a candidate for the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Assembly in the house of Representatives - From Doct. Moore to Judge Haywoods half a mile - The judge lives in a two story building, the principle part of logs an addition at the end is of Brick - A handsome plantation & in a tolerable state of cultivation but the fertile genius of the owner is not manifest in the fields of husbandry. It is all expended in the Forum, where it is all necessary either in supporting that which is right, or in making that which is wrong appear to be right -

The public road leads by within an hundred yards of the Judges door Opposite to the House we halted for some of our Company who had fallen back to come up - During this delay the Judge came to us from an excursion through his plantation - It was with difficulty I knew him & he did not know me - He was clothed in homespun of a course texture - His body limbs and feet out of common human shape with fat - When he recognised me, he invited me to his house in a very friendly manner - This invitation I could not accept of on acc<sup>t</sup>. of the haste I was in & the backward state of my business - He then pressed me that I would give him a call before I left the country, this I promised to do conditionally that it would comport with my subsequent arrangements & business - From this the road leads by various platations & near to Doct<sup>r</sup>. Dicksons who lives on Mill Creek where W<sup>m</sup>. Caldwell formerly lived six miles from Nashville - On this road 3 mile

<sup>16</sup> Probably spirit of Mindererus, an aqueous solution of ammonium acetate formerly used as a diaphoretic (something to produce perspiration). Webster, *New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

from Nashville lives a M<sup>r</sup>. Ridley who lived on this same place 14 Years ago – The plantation is beautifull & in a high state of cultivation – Here the genius of husbandry shews herself & the large Apple & Peach orchards shew that the proprietor is not destitute of knowledge in Horticulture No particular observations from this to Nashville

Arrived in Nashville at noon put up in the house of M<sup>rs</sup>. Winn where W<sup>m</sup>. T. Lewis formerly lived – To this House I was recommended by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Dickson Very good accomodations. A great many people board here tarried until after dinner – had my horse shod on his fore feet price 75 Cents. Wrote a letter home Postage of the letter to Lincolnton 25 C<sup>ts</sup>. Dinner & Horse feeding 37½ Cents. Left Nashville at 3 o clock – proceeded down the River to a ferry 2 Miles below – the road is level & good – A quarter of a Mile from town it crosses over a very deep Gut, over which is a stone bridge The opposite bank of the river in general is a high bluff – In Nashville got directions to call at a M<sup>r</sup>. Hales for logging 8 miles from town – beyond this no good house, until I would arrive at Springfield – From Cumberland River to Whites Creek one Mile or a Mile & half – Near to the crossing place on this creek is a Mill which appears to do a good deal of work – The road leads up the Creek level – the soil in general good in many places very good – Passes in a mile or two passes a large Mill called Stumps Mill – This man very wealthy – Keeps a public house Here got fresh directions for Hales but unfortunately for my peace of Mind through the night I passed by the house one mile before I discovered my error – Stopped at a M<sup>r</sup>. Earthmans – He nor his Wife not at home but expected – a little boy only to manage the house – A drunken hireling, who working to pay for whiskey he had drunken was my only company for sometime – He pressed me to drink whiskey perhaps more with an expectation that he would get share with me than that I would be benefited soon in the evening he was joined by a M<sup>r</sup>. Davis who lived near, more wicked & Reprobate than himself – Davis came for a Gun to kill a man whom he called roundleg who had quarreled with him that evening – These men entertained me with many histories of Murders & Robberies that they had committed particularly of one 2 Miles from there, on the Springfield road at the house of a M<sup>r</sup>. Merryman where a man had lately been robbed of one hundred & eighty Doll<sup>s</sup>. These tales convinced me that I was in a bad part of the country, & the behaviour of my Companions induced me to think that they were not too good to be guilty of the like themselves

# REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF FEDERAL ARCHIVES IN NORTH CAROLINA, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1937\*

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The Survey of Federal Archives was officially established in North Carolina on February 13, 1936, when Works Progress Administration Form 330, Request for Project Approval, was approved by Works Progress Administration authorities. Prior to this, Dr. P. M. Hamer, National Director of the Survey of Federal Archives, had appointed Dr. C. C. Crittenden as regional director and Miss Mattie Erma Edwards as assistant regional director. The North Carolina Historical Commission furnished office space in its quarters on the second floor of the new State Administration Building in Raleigh, which became headquarters for the project.

The survey in North Carolina was organized on a state-wide basis, with requisitions, travel vouchers, pay rolls, and the like clearing through the Raleigh office. The actual surveying was conducted under the direction of district supervisors, who requisitioned and instructed workers, interviewed custodians, and handled other details.

The close cooperation which existed between the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey, of which Dr. Crittenden was state director, made it possible for the two projects to pool resources by setting up joint offices and employing one set of supervisors. By means of this arrangement a supervisor was placed in each of the eight Works Progress Administration districts in the state. Cooperation between the two projects was also advantageous in securing qualified workers, in adjusting worker quotas, and in handling other problems.

The week following the official approval of the project was spent in selecting district supervisors and in assembling information concerning the location of federal agencies in the state. It was not until February 20, therefore, that the first workers were assigned to the project. On this day four workers were employed. Others were added a few days later and employment increased steadily until April, 1936, when one hundred and eight persons were on the pay roll. From this point there was a gradual decrease in employment until October 15, 1936, when only fifteen were employed. At that time the preliminary survey

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\* The Survey of Federal Archives was conducted as a nation-wide Works Progress Administration project, under the direction of Dr. P. M. Hamer, from its inception early in 1936 through June, 1937. After that date the work in some states was taken over by the Historical Records Survey, another nation-wide Works Progress Administration project, while in other states it was continued on a local basis. In North Carolina a local project, set up in July, 1937, under the direction of Miss Emily H. Bridgers, is still in progress.

Miss Edwards's report, here reproduced with minor changes, will be of interest in that it explains in detail the procedure and results of the survey, while still a nation-wide project, in one of the forty-eight states. Editor's note.

as described in the original instructions was practically completed, and it was expected that within a few weeks the project would be closed in North Carolina. A few days later, however, instructions were received to undertake the compilation of a *Descriptive Inventory of Federal Archives in the State of North Carolina*, and consequently the staff was increased to twenty, at which figure it remained until the project was closed. From the opening of the project on February 13, 1936, until its close on June 30, 1937, a total of 77,675 man hours of work were used at a cost of \$40,866.71.

District supervisors for the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey were Mr. J. R. Raper, Mr. Clifford E. Smith, Mrs. G. L. Clendenin, Mr. Paul M. Michael, Mrs. Betsey London Cordon, Mr. C. F. Crutchfield, Miss Kathleen Craven, and Mrs. J. Dale Stentz. Local supervisor for the Survey of Federal Archives was Miss Mary E. Wasner. Of the nine supervisors, all but one had had college training, and five were college graduates. Three had held administrative positions with former relief agencies. Although none of the supervisors had had archival training or special training in history or government, they quickly grasped the specific problems and technique of the survey.

The problem of securing qualified workers was always a serious one, as the available persons had had little or no training fitting them for surveying archives. A few of those employed on the project were college graduates; others had had one, two, or three years of college training, but had not graduated; and still others had had business courses or training in nursing. The majority, however, had completed only high school courses, and there were some who lacked even this formal education. The ability and training possessed by the workers on the survey, was somewhat greater than that of the average person on Works Progress Administration projects, since the survey was granted special permission to employ twenty-five per cent of the personnel from outside the lists of persons certified for work relief.

Relations with Works Progress Administration were conducted through the Division of Women's and Professional Projects. Mrs. May E. Campbell, state director of Women's and Professional Projects, gave assistance in preparing preliminary plans for the organization of the project and in solving problems which arose during its operation. District supervisors of the survey also obtained advice and assistance from district directors of Women's and Professional Projects. On the whole, Works Progress Administration officials in both district and state offices showed a friendly attitude and their assistance contributed materially to the success of the survey.

There were, however, certain disadvantages resulting from the fact that the survey was made as a Works Progress Administration project. Frequent changes in regulations interfered materially with the work.

Although Works Progress Administration granted exemptions from certain regulations which would have paralyzed the project, the constant shifting of rules necessitated corresponding readjustments and reorganizations, made it impossible to develop and maintain a smoothly functioning organization, and caused an undue proportion of time to be devoted to administrative problems.

Another disadvantage was the lack of certainty as to how long the project would continue and how much money would be allotted to it. At the time the survey was organized, its continuance after June 30, 1936, was uncertain. Consequently it was necessary to get the work under way as quickly as possible and to complete at least a preliminary survey before that date. The lack of time in which to make preliminary plans and the necessity for getting the work begun immediately all over the state caused a nervous haste and lack of coordination. When it became apparent that the survey would be prolonged after June 30, 1936, and that the *Descriptive Inventory* would be prepared, it was possible to correct some of these defects. During the latter part of 1936 and the first half of 1937 a smoothly working organization was developed, which probably could have completed the work, including the *Descriptive Inventory*, by September 30, 1937. The termination of the Survey of Federal Archives on June 30, 1937, however, prevented the completion of its program. But such problems as these are probably inherent in organizations designed for the relief of unemployment; and it must be remembered that had the survey not been made by the Works Progress Administration, it probably would not have been done at all, at least for many years to come.

Relations with custodians were on the whole satisfactory. Certain custodians refused to allow workers to survey records until permission had been obtained from authorities in their own departments; a few refused admission because of the inconvenience to themselves and their employees; and others admitted workers only grudgingly and gave them little or no assistance. The majority of custodians, however, displayed interest in the survey, and assisted workers in obtaining accurate reports. Many requested the assistance of the project in assorting, re-filing, cleaning, or otherwise improving storage conditions of archives. Work of this type was done in the vault of the deputy clerk of district court in Wilmington, in the basement of the post office buildings in New Bern and Hickory, in the attic of the post office in Raleigh, and in other places. An index of records in the office of the clerk of district court in Greensboro was also prepared by workers on the project.

In addition to the surveying of records and work done in cleaning, filing, and indexing, the survey was instrumental in effecting the transfer of sixty-five volumes of records of the United States district court for the eastern district of North Carolina, 1791-1913, to the Na-

tional Archives in Washington and in securing copies of *United States Statutes at Large*, 1845-72, and *Regulations and Decisions of the Treasury Department under the Revenue Laws*, 1856, for the Library of the National Archives. The project also moved about 200 cubic feet of records of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the district attorney, the United States marshal, and other agencies from the attic of the post office in Raleigh to the quarters of the North Carolina Historical Commission, when it was discovered that otherwise they were to be destroyed in preparation for the renovation of the post office. They were inspected by officials of the National Archives, and, after that agency had decided not to transfer them to Washington, they were accepted for preservation by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Although the survey was conducted under conditions which render impossible a definitive description, its results taken as a whole give a fairly accurate picture of the nature, storage conditions, and location of federal archives in the state. With the approval of the national director of the survey, it was decided to survey as many agencies as possible, including such local offices as County Agricultural Extension Agents, County Home Demonstration Agents, Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and post offices. Although the survey did not include every federal agency in the state, it did include every type of agency, and all agencies of certain services, such as the courts, the Bureau of Customs, and others of a non-local character.

In order to facilitate the use of federal archives, members of the state and district office staffs made a study of the history, administrative organization, and activities of federal agencies in the state, and the information obtained was included in the *Descriptive Inventory*. Forms filled out by field workers were checked by editors who had familiarized themselves with the work of the agencies concerned, and improperly completed forms were returned for correction. Certain corrections and clarifications were made by editors in the district and state offices.

The survey in North Carolina resulted in the discovery of no extremely old or unusual documents. It did establish the fact, however, that there is in the files of federal agencies a large body of material containing valuable information on a variety of phases of American history.

The archives of the federal courts constitute a large category of material. These include court exhibits, correspondence, court orders, and administrative records, as well as the ordinary dockets, calendars, and file papers. Valuable information on social and economic conditions is contained in certain court exhibits, such as the papers of the Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association found in the office of the clerk of district court in Raleigh. Cases involving the illegal manufacture and sale of whiskey are usually recorded in separate calendars and dockets, and cover a long period. In the deputy clerk's office in Wilmington

are records of a Coast Guard cutter, 1907-1918. There is in Raleigh, Wilmington, New Bern, and other offices in the eastern district a considerable body of Confederate court records, including dockets, calendars, miscellaneous papers, and records of copyrights. In many instances these are in the same volumes with United States court records. Naturalization records, records of prisoners, and others found in offices of court officials would interest the student of social conditions.

The United States marshal and the United States attorney also keep dockets and file papers of cases tried in district court. Those in the marshal's office contain records of processes issued, property seized, prisoners, and other matters with which the office is concerned. The district attorney has more complete information on cases, including reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, complaints, and other papers. Memorials from persons or groups desiring the arrest of certain individuals, petitions for recommendations for pardons, and other material giving an insight into the reaction to various laws on the part of individuals and groups may be found in the correspondence of the attorney.

The survey of the Bureau of Customs revealed the disappointing fact that almost all of the older archives have been lost or destroyed. There are few records for the period before 1875, and there are many gaps in the existing series. One group of archives found in customs offices is concerned with vessels, and is composed of such records as abstracts of title, bills of sale, mortgages, papers concerning the registry, enrollment, and licensing of vessels, and records of the entry and clearance of vessels in coastwise and foreign trade. Another group contains information on merchandise, such as entries, estimated duties, liquidated duties, warehouse withdrawals, and the like. A third group consists of financial records, including collections of duties, deposits, fines, penalties, forfeitures, and fees. Immigration records constitute a fourth series, while other series are concerned with personnel, property, and purely administrative matters.

The archives of the Bureau of Internal Revenue are also incomplete. Large quantities of the records of this agency have been destroyed, and the bulk of those now in existence are of comparatively recent origin. Many were destroyed as a result of the removal of the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue from Raleigh to Greensboro in 1934. A few of those left in the attic of the post office in Raleigh, where they were about to be destroyed, have been preserved by the North Carolina Historical Commission. The oldest internal revenue records in the State are to be found in the post office building in Statesville, where they were left when the Statesville office was closed about 1918. There are about fifty linear feet of these covering the period from 1895 to 1917, but the series are short and broken. They deal chiefly with taxes on tobacco and on alcoholic beverages. The majority of the re-

ords of this agency are in the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue in Greensboro. The earliest date for records in this office is 1912. Internal revenue records include data on income, estate, gift, and other taxes. In these may be found figures on such subjects as the amount of leaf tobacco purchased and sold by various dealers in the state, the amount of cigars and cigarettes manufactured, exported, and sold for domestic use, the number of bales of cotton ginned monthly, the number of bales of cotton purchased by various mills in the state each month, and other information, concerning the production and manufacture of raw materials, collected in the course of administering the processing tax and other special taxes.

The records of the Coast Guard, which in this state includes the District Commander's office in Elizabeth City and a number of Coast Guard stations, are more complete than the archives of the majority of federal agencies. Most offices have unbroken files from the time of their establishment, which in many cases was in the 1870's. In addition to routine matters of personnel, supplies, equipment, etc., they include records of daily events at the station, such as wrecks, lookouts, patrols, and the like. In some offices there are separate reports on violation of navigation and custom laws, and in the district commander's office there is a file on prohibition enforcement.

The Department of Agriculture carries on many activities in the state, and the archives of its agencies contain a great deal of information on social and economic conditions. One of the most important bodies of material is to be found in the offices of the Extension Service, which has custody of the records of crop control under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Soil Conservation Program. The information concerning agriculture in the state contained in these archives is of tremendous value, for not only do they show the history and administration of crop control programs, but they also contain maps showing the acreage planted to various crops for each farm participating in the programs, statistics on the production of hogs and on the annual yield of cotton, tobacco, peanuts, wheat, and corn for the past ten years, and statistics on the number of tenants, share croppers, and wage hands on each farm, the number of acres farmed by each of these, and the crops planted thereon. These records also contain data on amounts of fertilizer used, uses to which certain products grown were put, and other specific information on agricultural practices in North Carolina. The records of the county agricultural extension agents and county home demonstration agents, are concerned with animal husbandry, agriculture, dairying, drainage, canning, clubs, and other phases of home and farm demonstration work. As it is frequently the policy in these offices to destroy old records, particularly the records of former incumbents, many of these agencies have only recent archives, and few of them have records covering the entire period of

their existence. In view of this policy, it is unfortunate that such valuable material as the archives of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and like agencies are in the custody of officials of the Extension Service, for, if past practices are indicative of what may be expected in the future, it seems almost certain that in a short time these records will be destroyed.

Such agencies as the Forest Service, the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, the Bureau of Animal Industry, the Bureau of Biological Survey, the Bureau of Plant Industry, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics keep administrative records, field notes, reports of conservation, and records of forest pathology, soil, fertilizer, marketing practices, and other subjects related to the production, uses, and marketing of crops and livestock. The offices of the Soil Conservation Service contain field notes and reports on various phases of soil conservation, including experimental and demonstration work in land uses, terracing, reforestation, and wild life preservation.

The most significant body of records belonging to the Department of Interior located in this state are those of the Cherokee Indian Reservation, which operates under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many of the records of the reservation have been lost or destroyed. The existing records include land and property records from 1838, some correspondence for 1855 and a few years immediately following, instructions for making up the tribal roll of 1869, and records of the Indian Council for the period since 1886. The majority of records, however, are for the period since 1914. These include records of industries, health, recreation, educational activities, tribal rolls and census lists, court hearings, tribal customs, and other phases of life in the reservation.

The chief agency of the War Department in North Carolina is Fort Bragg. Records for the post are apparently complete for the entire period since the establishment of Camp Bragg in 1918, and include records of administrative matters, officers and enlisted men, property, court martial, training manoeuvres, reserve officers, etc. In addition, there are at Fort Bragg about fifteen feet of archives of Coast Artillery units which were stationed at Fort Caswell before it was abandoned in 1926. These records, the earliest of which are dated 1858, cover the history of the companies while stationed at various places in the United States, its possessions, and China, as well as while they were at Fort Caswell. They are stored in open wooden boxes in a warehouse. Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps are also to be found at Fort Bragg, which is the headquarters for the Civilian Conservation Corps camps of District A of the Fourth Corps Area.

The archives of "New Deal" agencies, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Civil Works Administration, Public Works Administration, Emergency Relief Administration, Works Progress Administration, National Youth Administration, Resettlement Admin-

istration, and Civilian Conservation Corps, contain valuable material on the functioning of these agencies and on the social and economic conditions with which they have dealt. Statistical studies based on these records will probably be necessary before the detailed information concerning the thousands of persons who have been aided by the relief organizations can be interpreted; but when carefully analyzed, this material will throw considerable light on actual conditions prevailing in the state in 1933 and the years since, as well as the progress made in solving the problems of unemployment and the efficiency with which the work has been conducted. These records should be studied in connection with the archives of the North Carolina Employment Service, whose work has been closely allied with that of the relief agencies and which has in its files information on the extent of unemployment and the previous training and history of these unemployed. The greater portion of the archives of the Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration have been concentrated in Raleigh and stored in a fireproof brick and concrete building recently erected on the grounds of the North Carolina State Fair.

The archives of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, as has already been stated, are in the custody of County Agricultural Extension Agents. Records of "New Deal" organizations still in existence are in the various offices of the respective agencies and cooperating organizations.

Among the remaining agencies operating in North Carolina are the Veterans' Administration, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United States Secret Service, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Fisheries, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Lighthouses, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Post Office Department, and others. With the exception of the Veterans' Administration and the post offices, these agencies do not possess large quantities of archives, although each of them keeps records concerning its activities and the problems with which it is concerned. Among the most carefully kept records are those of the Veterans' Administration, which contain full information concerning hospitalization, transportation, guardianship of minors and incompetents, and other services rendered veterans. The archives of the Post Office Department, which has a greater quantity of records than any other department operating in the state, seem to have little value for research purposes. The majority of records of this department are destroyed at regular intervals in accordance with acts of Congress, and there are apparently no old records in the state related to the early history of post offices. Fairly recent records of money orders, registered packages, stamp sales, and the like make up the bulk of postal archives.

One purpose of the Survey of Federal Archives was to learn in what cities the bulk of federal archives are located. It was found that

they are concentrated in a few centers of population, although there is no one town in the State containing the majority of the records. The survey included 54,508 linear feet of archives belonging to 1,024 agencies located in 242 towns. Raleigh had the greatest quantity of records of any one town in the State, with 9,138 linear feet, or nearly seventeen per cent of the total. Forty-two per cent of the archives (22,931 linear feet) were in Raleigh, Greensboro, and Charlotte. Twenty-one per cent (11,470 linear feet) were located in New Bern, Statesville, Asheville, Fayetteville, Fort Bragg, and Wilmington. Ten per cent (5,726 linear feet) were in Kinston, Elizabeth City, Hickory, Winston-Salem, High Point, Chapel Hill, Durham, and Oteen. Seventy-three per cent (40,127 linear feet) of the archives surveyed are located in the seventeen towns named above, while twenty-seven per cent (14,281 linear feet) are distributed among the remaining 225 towns in which the survey was conducted. In each of 180 of the smaller towns there were less than 100 linear feet of archives, and 149 of these towns had less than 50 feet. It is therefore evident that while there are many scattered agencies throughout the State, these keep few records and the majority of the archives are concentrated in a few towns.

The survey showed that the Post Office Department, with 9,958 linear feet, had more archives than any other department. The Department of Agriculture was next, with 7,921 linear feet, and the Treasury Department third, with 5,819 linear feet. There are 3,476 linear feet of records of the United States courts in the State, and 3,472 linear feet of War Department records. The Department of Interior and the Department of Commerce have 344 linear feet each, while the Navy Department has only 103 linear feet. Independent establishments, including New Deal agencies, have a total of 20,629 linear feet.

The Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, with 5,006 linear feet, has the largest amount of archives of any one bureau, with the exception of that under the first assistant postmaster general, under whom are all post offices surveyed. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the Extension Service offices are among those scattered local agencies which ordinarily do not have large accumulations of records. This figure includes the greater portion of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration records, however, which are usually located in the offices of County Agricultural Extension Agents, and several of the eastern counties have large accumulations of these. Other bureaus with one thousand linear feet or more are the United States Employment Service (Department of Labor), Bureau of Internal Revenue (Department of Treasury), Office of the Chief of Staff (War Department), and Clerks and Deputy Clerks of the United States District Courts. Independent establishments with 1,000 linear feet or more are the Federal Emergency Relief Adminis-

tration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Veterans' Administration, and Works Progress Administration. It will be noted that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Works Progress Administration are also among those organizations which have scattered local agencies. These figures, however, include not only the scattered local offices, but also area, district, and state offices, in each of which are duplicates of many records found in local offices.

There are few individual agencies in this State with large accumulations of archives. Of the 1,024 agencies surveyed, only 96 had as many as 100 linear feet of archives, only 19 had as many as 500 linear feet, and only eight had 1,000 feet or more. Fifty-six of the agencies with more than 100 feet were post offices, offices of county agents, or "New Deal" agencies. The group also included clerks of district court, Collectors of Customs, Soil Conservation Service offices, offices of the Veterans' Administration, and others. Agencies with 1,000 linear feet or more are Fort Bragg; the Veterans' Administration office, the post office, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Charlotte; the clerk of district court and collector of internal revenue in Greensboro; and the Emergency Relief Administration offices in Greensboro and Raleigh (the Emergency Relief Administration records in Greensboro were reported about to be moved to Raleigh).

Storage conditions in the majority of offices are inadequate and conditions revealed by the survey emphasize the urgency of the already recognized need for a definite program of archival preservation. Few offices have sufficient floor space or adequate filing facilities to preserve out-of-date records. Consequently, legislation concerning the disposition of archives is frequently ignored by custodians, who destroy old papers to make way for current records. Often non-current archives are stored in attics, basements, warehouses, or other out-of-the-way places, where they are in danger of being damaged or destroyed. The containers used in such storage places are usually paste-board or wooden boxes. Many records are dumped on the floor. Papers are not arranged systematically, and when for some reason it is necessary to refer to a stored record, a hurried search often results in papers being torn, thrown on the floor, or damaged in some other way. Dust, rodents, insects, dampness, and the like aid in the destruction. When the building is sold, remodeled, or torn down, records stored in the attic or basement are usually burned, left exposed to the weather, or sold as junk. Destruction of archives in order to clear the way for remodeling was found in progress in Raleigh and Durham, while improper storage conditions were found in the federal buildings in New Bern, Elizabeth City, Wilmington, and other towns.

An effective program of archival preservation will need to go further than the mere enactment of legislation prohibiting the indiscriminate destruction of archives, and must take into account the practical prob-

lem faced by the custodian who, with a small office and limited filing facilities, is required to care for a rapidly growing accumulation of out-of-date records. Even improved facilities for preserving records in the agencies in which they originate will not solve the problem, for it is also necessary to provide for the removal of records no longer needed in office routine. The policy of listing records which have been judged to have no archival value and allowing their destruction after a specified number of years, already adopted for the Post Office Department, might be extended to other departments. Records whose archival value has not been determined should be inspected and those to be preserved removed to a place for permanent preservation without months of delay and red tape.

There is also need to educate officials in all departments to an appreciation of the value of records and the importance of observing regulations concerning their disposal. Inspections made by specified officials, preferably of the National Archives, to determine what policies are followed by custodians in preserving and disposing of records, would aid in accomplishing this. Although the National Archives cannot require officials in other departments to comply with laws concerning the disposition of archives, its inspectors could advise custodians as to the proper policies to be followed and could secure information concerning storage policies and conditions to be used in shaping plans for further action. It is necessary, of course, to enlist the cooperation of the administrative heads in each agency, but this needs to be supplemented by a system of inspections, since local officials are likely to continue to disregard legislation unless they are aware that inspections will be made and violations of its provisions discovered.

In order to carry out an effective program for preserving federal archives it probably will be necessary to establish state or regional offices of the National Archives throughout the country. Such a system of area offices would enable officials of the National Archives to inspect and remove archives with more dispatch than would be possible if all such problems were handled directly from Washington. It might be advisable also to establish state or regional depositories for archives. These local depositories would aid in solving the problem presented by the tremendous bulk of the archival material to be preserved, and might result also in making certain material more readily available to historians and others than it would be in Washington. Local depositories would be especially advantageous in the case of records which are likely to be used in conjunction with other local material in making state or regional studies. Developments in microcopying processes, however, may furnish the solution to these problems without the aid of local depositories.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NORTH CAROLINA. Volume I. The County Records, Alamance through Columbus. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration. Edited by Charles Christopher Crittenden and Dan Lacy, with a Preface by Luther H. Evans. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1938. Pp. 491. Distributed free of charge, except for a mailing fee of \$.25.)

About a quarter of a century ago the writer of this review visited the courthouses of a dozen or so counties in southern Illinois and made notes on records, especially records that appeared to have value for the historian. He was impressed by the wealth of historical material that he found, but he was appalled by the conditions of storage and by the problems involved in making this material available for historical research. Little did he think that the time would ever come when, as a result of a great business depression, the records not only of the 3,066 counties of the nation but also those of towns, cities, states, and churches and the manuscript collections of historical societies and libraries would be in a fair way to be adequately listed in published inventories. Truly some clouds have silver linings.

The present volume is not, as its title would seem to imply, a publication of historical records but the first volume of a series in which it is proposed to present inventories of the county, state, and church records and the historical manuscripts of North Carolina. It opens with a "General Introduction to the Series," which sketches the history of historical activities and describes the procedure of the Historical Records Survey in the State. This is followed by an "Introduction to the County Records," which contains a brief discussion of the history and functions of the county as an administrative unit in North Carolina, a suggestive presentation of "Opportunities for Research in the County Records," and an extensive historical and analytical account of the county offices and the varieties of records to be found in each of them. The inventories that follow cover the records of twenty-six counties, approximately one quarter of the total. About one page for each county is devoted to data about the county, its county seat, and its courthouse; and the inventories proper average twelve pages in length. The records are listed by offices and the entries give the name of the series, its dates, some indication of its bulk, and frequently other pertinent

information. Some of the older records of most of the counties have been deposited in the custody of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and these are listed separately at the beginning of each inventory. It would have been more in accord with the best archival practices to have listed them with the other and related records of the offices from which they had been removed, but perhaps that was not feasible. At any rate interrelationships are usually indicated by cross references. The index to the volume covers in detail only the introductory matter.

A cursory examination of the entries discloses the facts that the greater part of the series of records have their beginning in rather recent times and that the bulk of early records is relatively small. Doubtless this situation is due in part to the destruction of older records, but its main cause is probably to be found in the recent increases in governmental functions and changes in methods of record keeping. It is clear that counties as well as states and the nation will soon be confronted with a difficult problem of finding space not for their older records but for those of quite recent date, and it is not unlikely that a partial solution of that problem will be found through careful studies to determine what records should be made, and of those that are made, which must be preserved and which may in due time be disposed of without social loss. These inventories provide a basis for such studies as well as for retrospective studies in history and the social sciences.

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THE MASONIC GOVERNORS OF NORTH CAROLINA. By Early Winfred Bridges. (Greensboro, N. C.: Privately printed. 1937. Pp. 279.)

This volume is not the product of a professional historian; it clearly lacks the earmarks of scholarship. It is neither a monograph nor a collection of biographical sketches. Rather, it is a "labor of love" by a devoted Mason. The sub-title is indicative of the nature of the book—"The Masonic Governors of North Carolina: their Masonic Records and Orations; Newspaper Articles of Events Pertaining to the Craft, and Other In-

formation of Interest to Masonry about the Governors of North Carolina."

Mr. Bridges was inspired to undertake the task of collecting and editing this material by the reading of William L. Boyden's "Masonic Presidents, Vice Presidents, and Signers." Nearly four years were spent compiling the records of the thirty-four governors of the state of North Carolina who were Masons. These range from colonial Governor George Burrington to the present chief executive, Clyde R. Hoey. That the result is of interest to the Masonic Order in the State is attested to by the enthusiastic indorsement of Past Grand Master Hubert McNeill Poteat and the North Carolina Lodge of Research.

The book evidences much careful labor, but for the historian and for the general reader it holds little interest. It fails to relate the Masonic affiliation of the various governors to their political careers and, in general, lacks readability. The sketches are uneven in length and type of material. What is related about each governor is dependent, no doubt, on what Mr. Bridges was able to locate.

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THE HOUSES OF PEACE. By E. M. Eller. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1937. Pp. 287. \$3.00.)

If the subtitle of this work, ". . . a historical, legendary, and contemporary account of the Moravians and their settlement of Salem in North Carolina," defines the author's objective, he has set a goal which he could scarcely hope to attain in the compass of one volume. Of the three phases of the account, the historical is briefly but well done to the end of the American Revolution. The legendary, in which the author attempts to picture nineteenth-century Salem through incidents in the lives of a very few persons, is not entirely convincing. The nearest approach to a contemporary account is a chapter on Salem Academy in the 1890's; the chapter, "Salem Today," is in reality a reminiscence of Salem of earlier days.

It would be unfair, however, to evaluate this work by analysis

alone. A far better suggestion of its significance is to be found in the title rather than in the subtitle. *The Houses of Peace* suggests one of the outstanding characteristics of Moravian history, the building in various parts of the world of orderly, thrifty, devout communities. It is in the retelling of Moravian history to emphasize the continuity of this development that the author has done his best work. By excellent choice of significant episodes, by elimination of all details that do not contribute to his purpose, and especially by a frankly romantic, even lyric, style of expression, he has succeeded in writing the most interesting history of the Moravian Church yet published. Throughout there runs the theme of devotion to a religious ideal, a romantic dream in days of persecution and an exceedingly practical development during days of prosperity. One is made to feel that there is a destiny in the progress of the Moravians, a joint direction by God and themselves, and that they were at all times conscious of and confident in the working out of a divine plan. It is this conscious development that Mr. Eller follows, ignoring those details which do not contribute to the pattern and in consequence strongly emphasizing those which do. Simplicity, sincerity, thrift, "quiet, peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty," are shown as natural expressions of the religious ideal. Such is the theme, one which has been followed in other Moravian histories, it is true, but which is more carefully developed and far more beautifully expressed in *The Houses of Peace*.

That the author is absorbed in this effort to show the unique character of the Moravians is evident not only in his splendid portrayal of high points in their history; the qualities that distinguished them are further emphasized by contrast with the character of those who opposed them or differed from them. Of the Taborites, earlier followers of John Hus, he speaks with apology. For the Utraquists, members of the national church of Bohemia, which certainly derived in part from the teachings of Hus, he has condemnation scarcely less bitter than for the Romanists. The zeal of the Emperor Ferdinand II to stamp out Protestantism outweighs the political activity of rebellious Bohemian nobles as a cause of the Thirty Years' War; Frederick of the Palatinate, with his ambition to rule Bohemia as a Protestant king, is not mentioned. Although this procedure en-

hances the picture of Moravian virtues, it probably defeats the author's purpose by provoking the critical reader to question other interpretations.

In the American colonial period, with source materials available, the story becomes richer in detail and unquestionably fair in interpretation. Here the author has woven excerpts from the diaries into his narrative so skillfully that the story attains a subjective character. With his understanding of the character of the people, their purposes, their hopes, and their weaknesses, he is able by employing his gift for rich phrasing to draw a word picture unexcelled. This is definitely the most effective portion of the book, as it is also the most thorough.

From the conclusion of the Revolution and factual history the book jumps abruptly to 1850 and typical rather than actual personalities. Here the purpose is the same, to portray the life of the period; but the method employed is not so successful. The characters are not well drawn. His five-year old school children at times appear to be ten or twelve. His "Uncle Blum" of the Tavern porch comes nearest to a real personality; yet he serves principally as the mouthpiece for Salem legends, and his stated age is not apparent in the characterization. Perhaps one should not look for the skill of the novelist where only portraiture is intended. Yet the portraiture, highly effective in the colonial period, suffers somewhat by the means employed for the nineteenth-century period.

The device by which the book is begun and ended is very effective. One enters into the story through the Easter celebration of the Moravians and leaves it with the celebration of Christmas. Both are dateless and serve to frame the whole picture of Moravian life, so fittingly suggested in the title, *The Houses of Peace*.

William F. Pfohl has caught the spirit of Mr. Eller's theme effectively in the illustrations which accompany the text. Several are familiar sketches of Salem scenes; but others, and some of the finest, are original creations adapted to the story.

EDWARD M. HOLDER.

SOUTHERN NEGROES, 1861-1865. By Bell Irvin Wiley. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. 336. \$3.00.)

Bell Irvin Wiley is a professor of history at the Mississippi State Teachers College in Hattiesburg. Prominent among those whose advice, counsel, and guidance were exceedingly helpful to the author, was the late Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, a man who might appropriately be called the father of Southern history. Striking similarities are noticeable in the keen appreciation of the two men for thoroughness, for copiousness of documentation, for smoothness of style and—what appears to be true in both cases—for a long period of residence in the South.

*Southern Negroes, 1861-1865*, is an attempt to reconstruct the picture of the experience of the Negro in one of the most dramatic periods in the annals of our history. It purports to portray the relations between white and Negro peoples when the existence of the Federal government was being threatened by the horrors of civil strife.

The account is divided into two well organized and readable sections. In part one, "Negroes in the Confederacy," vivid pen portraits are given of: Negroes fleeing to Federal lines and remaining loyal; the disturbing and disruptive effects of the Northern invasion; the suffering caused by the insufficiency of winter clothing; Negro women doing most of the plantation spinning; and finally Negro men tanning most of the leather and increasing their numbers in both the old and new industries as white workmen were called to the front ranks.

In great detail the reader is told how the non-violent nature of the Negro made for peace on the plantation; how the real value of slave property decreased; how more attention, as a technique of control, was paid to the religious life of the slaves than before the war; how Negroes rendered valuable assistance to the Confederacy as cooks, teamsters, hospital attendants, and laborers; and how in the last years of slavery there was a revival of the movement aimed at the humanization of slavery by the slave holders.

Part two, "Negroes Under Federal Control," shows the complex problems arising from the lack of a well planned system

for enabling the slaves to make the transition to freedom; the unsatisfactory character of Negro labor; the slow educational development of the Negro; and his bravery at Port Hudson, Mileikens Bend, and the Crater, near Petersburg.

The viewpoint of the author is that of the enlightened Southerner of the deep South without the finesse of the distinguished Ulrich B. Phillips. Without being sensitive one can see the author's belief in the peculiar etiquette of Southern race relations in his use of "aunt" in reference to elderly Negro women for whom he has respect, and in his almost constant use of "darker" in speaking of the ordinary Negro. Colored and Negro are used interchangeably in describing exceptional Negroes. Doubtless the author was torn between Moton's denunciation of the use of the word "darker" in his *What the Negro Thinks* and the firmly established terms which Southerners seem to think they must use in order to avoid violating the unwritten law.

Unfortunately Negroes and their friends who do not understand the peculiarities of race relations in the South will doubtless leap to the conclusion that this is another attempt to bolster up the dying ante-bellum etiquette of race relations and another attempt to document such controversial ideas as that mulattoes are superior to blacks; that the Negro acquires learning best in fields which demand imitation rather than reasoning; and that Northerners were frequently more harsh in dealing with free Negroes than slave owners had been in dealing with slaves. On the other hand much remains in this book for the Negro and his friends to read with pride, such as the contributions of Negro artisans, laborers, and soldiers.

Serious students of history may well wonder why the more radical Southern papers are used with greater frequency than the more radical Northern papers, or why some attention was not given to the sums of money which well-to-do free Negroes contributed to the Confederacy or lost cause of the War Between the States. Nevertheless, judged as a whole, this is a worthy contribution to historical scholarship. Professor Wiley is nearer the "Old Master" of Southern history, Ulrich B. Phillips, in point of view, than the more liberal writers like Dwight L. Dumond and Avery O. Craven. Moreover, there is no wide gulf separating the viewpoint of Professor Wiley from that of lead-

ing Negro historians—their fundamental points of difference can be listed on one hand.

The task of telling the story of Southern Negroes is no simple job, and it is definitely significant that this work is far above the fictionized accounts which are finding their way into our thought pattern. Historical ideals are like Christian ideals—they are exceedingly lofty. Professor Bell Irvin Wiley has written a commendable book. He has rendered the South, the Negro, and historical research a significant service worthy of high praise in telling the story of what the Negro thought, hoped, felt, and accomplished in this neglected period, and while this reviewer sees, behind the use of the term “darker” and the like, the historical objectivity of the author, he earnestly hopes that the day will come when “Negro” and “Colored” will completely replace the revolting term “darker” and its equivalents.

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THOMAS WATSON: AGRARIAN REBEL. By C. Vann Woodward. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 518. \$3.75.)

This excellent study throws much needed light on an enigmatic, yet a most colorful and influential personality of the post bellum South. It also places Professor Woodward among the more promising of the younger historians of his section. He has demonstrated ability in research and intelligence in the use of his materials. Furthermore, he writes in a style that commands sustained interest.

The first three chapters treat of Watson's background, youth, and beginnings as a lawyer. The family, originally Quakers, settled in Georgia in 1768; and, like most Southerners, was of the middle farming class. Tom's grandfather, in 1860, possessed an estate valued at \$55,000. War, Reconstruction, and poor management by Tom's father reduced the family to extreme poverty. The ambitious youth read widely; wrote poetry; played the fiddle; studied two years at Mercer University; taught country schools; read law; and was admitted to the bar at the age of nineteen. Within the next dozen years he married;

was elected to and resigned from the legislature; and had such success at the law that he could estimate his "assets" at more than thirty thousand dollars.

The next five chapters set the stage for Watson's rise as an agrarian rebel. The New Departure was the Georgian expression of a movement to industrialize the South after the Civil War. To the architects of a New South, riches became the symbol of the good life—riches that would come from the development and exploitation of resources, material and human. In Georgia not all exponents of the New Departure were hard and unattractive. There was the winsome Henry Grady, whose gospel of success entranced his readers and extended his influence. There was General John B. Gordon, symbol of the Lost Cause, who worked behind the scenes for the new cause. There was Alfred H. Colquitt, gentleman, planter, and promoter. There was Joseph E. Brown, of varying record but of ever increasing fortune. Giving lip service to the Old South, these leaders and their industrial allies dominated Georgia. They supplanted old leaders like Robert Toombs. They crushed incipient revolts of the farmers by appeals to race prejudice and white solidarity.

Tom Watson seems to have shown little indignation at the plight of the farmers until the Alliance had made considerable headway in the State. Whether or not opportunism influenced his course, there can be little doubt that he was by nature both a rebel and an agrarian. While still in his early thirties, he quickly became a leader of the farmers' movement in Georgia. He entered Congress as an Alliance spokesman, and later helped to lead Alliancemen into the Populist party. He became that party's Vice-Presidential candidate in 1896 and its Presidential candidate in 1908. In two decades he had risen from an obscure country lawyer to a place of national prominence.

During these two decades, though always defeated at the polls, Watson reached the zenith of his career, both intellectually and morally. He preached the philosophy of the public interest, and gained a following that never deserted him. He displayed a high order of courage, ability, and independence. During the latter of these decades he gained prominence and profit with such historical writings as his *Story of France* (1898), his

*Napoleon* (1902), and his *Jefferson* (1903). In the year of his final battle for Populism (1908), he estimated his wealth at \$258,000.

In reading the ten graphic chapters on the agrarian revolt, one is not convinced that Watson's political wisdom equalled his power of denunciation. One suspects that the author too frequently accepts Watson's own estimate of his enemies; and those enemies were numerous, whether among Democrats, Alliance officials, or Populist readers. One finds it difficult to think that Watson was always the victim and never the perpetrator of sharp political practices. One is not always certain whether the agrarian leader is moved by principle or by the personal equation.

"The year 1910 was pivotal in Tom Watson's career," for at that time he returned to the Democratic party after twenty years of rebellion. From then until his death in 1922 he became an increasingly tragic figure. Paradoxically, his political power grew great. He became a United States Senator and the maker and unmaker of governors in Georgia. His writings lost all semblance of scholarship. He conducted crusades against Negroes, Catholics, and Jews. His hatred of Hoke Smith, Woodrow Wilson, and William Jennings Bryan became unreasoning.

One questions whether Watson's career had not "pivoted" before 1910. In 1903 he had been attracted to William Randolph Hearst. With the establishment of *Tom Watson's Magazine* in 1905, he turned more and more "from Populism to Muckraking." His wealth increased with the size of his headlines.

Professor Woodward attributes Watson's racial and religious crusades to the frustration of the farmer and depressed urban elements "in their age-long and eternally losing struggle against a hostile industrial economy." Undoubtedly, economic frustration lends itself to programs against minorities. Yet Watson's metamorphosis occurred in a period when agriculture and labor were making some headway in their "age-long struggle."

The author believes that in explaining Watson's later years, "the question of personal motivation is rather beside the point." One must question this. Watson was violent in his personal antipathies and he was also a money maker. Both Catholics and Negroes had been voted solidly and effectively against him, and

he was not one to forgive or forget. He did not begin his crusade against Jews until it seemed to fit his political plans and seemed further to benefit the circulation of his publications. Within three months Senator Watson denounced, demanded, and denounced again our entry into the World War. This makes sense only in the light of his hatred of Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, it seems impossible to explain those latter years except on personal grounds. In private as well as in public life he appears to have been a rich and powerful old man, whose character had been consumed by egotism, hatreds, and other unrestrained emotions.

It is easy to emphasize too much this latter period of Watson's life. For a much longer time he thought more clearly and strove mightily and courageously. Professor Woodward has done a notable service in bringing to a more proper focus the whole life of the man and its relation to his times.

DANIEL M. ROBINSON.

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

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THOMAS JEFFERSON'S COOK BOOK. By Marie Kimball. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1938. Pp. 111. \$2.00.)

In her illuminating introduction to *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book* Mrs. Kimball describes our first Democratic president as "one of the greatest epicures and connoisseurs of the art of living of his day." The choicest delicacies appeared on his table; he imported the finest wines from France and Italy, had his food prepared by French chefs, and supervised the whole himself, showing the same punctiliousness in these domestic affairs as in affairs of state. In his *Garden Book* he noted the date each vegetable grown at "Monticello" appeared on the table and while president kept a careful record of the earliest and latest appearance of each vegetable on the Washington market. A facsimile of this table is given. It lists no less than thirty-seven vegetables, among which are broccoli, endive, egg plant, and others generally thought to be products of the present day. During his travels Jefferson sampled strange foods and brought

home directions for their culture and preparation. Vanilla and macaroni are among the delicacies he introduced to this country. While in Paris as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Louis XVI, he found time to study the intricacies of French cooking and laboriously copied favorite recipes. Many of these he sent to his two motherless daughters with urgent admonitions on the importance of housewifery in their education. When he retired to "Monticello" his daughter Martha Jefferson Randolph and her numerous family made their home with him and she presided over his table. Her six daughters, brought up in the tradition of lavish hospitality and fine cooking, kept copies of favorite recipes of the household which they passed on to their daughters as prized possessions.

*Jefferson's Cook Book* is reproduced from one of these little hand-made books kept by Martha Randolph's fifth daughter, Virginia Randolph Trist, and handed down to her granddaughter, Fanny M. Burke of Alexandria, Virginia. It is a collection of Jefferson's Paris recipes, among which are directions for making ice cream, meringues, noodles à la Macaroni, and brandied peaches, and of the Monticello recipes, the sources of which were Petit, Jefferson's maître d'hôtel in Paris, Lemaire, his steward while President, Julien, his French chef, and various friends and relatives. All these have been adapted to modern use. Instead of the appalling quantities of butter, eggs, cream, and other ingredients called for in the originals, amounts to make only the modern customary six servings are required, and directions for cooking are adapted to the electric or gas range. For making molded desserts, which were apparently very popular in the Jefferson household, gelatine has been substituted for calves' hoofs and junket for chicken gizzard. To the social historian the unrevised originals would have been of far greater interest and value than these modernized versions, but the practical cook will appreciate the substitutions. As a guide to the actual preparation of many appetizing and satisfying dishes the book is a noteworthy contribution and should by all means be included in the library of the modern epicure.

JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON. Translated and edited by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 445. \$4.00.)

Since the Hessian officers who served with the British in America during the Revolution had no great patriotic motives in subjugating the "rebels," their letters and diaries are likely to be less biased than those of the men with whom or under whom they fought. Their descriptions of the new country and its people are interesting and enlightening, and their remarks about the social and economic conditions with which they came in contact are frequently very discerning. Not a few of them were in genuine sympathy with the American cause and admired and envied the colonists, by whom, contrary to the generally accepted tradition, they were, as a rule, better liked than the British.

An extensive collection of Hessian correspondence has been made available to American historical scholars as a result of the transfer of the von Jungkenn Papers to the University of Michigan. This collection, which was acquired at the von Jungkenn family residence at Schloss Hüffe, Kreis Minden, Westphalia, by the William L. Clements Library in 1932, consists largely of the letters and dispatches sent to Friedrich Christian Arnold, Baron von Jungkenn, Minister of State for Hesse-Cassel from 1780 to 1789, by the Hessian officers serving in America. Included in the collection are three diaries and six letters written during the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780, which are published, in the original German text accompanied by an English translation, in the present volume.

The expedition against Charleston, consisting of about 7,000 troops commanded by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, which embarked at New York in December, 1779, was the third attempt made by the British to capture the largest seaport and most important city in the South. Two previous attempts against the city, one under Clinton and Admiral Sir Peter Parker in the spring of 1776 and another under General Prevost in 1779, had ended in failure; but the British occupation of Georgia, which had been overrun by Prevost and Colonel Archibald Campbell in the fall of 1778, now encouraged further efforts in the South and made especially imperative the occupa-

tion of an important seaport as a base of operations from which to invade the Carolinas and, eventually, Virginia.

Accompanying the Clinton expedition at this time were some 2,000 Hessians, including about 250 members of the famous Jäger Corps. The Jägers, or "chasseurs" as they were usually called by the English and the French, were light troops, both foot and horse, which, as the name indicates, were recruited from among the hunters, game wardens, and foresters of Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, and Anspach, who were always expert marksmen. They were highly esteemed by the British, with whom they generally operated in small detachments for scouting and patrol duty, in guarding the general's staff when it went forth to reconnoitre, and in covering headquarters. In column formation the jägers usually constituted the vanguard, and in a regular siege they occupied the front trenches, where their accurate fire was very effective in the enemy's embrasures.

Two of the diaries here published were written by jäger captains serving in the Charleston expedition, Johann Ewald and Johann Hinrichs. Both accounts begin with the embarkation in December, 1779, and run through the final return of the expedition to Staten Island in June, 1780. Hinrich's diary is much the longer of the two, which is probably accounted for by the fact that he was under instructions to keep the official journal of the Jäger Corps on this expedition. The two journals are of special interest because their authors usually served on opposite wings in the most advanced works, thus supplementing each other ideally and at the same time recording with a good deal of accuracy what the enemy were doing. Ewald and Hinrichs were both men of letters, interested in social and economic conditions as well as military tactics, and their accounts, while not neglecting to record in detail the daily movements and activities of the detachments they commanded during the siege, are relatively free of the cold and formal tone that characterizes most army paper work. Hinrichs, who at one time apparently considered remaining in America permanently, was particularly alert to his surroundings and appended to his diary a lengthy "Contribution of Philosophical and Historical Remarks Concerning South Carolina."

The third diary, which is somewhat brief and devoted entirely to military details, was written by Johann Christoph von Huyn, a major general in the Hessian infantry and commander of the Garnisons Regiment von Huyn. On the Charleston expedition he was in command of a brigade made up of his own and two British regiments. Since this force usually operated across the Ashley River from the city, on a different sector of the front from that occupied by the Jäger Corps, von Huyn's account in turn supplements the narratives of the two jäger captains.

Of the six letters, which in comparison with the diaries occupy a very small amount of space in the volume, two were written by Captain Ewald, one by Captain Hinrichs, one by Major Philip von Wurmb, who was in command of the jäger detachment in which Ewald and Hinrichs served, and two by a certain Major Wilhelm von Wilmowsky. All of the letters were written from the vicinity of Charleston and, with the exception of one of Ewald's communications which really forms an introduction to his diary, relate to minor details concerning the siege.

The editor of the volume is to be commended for his patience and skill in transcribing and translating the original documents, and for his introduction and footnotes which disclose extensive information regarding the part played by the Hessian troops during the Revolution as well as a competent knowledge of South Carolina history and geography. It is to be hoped that he will follow this with other volumes of sources from the von Jungkenn Papers, of which the documents here published appear to represent only a minor portion.

The attractiveness of the volume is enhanced by a reproduction of an old print showing Charleston in 1776, several facsimile pages of the original documents, and two good maps.

JAMES W. PATTON.

CONVERSE COLLEGE,  
SPARTANBURG, S. C.

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LANDMARKS OF RICHMOND. By Marylou Rhodes. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1938. Pp. ix, 155. \$1.00.)

Richmond is a war city. Many monuments tell you so. It has been also the arena of politics, as the eight Virginia-born presidents in the niches in the dome of the Capitol proclaim.

Literature has played hide-and-peek at many a corner of our streets, even from the diaries of William Byrd II, through William Wirt and Edgar Allan Poe, down to James Branch Cabell. These numerous threads of Richmond's history have been pleasingly gathered up by Marylou Rhodes in her *Landmarks*. It is a Baedeker that directs our feet to historic churches, such as St. John's, where Patrick Henry fired the colonists with his exclamation, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" and to St. Paul's, where General Lee worshipped. The author knocks at the door of many a gracious home, such as that of John Marshall, where priceless relics of the Chief Justice are preserved. She introduces us to a galaxy of great men who have walked these streets—Washington, George Wythe, William C. Gorgas, Moses D. Hoge, E. V. Valentine, Dr. Hunter McGuire, and John Powell.

This city, however, is primarily a cultural center. The true romance of Richmond lies in the growth of its schools, for these are the ganglia where its rich and varied life heads up. It was in 1815, the year of Waterloo, that a group of Richmond citizens met at the Washington Tavern for the purpose of establishing a Lancastrian school, named for the father of public schools in England. The city gave a lot and \$5,000 for the building. Friends subscribed. The school opened the following year in a room over the old market-place. In 1817 was begun the brick building opposite the present jail. This building was in use for about a century, first for white children and later for Negroes. Humble beginning, yes; but out of that acorn sprang an oak. Now there is an excellent public school system, crowned by two high schools worthy of the names they bear, John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson. That is the fairest single page in Miss Rhodes's *Landmarks*.

The fires that swept Richmond at the Surrender had scarcely cooled before Dr. J. E. Binney planted a school for Negro youth in the old slave pen, near the present Seaboard station. It is now the Virginia Union University, situated on a beautiful plot of 55 acres, with rows of granite buildings. Nearby, in 1884, John C. Hartshorn began a school for colored girls, which ran a good course for years and then disappeared before the advancing public schools. Upon that very spot the city of Rich-

mond is just completing a high school for Negroes, costing a half-million dollars.

The story of the Medical College of Virginia and of the University of Richmond, in their growth from small beginnings to their present position of power, parallels the romance of public education.

Brevity is a virtue of this book. The author compacts into a sentence or paragraph just what the visitor wishes to know about the men, homes, art, literature, and history of this ancient city. Pictures and maps are skillfully used to supplement the text. She lifts the curtain upon the past, but points out, as well, the surging forces of the present that add daily to the power, beauty, and influence of this mellowed capital.

SAMUEL CHILES MITCHELL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND,  
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MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE GREENVILLE [SOUTH CAROLINA] LADIES' ASSOCIATION IN AID OF VOLUNTEERS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. Edited by James Welch Patton. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXI. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1937. Pp. 118. \$1.00.)

Here is the unpretentious but moving record of one of the many bands of devoted Southern women who exerted themselves to the utmost to provide food, clothing, and shelter for sick and weary Confederate soldiers. It was probably in response to calls for aid for the sick soldiers in the newly gathered Confederate armies, which were then almost without hospital facilities, that these ladies of Greenville assembled on July 19, 1861. They organized, adopted a constitution and, besides the customary officers, elected eighteen "directresses" to supervise the work. General meetings of the association were held monthly, of the directresses weekly.

During the first year the members devoted themselves to making clothing and gathering hospital supplies for the Greenville soldiers in Virginia. They raised money, purchased cloth, made garments and bedclothes, collected delicacies, medicines, and other needed articles, and sent boxes of these supplies to the hospitals in Virginia. The minutes show in detail the contents of many of these boxes. Among the things most often listed are

sheets, shirts, underwear, pillow-slips, socks, towels, handkerchiefs, bandages, tin plates and cups, tea, sugar, cordials, wines, jelly, canned fruits, hoarhound candy, pickles, red pepper, soap, books and tracts.

Perhaps because the hospital service in Virginia had become better organized, in July, 1862, the Greenville Association turned most of its attention to the organization of a local hospital which served chiefly as a resting place for sick, wounded, or destitute soldiers passing through the town. Food and lodging were furnished them and not infrequently clothing or money to enable them to reach their homes. The women assiduously advertised their "soldiers' rest"; and each week one of the directors served her turn as "visitor" to look after the needs of the hospital and its guests. They continued to raise money and supplies by donations and entertainments of various kinds. Paul H. Hayne, the poet, gave a lecture which brought in \$95.25. After the summer of 1863, when the currency had become nearly worthless, we find them bartering for necessities, such as provisions for yarn or a bale of cotton for cloth. When in April, 1864, a Confederate hospital was established in Greenville, all the cases of sick and wounded were transferred there and the "rest home" offered its hospitality to poor transient soldiers. But despite the tireless efforts of the women, difficulties multiplied; everything they needed was becoming scarcer. Repairs to the building, the digging of a well, even procuring a rope for it, became weighty problems.

By the next winter it was hard to keep the work going. In the spring of 1865, when Sherman was driving up through central Carolina and the Confederate forces were becoming demoralized, the number of transients greatly increased. One ungrateful group stole some bedding. The last entry, on May 1, states that "Yankee raiders . . . stripped the 'Rest' of every article it contained, leaving the Society without the means of carrying on any farther operations."

In an addendum, transferred from the body of the minutes, are lists of members and officers, of honorary members (men who had assisted the women in some way), accounts of moneys received and disbursed, the names of women workers, lists of donors and their gifts, contents of boxes sent to hospitals, copies

of letters sent, the constitution of the association, and a report of the work of the "Soldiers' Rest" to January, 1863, by Mrs. Caroline Howard Gilman, the well-known writer. An appendix contains brief biographical sketches of six of the members.

Professor James W. Patton has edited the records in very satisfactory fashion and has also contributed an excellent introduction. There is no index, but one is not greatly needed.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,  
AUSTIN, TEXAS.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

Professor C. P. West of Wake Forest College spent a part of the summer in research in the social life of the early Plymouth colony.

Dr. D. A. Lockmiller of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor.

Mr. L. Walter Seegers of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Dr. Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina is on leave during the fall quarter. Under a grant from the Social Science Research Council he is in Washington, writing a biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

Dr. J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina is spending the year in England engaged in research in medieval history. He has received a grant for the purpose from the American Philosophical Society.

Assistants in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina for 1938-39 are Vernon L. Wharton, William L. Geer, Ruth Blackwelder, and James R. Caldwell.

Fellows in history at the University of North Carolina for 1938-39 are: in American history, Sidney W. Martin, M.A. of the University of Georgia, and James W. Raburn, M.A. of the University of North Carolina; in European history, Alexander H. McLeod, A.B. of the University of North Carolina.

Henderson County celebrated its centennial, July 31-August 3. A historical museum was set up, a parade was held, and there were several historical addresses.

Books received include: Blanche Humphrey Abee, *Colonists in Carolina in the Lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey* (Richmond: The William Byrd Press. 1938); Ernest S. Griffith, *History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938); Wendell H. Stephenson, *Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South* (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1938); Harrison Williams, *Legends of Loudoun* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1938); Joseph Clarke Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1938); Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1938); George H. Smathers, *The History of Land Titles in Western North Carolina* (Asheville, N. C. Privately printed. 1938); *The Long Island Historical Society* (Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Long Island Historical Society. 1938).

*The Historical Records of North Carolina*, Vol. II, *The County Records: Craven through Moore*, edited by C. C. Crittenden and Dan Lacy, was published by the North Carolina Historical Commission in August. Like the first volume of this series, it contains lists of county records rather than the records themselves. It is distributed gratis, except for a mailing fee of twenty-five cents.

The fall list of University of North Carolina Press publications includes: Wirt Armistead Cate, editor, *Two Soldiers*; E. M. Stout, *Public Service in Great Britain*; J. M. Henao and Gerardo Arrubla, *A History of Columbia*; Julia Cherry Spruill, *Woman's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*; Edna L. Heinzerling, *History of Nursing in North Carolina*; William Montgomery McCovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*; Hope Summerell Chamberlain, *This Was Home*; David A. Lockmiller, *Sir William Blackstone*; J. T. Salter, editor, *The American Politician*; Gerald M. Capers, *Biography of a River Town*; Joao Pandia Calogeras, *A History of Brazil*; and Elizabeth R. Hooker, *Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland*.

An interesting article on emigration from the Southern Appalachian region to the mountains of western Washington

and Oregon is Woodrow R. Clevinger's, "The Appalachian Mountaineers in the Upper Cowlitz Basin," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXIX (1938), 115-134.

Recent accessions to the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission include: photostats of twenty-two maps of North Carolina; a colored chart, "Map of North Carolina Areas recommended for new or closer settlement. April, 1936. Resettlement Administration division of land utilization land use planning section. Region IV, Raleigh"; seven pictorial maps of various North Carolina counties, prepared by the Daughters of the American Revolution; a photostat of a map, the "Proposed Fort Raleigh National Historic Site"; records of Wake County, 5,061 pieces; records of Warren County, 3,423 pieces; the diary of Henry Ewbank, Transylvania County, 1856; 22 folders of tombstone records; and two typed copies of the proceedings of the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., 1701-1841.

A series of syndicated articles by Dr. Archibald Henderson, which appeared in whole or in part in the *Charlotte Observer*; *The Herald-Sun*, Durham; the *Greensboro Daily News*; and *The News and Observer*, Raleigh, November 14, 1937, to July 3, 1938, is as follows: November 14, 1937, Richard Dobbs Spaight; November 21, Books by North Carolina Authors. I; November 28, William Richardson Davie; December 5, Nathaniel Macon; December 12, Thomas Lloyd; December 19, Abner Nash; December 26, Books by North Carolina Authors. II; January 2, 1938, William Gaston; January 9, Samuel Eusebius McCorkle; January 16, James Knox Polk; January 23, Thomas Ruffin; January 30, Histories of Five North Carolina Counties; February 6, Francois Xavier Martin; February 13, Thomas H. Pritchard; February 20, Count de Graffenried; February 27, Hugh Williamson; March 6, Queen's College; March 13, William Blount; March 20, "Uncle Joe" Cannon; March 27, Andrew Jackson: Biographies; April 3, Queen's Museum; April 10, James Monroe in North Carolina; April 17, Liberty Hall; April 24, Confederate Prison in Salisbury; May 1, Academies in North Carolina; May 8, James Hogg; May 15, James Knox Polk in North Carolina; May 22, Benjamin Williams; May 29, Salisbury

Academy; June 5, The State of Franklin; June 12, Theodorus Swain Drag; June 19, Marcus George and the Warrenton Academy; June 26, Thomas Hart Benton; July 3, Robert Johnstone Miller, Universal Christian.

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Mr. Myron H. Avery is an admiralty attorney in the employ of the United States Marine Commission and chairman of the Appalachian Trail Conference, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Kenneth S. Boardman is in the employ of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Jean Stephenson is a member of the bar in the District of Columbia, and an editor in the Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

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