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## THE MORAVIAN CONTRIBUTION TO COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

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In the year 1761 Easter Sunday fell on March 22nd. The usual services were held at Bethabara, N. C., and "Br. Reuter made the interesting observation that among the Brethren the Easter Litany is read earliest in the East Indies and latest here, *both in heathen lands.*"<sup>1</sup>

The contrasts suggested by this entry in the Bethabara diary might well furnish the subject of a great painting by a master hand. In the background the forest primeval, where Indian and wolf and panther scowled and howled and cried as the white man encroached upon their ancient and hitherto vast domain. To right and left the settlers, striving more or less energetically to develop farms amid the privations and dangers of the frontier. In the midst a group of Moravian Brethren, holding out the hand of friendship to red neighbor and to white, singing hymns of faith and hope as ax and grubbing hoe were wielded, bringing church and school, books and music, commerce and medical aid to the very edge of the wilderness. If this seems a large claim to make for them their records<sup>2</sup> are offered in evidence, where day by day the ministers made mention of the trivial as well as the important happenings of life, never dream-

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<sup>1</sup> Bethabara Diary, March 22, 1761. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Books and papers belonging to the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, are assembled in the Salem Archive Building, under care of the archivist, Miss Adelaide L. Fries, 224 South Cherry Street, Winston-Salem, N. C. The diary of Bethabara, N. C., is contained in a series of manuscripts, and there are similar diaries for other congregations of later date. For a hundred years these manuscript diaries were written in German, and in 1922, 1925 and 1926 the North Carolina Historical Commission published the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vols. I, II, III, containing translations of all important paragraphs to the end of the year 1779. References in this paper are to the original manuscript source, with parallel reference to the translation in the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*.

ing that after a hundred and fifty years had passed these very records would be recognized as one of their greatest services to the land into which they had come to make their home.

The final clause of the entry quoted is most suggestive. Neighbors would probably have resented the designation of western North Carolina as a "heathen" land. But the leaders of the Moravians were men of education and culture, keenly aware of the spiritual needs of the scattered settlers and of the Indian tribes, even as they knew the difference between the civilization of the Old World and the crudeness of the New, especially in sections lying far inland and therefore not easily reached by the refinements of life. Reuter<sup>3</sup> was a Master Surveyor, trained abroad, who had renounced bright promise of professional advancement to join the Moravians and come to America. Dr. Kalberlahn<sup>4</sup> had had all the advantages which Europe could offer his profession. Rev. Bernhard Grube<sup>5</sup> was a poet as well as preacher; Bishop Graff<sup>6</sup> had decided musical ability; Rev. Jacob Loesch<sup>7</sup> was a capable business man. Bishop Spangenberg,<sup>8</sup> who selected the site for the Moravian settlement, and for a number of years directed its course from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was a man of outstanding personality, university-bred, a born leader, wise and far-seeing. No wonder, then, that the Moravian settlement in North Carolina differed from all others in the Province, for to their individual ability these men added thorough organization and co-operation for the attainment of their common end, which was the establishment of a Christian community, the aid of their neighbors, and the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The one hundred thousand acres to be purchased by the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, for a settlement in North Carolina was most carefully selected. In 1749 the English Parliament passed an "Act for Encouraging the People known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America."<sup>9</sup> John, Lord Carteret, Earl Granville, being desirous of securing industrious settlers for his huge holdings in the Province of Carolina, offered to sell them the desired amount of land wherever

<sup>3</sup> Memoir in Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 477-483.

<sup>4</sup> Memoir in Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 216-223.

<sup>5</sup> Bethabara diary, March 16, 1754. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1762. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, April 14, 1769. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 339.

<sup>8</sup> *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Official copy on file in Salem Archives.

they chose; and in the fall of 1752 Bishop Spangenberg and five companions reached Edenton, having come on horseback from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, armed with letters of introduction from Earl Granville to Francis Corbin, Granville's agent in North Carolina. From Edenton the exploring party went west on the Trading Path to the Catawba crossing, then up into the Blue Ridge, finally turning eastward and finding the branch of the Yadkin known as Muddy Creek. There they ended their search and surveyed 98,985 acres. By that time it was mid-winter and the end of 1752. The Spangenberg diary<sup>10</sup> of this trip furnishes exciting reading:—malaria in the east, a blizzard in the west, trackless forests and lurking Indians, cold and hunger and disappointment, and in the end the accomplishment of the purpose for which they were sent. The land in the "three forks of Muddy Creek" reminded Spangenberg of an estate in south Austria which once belonged to the family of von Zinzendorf, and he suggested<sup>11</sup> that the name of the Austrian estate be given to this tract in North Carolina, and so it became "der Wachau,"<sup>12</sup> translated into "Wachovia" whenever used in an English document.<sup>13</sup> Carrying out this idea the middle fork of Muddy Creek received the name of "Wach," and the south fork became the "Ens," both names taken from streams in or near the Austrian estate.

The first group of Moravian Brethren reached Wachovia on November 17, 1753, the land surveyed according to Spangenberg's instructions having been bought by the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, on the terms customary at that time, that is a cash payment and an annual quit rent. The deeds were made in the name of James Hutton, of London, "in trust for the Unitas Fratrum." He and his successors were known as "proprietors," which was the same as trustees, and this trusteeship lasted for more than a hundred years and until Salem Congregation and the Southern Province were incorporated.

There were fifteen men in this first party; men in the prime of life, their ages ranging from 28 to 40 years. Four of them had come merely as escort, and soon returned to their duties in Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note<sup>14</sup> that of the eleven who remained

<sup>10</sup> In Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 28-64.

<sup>11</sup> Spangenberg Diary, Jan. 25, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, 62.

<sup>12</sup> Bethabara diary, Sept. 10, 1754. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> Laws of N. C., 1755, Chap. XIII.

<sup>14</sup> Marshall's memorandum book, in Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 74.

five had been born in Germany, two in Norway, two in Holstein, one in New York, and one in Pennsylvania. All had been living for some years in the establishment of the Single Brethren at Christiansbrunn, near Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and they had been selected for this new undertaking because of their fitness, and their ability in various handicrafts. By way of contrast compare Bishop Spangenberg's comment on conditions in North Carolina in the preceding year with what the Moravians brought to North Carolina.— On September 25, 1752, he wrote in his diary: "Of handicrafts I have seen practically nothing in the 150 miles we have traveled across this Province. Almost nobody has a trade. In 140 miles I saw not one wagon or plough, nor any sign of one." Among the Moravians, on the contrary, it was an era of highly specialized trades, but sometimes a man had more than one line in which he was skilled, so that the eleven men settling in Wachovia counted as two ministers, one surgeon and physician, one trained business man, two shoemakers, two mill-wrights, two carpenters, a cooper, a sieve-maker, a turner, a tailor, three farmers, two gardeners, a grubber, a wood-cutter, a cook, a baker, a washer, two who were "willing and skillful in many things" not mentioned, and one "a man whom all animals love," and therefore particularly fitted to look after the stock,— the abilities, in a certain sense, of twenty-seven men represented in eleven.

On that first evening<sup>15</sup> in their new home the men found shelter in a log cabin, which had been built by a squatter and abandoned when news of the Moravian purchase reached North Carolina. It was so small that there was barely room for fourteen men to lie upon the floor, while the fifteenth stretched a hammock over their heads, but before attempting to sleep they held a little lovefeast, their first religious service in Wachovia. The first stanza was written for the occasion:

We hold arrival lovefeast here  
 In Carolina land,  
 A company of Brethren true,  
 A little Pilgrim Band,  
 Called by the Lord to be of those  
 Who through the whole world go,  
 To bear Him witness everywhere,  
 And naught but Jesus know.

<sup>15</sup> Travel diary, Nov. 16 and 17, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 78, 79.

This stanza gives the chief purpose of their coming to Carolina; and the diary entry for the following day, a Sunday, shows the spirit with which they entered upon their new life, after their long and arduous journey: "We arose in good spirits, although several of the Brethren had not been able to sleep for the cold, for our cabin is small and the roof full of holes."<sup>16</sup>

With the next day cheerful and energetic work began on their own account, for there was no asceticism among the Moravians, and while they bore privations bravely they believed in securing comfortable homes and proper food as soon as possible. How they managed to do all the hard work of that first winter, on a diet consisting mainly of corn-bread and pumpkins, is one of the marvels of the story; but looking ahead on that first Monday<sup>17</sup> they built a bake-oven, and began clearing ground in which to sow the seed brought with them from Pennsylvania. They had hoped for meat secured by their hunters, but game was scarce, and they made the best of the situation without complaint.

Ten days after their arrival in Wachovia the doctor's services began, when Kalberlahn bled a man and gave him some medicine.<sup>18</sup> It cannot be said that Kalberlahn was the only doctor in that part of Carolina, for a "Dr. Barker" who lived on the Yadkin had visited them three days earlier, but from the extent of the practice which soon came to Dr. Kalberlahn it is fair to infer that he was much the best doctor in the section, bringing to the frontier a knowledge of the medicinal qualities of many herbs<sup>19</sup> and shrubs as well as a knowledge of surgery. It is fascinating to follow him through the five years of his residence in Wachovia. From more than a hundred miles away patients came to him or called him to their sides.<sup>20</sup> While bleeding was the accepted remedy for a multitude of ills, he ventured several major operations, even trepanning<sup>21</sup> the skull of a man who had been hit on the head with an ax several months before. The man made a very good patient, and was much relieved by the operation, though it makes one shudder to think what he must have suffered in those days before the discovery of anesthetics. Dr. Kalberlahn

<sup>16</sup> Bethabara diary, Nov. 18, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> His "medicinal garden" was laid out in October, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> Report of Jacob Loesch, 1754. Bethabara diary, Dec. 13, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 105, 161, 173.

<sup>21</sup> Bethabara diary, Feb. 12, 13, 19, 1755. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 124.

died in the typhus epidemic of 1759, soon after his return from a year in Pennsylvania. He was succeeded by Dr. Schubert<sup>22</sup> and Dr. Jacob Bonn,<sup>23</sup> so, thanks to the Moravians, Piedmont Carolina and adjacent parts of Virginia<sup>24</sup> enjoyed the services of trained physicians from 1753 on.

The public service of the Moravians through their handicraftsmen began almost as soon as did their medical service. On January 10, 1754, an Englishman came from the Yadkin bringing several deer skins, from which he asked the tailor to make him two pairs of breeches. From this beginning arose a considerable demand for the various articles made at Bethabara, and a store<sup>25</sup> was established to supplement the trade carried on directly with the shops. Certain essential supplies for household use were not to be obtained on the frontier, and the Moravians sent their wagons many miles to secure them for their own use and the use of their neighbors. Salt, particularly, was an ever-present problem. In December, 1753, a few bushels were bought sixty miles away in Virginia, but usually the wagons brought it from Charleston,<sup>26</sup> South Carolina, which was their main source of supply for goods which they could not make, and the market for their surplus products. Some articles were brought from Pennsylvania;<sup>27</sup> a few were imported direct from Europe;<sup>28</sup> and when Springhill<sup>29</sup> was established at the head of navigation on the Cape Fear River some things could be secured there. On February 14, 1760, the wagon returning from Springhill brought "salt and hardware, wine, rosebushes, Chickesaw plums, and a kind of pine with very long leaves," a load which well illustrates their interest in material needs, beauty and botany. The long-leafed pine did not grow in Wachovia, but the Moravian Tract had quite a variety of trees and shrubs. A paper<sup>30</sup> prepared in 1764 describes the topography, flora and fauna of the land belonging to the Moravians. It lists forty-one varieties of tree and shrub, twenty-one bushes and woody vines, one hundred and thirteen wild plants, one hundred and thirteen cultivated plants and grains, seven varieties of fruits which

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1760. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1758; July 11, 1766. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 192, 334.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1754; Aug. 19, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 108, 171.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1760. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 233.

<sup>26</sup> *Memorabilia* of 1765. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 296.

<sup>27</sup> Letter, Spangenberg to Zinzendorf, June 11, 1760. *Records*, Vol. II, p. 540.

<sup>28</sup> Bethabara diary, March 14, 1769. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 388.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, and Nov. 1, 1759. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 212, 213, 229.

<sup>30</sup> In Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. II, pp. 557-587.

the Moravians had introduced, besides white grapes, goose-berries, currants, cloves, roses and privet. Their fields and gardens must have aroused the curiosity of visitors, and Governor Tryon sent to them to secure all kinds of seeds for a plantation which he wished to lay out.<sup>31</sup> Among the cultivated plants were a number belonging in the medicinal garden maintained by Dr. Kalberlahn and his successors, and there was a little laboratory<sup>32</sup> in which the herbs were prepared for use as medicine. In May, 1761, "a careful survey was made of the native herbs, with an eye to their medicinal value, and several useful ones were found, for instance 'Squasweed' for rheumatism, 'Milk-weed' for pleurisy, 'Indian Physic' for preventing fevers, 'Robert Plantin' a valuable antidote,—as is also 'Snake-root,' and much Holly."

As the Moravian settlement increased in size other industries were introduced besides those already mentioned. Among them was the pottery, which at once proved a center of attraction to very many people, besides providing the Moravian homes with mugs<sup>33</sup> and other earthen ware. The Bethabara diary records that on June 15, 1761, "people gathered from fifty and sixty miles away to buy pottery, but many came in vain as the supply was exhausted by noon. We greatly regretted not being able to supply their needs." Two years later shipments were made to Salisbury and to Fort Dobbs;<sup>34</sup> and the demand continued steadily, it being noted on May 21, 1770, that of the numerous visitors "some came sixty or eighty miles to buy milk crocks and pans in our pottery. They bought the entire stock, not one piece was left; many could get only half they wanted, and others, who came late, could find none. They were promised more next week."

Trade in the shops and in the store was carried on largely by means of barter, and various entries in the diary give valuable information concerning prices. Currency fluctuated, as it has always done, but it is interesting to see how little change there has been in the relative value of commodities. On October 26, 1755,<sup>35</sup> two men came to Bethabara from the Town Fork, and an agreement was made whereby they were to make three thousand shingles, the pay

<sup>31</sup> Bethabara diary, March 24, 1765. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 301.

<sup>32</sup> Bethabara Memorabilia. 1759. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 208.

<sup>33</sup> Bethabara diary, Sept. 10, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, and Aug. 25, 1763. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 269, 275, 412.

<sup>35</sup> *Records*, Vol. I, p. 139.

to be a pair of shoes apiece. Today the price of three thousand shingles equals the price of two pairs of good shoes, which is exactly what it was one hundred and seventy-five years ago!

Another enterprise of public importance was the Bethabara mill. In his report on the Wachovia tract Bishop Spangenberg stated that it was "nineteen miles to the nearest mill," so naturally the Moravians built their own mill as soon as possible, and the neighbors just as naturally availed themselves of its convenience. Not only did the mill grind meal for the Moravians and the near-by settlers, but it was a sort of clearing-house for the supply of grain. When harvests were bountiful the Moravians sold their surplus, either as grain or meal; but when harvests were scant the supply was carefully guarded, so that it might be made to serve not only the Moravians but less provident neighbors. Two extracts<sup>36</sup> from the Memorabilia of Wachovia are typical of many others.—"In the early months of the year 1759 there arose a great lack of food in the country for one hundred miles around us, and our gracious Father in Heaven had so ordered it that we not only had enough for ourselves but were able to help many hundreds of people who came to us from sixty miles away, and we were able to supply something to each one, and many a man thanked God that we are here." In 1766 it is said that "in material things we have experienced the manifold blessings of God. In the earlier months of the year we were somewhat anxious because of our small stock of grain and provisions, for want and high prices increased from day to day in our neighborhood, but by the very evident blessing of God our supply lasted, not only for ourselves but for the hundreds of poor people who came here for bread, often from many miles away, and so far as we know none went away hungry."

The Bethabara mill also served a purpose which was not contemplated when the mill was built. During the entire Colonial period the Moravian settlement was on the frontier, and visited by roving bands of Indians. The Moravians had hoped to establish missions among the Indians, but this did not prove feasible until much later, for in the years preceding the Revolution the Indians were restless, and the border settlements, and especially isolated farms, were in constant danger of their attack. By mid-summer of 1756 the French and Indian War began to be felt seriously in North

<sup>36</sup> *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 206, 321.

Carolina, and terror began to spread among the farms. The *Memorabilia of Outward Affairs*,<sup>37</sup> in Bethabara, says that in July "certain people from the Town Fork begged that if danger increased they might come to us, . . . for it was reported that the Indians were out again in Virginia, had seized a fort, killed the men in it, and burned the houses. We could not refuse their requests; and at a conference held on the 5th it was decided to protect our houses with palisades, and make them safe, before the enemy should invade our tract or attack us, for if the settlers were all going to retreat we would be the last left on the frontier, and the first to be attacked. All who were not busy with the harvest went to work the same day, and by the 23rd the palisade was finished, except the gates." The number of refugees fluctuated with the reports of Indian incursions. Henry Banner, for example, "fled from his house fourteen times during this war," and finally stayed in Bethabara fourteen months.<sup>38</sup> By the end of July, 1757, there were fifty refugees in Bethabara, and all the houses were so crowded that the refugees were given permission<sup>39</sup> to fell trees and erect small cabins for themselves. In April, 1758, all the small cabins were again filled; and as the demand for protection increased it was decided to stockade the mill,<sup>40</sup> where eight log cabins were built so as to form one side of the stockade, the other three sides being constructed of boards, as there was a sawmill by the gristmill. On the 12th of May, 1759, there were 120 refugees in the Moravian settlement, finding there the safety for which they longed as they fled "as though the enemy were at their heels."<sup>41</sup> By April, 1760, more than 220 had "taken refuge with the Brethren, fleeing from the terrible hand of the Wild Men."<sup>42</sup>

The Moravian treatment of the Indians was both kind and wise. Food was given to all who came hungry. From the first of March to the end of October, 1758, five hundred and thirty-eight Indians were fed at Bethabara, and as they had from two to four meals each the actual number of meals furnished was over two thousand.<sup>43</sup> At the same time a careful watch was kept,<sup>44</sup> and other due precautions

<sup>37</sup> *Records*, Vol. I, p. 158.

<sup>38</sup> April 23, 1761. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 236.

<sup>39</sup> *Records*, Vol. I, p. 181.

<sup>40</sup> *Records*, Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>41</sup> *Memorabilia of Wachovia, 1759. Records*, Vol. I, p. 206.

<sup>42</sup> Letter, Spangenberg to Zinzendorf, June 11, 1760. *Records*, Vol. II, p. 539.

<sup>43</sup> "A true Account of the Cherokee Indians who passed and repassed Bethabara in Wachovia, and the meals they had in the year 1758." *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 195, 196.

<sup>44</sup> Bethabara diary, Feb. 19, 1760. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 229.

were taken, so that the Indians circulated two reports about Bethabara:—it was “the Dutch fort, where there are good people and much bread,”<sup>45</sup> but “the Dutchi were a dreadful people, very large and very smart, they had seen into their forts.”<sup>46</sup> No doubt this explains why they took no prisoners in what they called “the great town, where there were a great many people, where a great bell rang often, and during the night time after time a horn was blown, so that they feared to attack the town.”<sup>47</sup>

The presence of the neighbors, gathered under these conditions, gave the Moravians opportunity to further one of the objects which had brought them to Carolina. In a letter written by Bishop Spangenberg<sup>48</sup> on June 11, 1760, it is stated the “the Gospel is diligently proclaimed to them [the refugees], and not without results.” It is not too much to say that the Moravians brought the Church to that part of North Carolina in which Wachovia lay. Legally, the Church of England was the Established Church of North Carolina during the Colonial period, and an act<sup>49</sup> of the North Carolina Assembly, passed in 1754, made elaborate provision for the election of Vestrymen, the salaries of clergymen, etc., but as late as 1766 there were only seven Church of England ministers in the entire Province.<sup>50</sup> Occasionally a minister of the Presbyterian, the Reformed, the Baptist, or the English Church is mentioned in the early years of the diary, but so seldom that there is every reason to believe the statement made in November, 1753, by a man from the neighborhood of the Wachovia tract. He expressed his approval of the coming of two ministers, saying that “the people lived like wild men, never hearing of God or His word.”<sup>51</sup> The first company of Moravians left Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on October 8, 1753, having received the blessing of the Church for their new undertaking;<sup>52</sup> their first act in North Carolina was to hold a praise service;<sup>53</sup> and meetings for prayer, instruction and praise were a part of the routine of every day from that time on. When English-speaking guests were present the service

<sup>45</sup> Summary in Wachovia Church Book, 1758. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 184.

<sup>46</sup> Bethabara diary, Nov. 20, 1760. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 233.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1760. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>48</sup> *Records*, Vol. II, p. 539.

<sup>49</sup> Given by title only in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, but there is a full copy in manuscript in the Salem Archives.

<sup>50</sup> Report of Eitwein's visit to Governor Tryon, April, 1766. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 341.

<sup>51</sup> Travel diary, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 78.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* *Records*, Vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* *Records*, Vol. I, p. 59.

was held in English;<sup>54</sup> and as opportunity offered neighbors were visited in their homes and services were held for them.<sup>55</sup> In the Wachovia Church Books there are many pages filled with records of the baptisms of "Children of Friends and Neighbors," a purely friendly service given by the Moravian ministers to pious but churchless neighbors of other denominations, no claim ever being made that by such baptism the children became members of the Moravian Church.

Though limited to the one settlement the Moravian Church was the one really independent, fully organized church in the Province. If members of another church wanted to support their own ministers they were at liberty to do so, but taxes had to be paid to support the clergy of the Church of England whether they had their own ministers or not. Under authority of the act of the English Parliament<sup>56</sup> the Assembly of North Carolina created the Parish of Dobbs,<sup>57</sup> with limits coinciding with the lines of Wachovia; the settlers within the Parish of Dobbs elected their own Vestry and their own Church Wardens,—Moravians, of course,—and thereafter things moved according to Moravian methods.<sup>58</sup> Under Jacob Rogers, Richard Utley and George Soelle a number of preaching places were established, some at a considerable distance from Wachovia.<sup>59</sup> By the end of the Colonial period there were six organized Moravian congregations in Wachovia; and there is no way of estimating the good that had been done in numbers of scattered homes, whose inmates were held for God and the Christian religion until the coming of ministers of their own denominations made it possible for them again to become active members of one or another church. Had the Moravians made any attempt to proselyte they might have swept western North Carolina into their fold, but they gave their services freely, and with no effort to profit thereby, and others reaped that which they had sowed.

There was much in the Moravian church service to attract the casual visitor, as well as hold the interest of the member. An innate love of books and music came to North Carolina with them. While their libraries were necessarily limited, because of the cost of trans-

<sup>54</sup> Bethabara diary, Nov. 26, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>55</sup> Dec. 2, 1759; April 4, 1763; March 15, 1765. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 214, 270, 301.

<sup>56</sup> Passed in 1749; copy in Salem Archives. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>57</sup> Laws of N. C., 1755, Chap. XIII.

<sup>58</sup> Instructions for Rev. Jacob Rogers, June 19, 1758. *Records*, Vol. I, 196-198.

<sup>59</sup> Wachovia Memorabilia, 1768, 1772. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 369, Vol. II, p. 665.

portation, they received a few copies of important Moravian publications as they appeared,<sup>60</sup> and they were regular subscribers to the Moravian church newspaper<sup>61</sup> of the day, sent out in manuscript to those congregations which paid for having copies made. Books were lent to neighbors and to visitors;<sup>62</sup> and books and church papers were read aloud in what were called "reading meetings,"<sup>63</sup> where all could listen together to the contents of the one copy available. The Salem Archives also contain a considerable number of old books in different languages and on various subjects, showing the breadth of learning of the pioneer settlers in Bethabara and Salem, especially the ministers, since it was naturally their books which found place on the Archive shelves.

Music appears on every page of the diaries, and found place in every gathering for worship, and in many of a more strictly social nature. Song services were held from the beginning, with hymns taken from the Latin, inherited from the days of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, or written by various composers including members of their own church in Germany and England.<sup>64</sup> When they wanted a hymn for some special occasion they wrote the words themselves,<sup>65</sup> setting it to a well-known tune. When some one arrived bringing a new tune<sup>66</sup> they welcomed it with avidity, and at once set to work to learn it. A horn<sup>67</sup> was brought by the first company in 1753. Three months later they announced their evening services with a new trumpet,<sup>68</sup> which they had "made from a hollow tree, and no trumpet in Bethlehem has a better tone." In 1755 French horns and flutes<sup>69</sup> were brought to the village of Bethabara; violins<sup>70</sup> in 1756; a small organ<sup>71</sup> in 1762; and a set of trombones<sup>72</sup> in 1768. In September, 1767, Governor Tryon visited Bethabara, and the diary gives this pleasing picture of Mrs. Tryon's enjoyment of the Moravian music. "In the afternoon the Governor's Lady went

<sup>60</sup> Bethabara diary, Sept. 19, 1767. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 354.

<sup>61</sup> "Gemein Nachrichten."

<sup>62</sup> Bethabara diary, July 19, 1755. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 133.

<sup>63</sup> Jacob Loesch's report, in Bethabara diary under date of Aug. 14, 1754. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 105.

<sup>64</sup> The Salem Archives contain an interesting collection of Moravian Hymn-books, showing more than a thousand hymns known to the Brethren during the Colonial period.

<sup>65</sup> Bethabara diary, Nov. 4, 1755. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 147.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1754. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 96.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, and Nov. 15, 1755. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 122, 148.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1756. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1762. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 247.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, June 18, 1768. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 378.

alone into our Saal, and played a little on the organ. Our girls came in and began to sing, which pleased the Lady so much that Br. Graff must play for them; then the Governor also came, and they entertained themselves in this way for a whole hour, the Lady being particularly pleased."<sup>73</sup>

From the very beginning of the *Unitas Fratrum* careful attention was paid to the education of their children and young people. That the diary of the first three years in Wachovia makes no mention of any school is explained by the fact that the first married Moravians moving to Wachovia left their children in the church schools in Pennsylvania in order to spare them the hardships of frontier life. On November 30, 1756, an English class was begun for the young men; and in 1762 schools were begun in Bethabara<sup>74</sup> for the few boys and girls there of school age. In the latter year a school was begun at Bethania, a village three miles from Bethabara, which had been founded in 1759 by four families who had refugeed among the Moravians and four Moravian families from Bethabara. The Bethania school attracted the attention of neighbors, and several brought their children to live in the village and share in the instruction given.<sup>75</sup> The settlers living in the Friedberg, Friedland and Hope sections asked for settled ministers as much for the schools they would teach as for the church services they would hold.<sup>76</sup> Five months after the married people moved from Bethabara to the new town of Salem a school for girls<sup>77</sup> was started, and soon thereafter a school for boys.<sup>78</sup> All of these schools served well their day and generation; the Salem boys' school lasted for more than a century; and the Salem school for girls still lives in the widely known Salem College, with an unbroken existence of one hundred and fifty-nine years.

In conclusion it may be said that the Moravians in North Carolina were exponents of good citizenship. They were not politicians, if by politics is meant party strife and office-seeking, but they were intentionally and intelligently law-abiding. In Edenton, on his tour of exploration in 1752, Bishop Spangenberg wrote: "If, as I hope,

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1767. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 354.

<sup>74</sup> *Memorabilia of Wachovia*, 1762. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 173, 241.

<sup>75</sup> Feb. 16, 1764; April 17, 1765. *Records*, Vol. I, pp. 285, 301.

<sup>76</sup> Friedberg diary, Feb. 18, 1770; *Memorabilia of Wachovia*, 1775. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 408; Vol. II, p. 854.

<sup>77</sup> *Aufscher Collegium Minutes*, May 30, 1772. *Records*, Vol. II, p. 699.

<sup>78</sup> *Wachovia Memorabilia*, 1774. *Records*, Vol. II, p. 811.

we settle in North Carolina, it will be very important that from the beginning we have some one who will pay particular attention to the laws of the land, for from the law book I see that there are many rules and laws of which our Brethren would not think. . . . Here, as in all English countries, there are good laws which are not kept, but the Brethren can not behave in that way."<sup>79</sup> One month after the first party of Moravians reached Wachovia a conference was held, and among other things it was determined "that the laws of the land must be observed carefully, and that Br. Jacob Loesch should acquaint himself with the laws and see that we keep them."<sup>80</sup> Toward the close of the Colonial period the governing boards of Wachovia once more reviewed their "Rules and Regulations," point by point. When the Article Concerning Rulers was read "it was noted that under the English Constitution the real Rulers are the Laws, which are made by the representatives of the people in the Assembly, and are approved by the Governor and King. These Laws are then so binding that no English subject, and not even the King himself, dare alter them, and a new Law is required to repeal them. Officers of the Law, even in subordinate positions, must be treated with respect by the Brethren, on account of their offices, without thinking of their persons."<sup>81</sup>

It must be admitted that in their reverence for the Law the Moravian settlers of Wachovia were two or three hundred years ahead of their times. Churches and schools, medicine and surgery, commerce and industry, good books and good music, abound today. But obedience to all the laws, whether approved of or not, respect towards all civil officials, whether liked or not,—this is a still unattained ideal, a challenge from the colonial Moravians to the citizenship of the Twentieth Century.

<sup>79</sup> Spangenberg diary, Sept. 13, 1752. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 33.

<sup>80</sup> Bethabara diary, Dec. 19, 1753. *Records*, Vol. I, p. 84.

<sup>81</sup> Grosse Helfer Conferenz Minutes, Dec. 6, 1772. *Records*, Vol. II, p. 725.

# NORTH CAROLINIANS AT WEST POINT BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR<sup>1</sup>

BY GEORGE W. McIVER

In the period starting from the establishment of the National Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., in 1802 up to the beginning of the Civil War sixty-seven cadets appointed from North Carolina were graduated and commissioned in the regular army. Of this number eight are put down in the records as having been born outside the State, although actual residents at the time of appointment. On the other hand eight who were born in North Carolina were appointed to West Point while residents of other states.

This account has not been made to include the latter class of graduates since with one or two exceptions they were the sons of transient parents without any definite affiliation with the state in which they were born. The data given in the tabulation herewith has been obtained for the most part from Cullum's *Biographical Register of Graduates of the United States Military Academy*. The names of cadets are arranged in the order of their graduation and where there are two or more graduates in one year, the names are given according to relative standing in the class. The state or county where born is noted under remarks in those instances where the cadet was not native born. Junius Daniel and William Gaston, recorded as having been appointed "At Large" have been included in the enumeration for the reason that both were born in North Carolina and both had definite affiliations with the State at the time of appointment and afterwards.

	CLASS	REMARKS
William McRee	1805	Served in War of 1812 as Chief Engineer of General Brown's Army. Resigned March 31st, 1819 as Lieutenant Colonel. Died May 15th, 1833 at St. Louis, Mo.

<sup>1</sup>This article is based for the most part on information contained in Cullum's, George Washington, *Biographical Register of Graduates of the United States Military Academy*. Other sources of information are various records of the Military Academy; Official Records of the War 1861-65, and North Carolina Regimental Histories.

	CLASS	REMARKS
Daniel Turner	1814	Served in War of 1812. After muster out returned to North Carolina. On Government construction work Mare Island, Calif., 1854-1860. Died at Mare Island, Calif., July 21, 1860.
William Gibbes McNeill	1817	Resigned from the Army November 23rd, 1837. Engineer and Railroad builder. Died February 16th, 1853.
Samuel McKenzie	1818	Served in Florida Indian War, also in Mexican War. Died in Mexico City, October 19th, 1847.
William McKenzie	1819	Killed by insane soldier on Northwest frontier September 26th, 1828.
William H. Bell	1820	Served in Mexican War. Resigned May 28th, 1861. No Civil War service. Died December 20th, 1865.
Samuel B. Dusenbury	1820	Served in Florida Indian War. Died in service April 5th, 1855.
Samuel McRee	1820	Served in Florida Indian War, also in Mexican War. Died in service July 15th, 1849.
James W. Cooke	1822	Resigned from the Army January 31st, 1833. Died 1833.
Alfred Mordecai	1823	Resigned from the Army May 5th, 1861. No Civil War service. Died October 22nd, 1887.
Samuel M. Southerland	1823	Resigned from the Army July 15, 1824. Died 1836. Was physician and planter in Alabama 1826-36.
John C. Newell	1823	Died in service March 26th, 1835.
Frederick Norcom	1825	Resigned from the Army August 31st, 1832. Died December 9th, 1865. No Civil War service.
Nathaniel H. Street	1825	Resigned from the Army September 1st, 1826. Joined C. S. A. 1861. Died in N. C. July 6th, 1876. Teacher and legislator in N. C.

	CLASS	REMARKS
Bennett H. Henderson	1826	Born in Tenn. Resigned June 3rd, 1832. Died July 8th, 1832, from fall.
Francis L. Dancy	1826	Resigned from the Army September 11th, 1826. Resident of Florida. Civil engineer and surveyor. Served in Florida Indian War. Joined C. S. A. in 1861. Died October 27th, 1890.
Martin P. Parks	1826	Resigned from the Army April 15th, 1828. Studied for the ministry and was ordained. Was chaplain U. S. Military Academy 1840-1846. Died July 21st, 1853.
Leonidas Polk	1827	Resigned from the Army December 1st, 1827. Studied for the ministry, was ordained and became Bishop. Joined C. S. A. 1861 (Lieut. General); killed in battle at Pine Mountain, Ga., June 14, 1864.
Gabriel J. Rains	1827	Served in Florida Indian War (wounded) and in Mexican War. Resigned July 31st, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Brigadier General). Died August 6th, 1881.
Joseph H. La Motte	1827	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War (wounded). Resigned from the Army October 31, 1856 and became a resident of Missouri. No Civil War service. Died November 15th, 1888.
Edwin R. Long	1829	Served in Florida Indian War. Died in service March 11th, 1846.
Theophilus H. Holmes	1829	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War. Resigned from the Army, April 22nd, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Lieut. General). Died in N. C. June 20th, 1880.
John H. K. Burgwin	1830	Served in Mexican War. Killed in battle February 7th, 1847.

	CLASS	REMARKS
David A. Manning	1830	Died in service at Key West, Florida, July 21st, 1835.
James Allen	1831	Resigned from the Army July 31st, 1834. Died in N. C. October 26th, 1847. No Mexican War service.
John G. Harvey	1831	Resigned from the Army February 15th, 1833. Lived in Alabama where he was newspaper editor. History not known. Died .....
Richard C. Gatlin	1832	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War (wounded). Resigned from the Army May 20th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Brigadier General). Died September 8th, 1896.
Henry L. Scott	1833	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War. Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. Retired from active service for disability October 30th, 1861. Resigned October 31st, 1862. Died January 6th, 1896.
Arnoldus V. Brumby	1835	Born in S. C. Resigned from the Army June 30th, 1836. Civil engineer and teacher in Georgia. Died .....
John L. Keais	1835	Served in Florida Indian War. Killed in action with hostile Indians, December 28th, 1835. (Dade's Massacre.)
Alexander M. Mitchell	1835	Served in Florida Indian War. Resigned from the Army March 25, 1837. Engineer and lawyer in Ohio. Served in Mexican War as Colonel 1st Ohio Vol. Inf. Severely wounded at battle of Monterey. Died Feb. 28th, 1861.
William Mock	1836	Served in Florida Indian War. Resigned June 30, 1841. Removed to California. Died in California April 2, 1898.

	CLASS	REMARKS
Charles Hoskins	1836	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War. Killed in battle Sept. 21st, 1846, at Monterey, Mexico.
Braxton Bragg	1837	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War. Resigned from the Army January 3rd, 1856. Joined C. S. A. in 1861. (General). Died September 27th, 1876.
Franklin Saunders	1837	Served in Florida Indian War. Resigned from the Army June 30th, 1838. Served in Mexican War as Captain 1st Kentucky Vol. Inf. Died February 4th, 1856.
William H. Wright	1838	Died in service December 29th, 1845.
Jeremy F. Gilmer	1839	Served in Mexican War. Resigned June 29th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Major General). Died December 1st, 1883.
Charles P. Kingsbury	1840	Born in N. Y. Served in Mexican War. Served in U. S. A. in Civil War. Died in service December 25th, 1879.
James G. Martin	1840	Served in Mexican War. Lost arm at battle of Churubusco. Resigned June 14th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Brigadier General). Died October 4th, 1878.
Reuben P. Campbell	1840	Served in Florida Indian War and in Mexican War. Resigned from the Army, May 11th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Colonel 7th N. C. Regt.) Killed in battle June 27th, 1862.
Harvey A. Allen	1841	Served in Mexican War. Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. Retired from active service 1879. Died September 20th, 1882.

	CLASS	REMARKS
John D. Clark	1842	Served in Mexican War. Wounded at battle of Palo Alto. Drowned in Mississippi River August 2nd, 1848.
George W. Hawkins	1844	Served in Mexican War. Dismissed from the service January 27th, 1853. Was engaged in farming in Warren County, N. C., in 1854. Later history not known. Died .....
George P. Andrews	1845	Born in Connecticut. Served in Mexican War, (wounded). Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. Retired from active service as Colonel 2nd U. S. Arty., March 22nd, 1885. Died July 2nd, 1887.
Francis T. Bryan	1846	Served in Mexican War. Wounded at battle of Buena Vista. Resigned from the Army June 10th, 1861. No Civil War service. Died October 24th, 1917.
Thomas M. Whedbee	1846	Died in service March 28th, 1849.
John Gibbon	1847	Born in Pennsylvania. Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. (Major General). Died February 6th, 1896.
James Holmes	1848	Died in service May 27th, 1854.
Richard I. Dodge	1848	Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. Promoted Colonel 11th U. S. Infantry June 26th, 1882. Died June 15, 1895.
John A. Mebane	1850	Died in service September 27th, 1854.
Robert Ransom	1850	Resigned from the Army May 24th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Major General). Died January 14th, 1892.
Martin P. Parks	1851	Died in service June 5th, 1852. Was son of Reverend Martin P. Parks, class of 1826.
Alexander McRae	1851	Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. (Captain 3rd U. S. Cav.) Killed in battle at Val Verde, N. M. February 21st, 1862.

	CLASS	REMARKS
Junius Daniel	1851	Resigned from the Army January 14, 1858. Joined C. S. A. in 1861. (Brigadier General). Killed in battle at Spottsylvania C. H. Va. May 13, 1864.
Lawrence S. Baker	1851	Resigned from the Army May 10th, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Brigadier General). Died April 10, 1907.
George B. Anderson	1852	Resigned from the Army April 25, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Brigadier General). Died October 16, 1862, of wounds received at battle of Sharpsburg, Md.
Matthew L. Davis	1852	Resigned from the Army May 13, 1861. Joined C. S. A. Colonel 19th N. C. Regt. (2nd Cavalry). Died April 23, 1862.
William D. Pender	1854	Resigned from the Army March 21st, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Major General). Died July 18, 1863, of wounds received at battle of Gettysburg, Pa.
Samuel T. Shepperd	1854	Born in D. C. Died in service June 27, 1855.
Junius B. Wheeler	1855	Remained in U. S. A. in 1861. Professor of Engineering U. S. Military Academy, Sept. 16, 1871, to September 29, 1884. Retired from active service September 29, 1884. Died at Lenoir, N. C., July 15, 1886.
Robert C. Hill	1855	Resigned from the Army, March 3, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Colonel 48th N. C. Regiment). Died of disease in N. C., December 4, 1863.
Charles C. Lee	1856	Born in S. C. Resigned from the Army July 31, 1859. Joined C. S. A. in 1861. (Colonel 37th N. C. Regt.) Killed in battle at Frazier's Farm, Va. June 30th, 1862.

	CLASS	REMARKS
William Gaston	1856	Killed in action with hostile Indians near site of Fort Walla Walla, Washington, May 17, 1858.
Solomon Williams	1858	Resigned from the Army May 3, 1861. Joined C. S. A. Colonel 19th N. C. Regt. (2nd Cavalry). Killed in battle at Brandy Station, Va. June 9, 1863.
William G. Robinson	1858	Born in Canada. Resigned from the Army May 17, 1861. Joined C. S. A. Lieutenant Colonel 19th N. C. Regt. (2nd Cavalry.) Wounded and captured in action near Newbern, N. C. April 14, 1862. Survived the war and was living in Kentucky in 1876. Died....
Stephen D. Ramseur	1860	Resigned from the Army April 6, 1861. Joined C. S. A. (Major General). Died October 21, 1864, of wounds received in battle of Cedar Creek, Va.
John M. Kerr	1860	Resigned from the Army 1861. Joined C. S. A. Died in N. C. March 10, 1862.

The following graduates born in North Carolina were residents of other states at the time they received appointments to West Point. They have not been included in the account of the services of the sixty-seven North Carolina graduates.

	CLASS	APPOINTED FROM
Francis L. Jones	1824	Tennessee
Alexander J. Swift	1830	New York
Samuel D. J. Moore	1837	Alabama
George W. Rains	1842	Alabama
Cadmus M. Wilcox	1846	Tennessee
John H. Forney	1852	Alabama
Marshall T. Polk	1852	At Large
Charles G. Rogers	1854	Virginia

The five last named all joined the Confederate States Army in 1861. Cadmus M. Wilcox and John H. Forney became Major Generals and George W. Rains a Brigadier General. Cadmus M. Wilcox was a distinguished division commander in the Army of Northern Virginia, his division being composed largely of North Carolina troops. Alexander J. Swift who graduated at the head of his class was the son of an army officer stationed in North Carolina at the time of the son's birth. Upon his graduation he was assigned to the Corps of Engineers and much of his work as an engineer officer between 1830 and 1839 was in connection with the construction of Fort Caswell, North Carolina, and the improvement of the navigation of the Cape Fear River and other waters in Eastern North Carolina. He died in 1847 at the age of thirty-seven. Marshall T. Polk lost a leg at the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, while serving on the staff of his kinsman, Leonidas Polk. His rank was that of Captain.

The sixty-seven North Carolina graduates were the survivors of one hundred and ninety-three candidates admitted to the Academy from North Carolina in the period 1802-1860. Making a comparison with the neighboring states, Virginia and South Carolina, Virginia had in the same period three hundred and seventy-three candidates admitted and one hundred and thirty-two graduated cadets; South Carolina had one hundred and fifty-four candidates admitted and fifty-eight were graduated. Reduced to percentages these figures show North Carolina with thirty-four and seven-tenths per cent of successful appointees, Virginia thirty-five and three-tenths per cent and South Carolina with thirty-seven and six-tenths per cent. These percentages would be improved somewhat if cadets admitted in the years 1857-60, were excluded. As it was, the war intervened and none of them remained to complete the course. Complete figures for the entire period are not immediately available, but it is known that between the years 1845 to 1866 inclusive, forty-three per cent of those admitted from all the states were successful in completing the course. With this figure as a basis of comparison Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina all show to some disadvantage in the number of successful appointees. Probably the New England states with their better school systems would exhibit a record somewhat above forty-three per cent. When it is remembered that as a rule

appointments have been made equitably throughout the whole country some disparity is exhibited in the number of North Carolina graduates compared to numbers accredited to Virginia and South Carolina. For the greater part of the period under consideration the number of appointments to cadetships at West Point corresponded to the number of representatives in Congress, each having an allotted number of appointments. Representatives in turn were apportioned according to population. To have a basis for comparison the United States census report of 1840 is taken as representing a fair average condition as to relative populations. Considering first the white element of the population from which appointments were made, the 1840 census gives figures which when reduced show that for every one hundred white persons in South Carolina there were one hundred and ninety white persons in North Carolina and three hundred and two in Virginia. On this basis if South Carolina turned out fifty-eight graduates, North Carolina should have had one hundred and ten graduates and Virginia one hundred and seventy-five. Here is seen a notable disparity to the disadvantage of North Carolina. Taking the combined populations, white and black, since these determined the number of appointments made, the 1840 census figures, when reduced show that for every one hundred persons white and black in South Carolina there were one hundred and twenty-six of the two races in North Carolina and two hundred and eight in Virginia. Hence with fifty-eight graduates coming from South Carolina the quota of North Carolina would be seventy-three and that of Virginia one hundred and twenty. These figures do not differ greatly from those showing actual numbers there being a shortage of six for North Carolina and a surplus of twelve for Virginia. The point to be made is that the preponderant slave population in South Carolina, amounting to about fifty-five per cent, counting as it did, as a factor in the scheme of apportionment, gave to a minority white population a larger number of appointments compared to the other states where the slave population was in the minority. In North Carolina at this time the slave population was slightly less than thirty-three per cent of the total while the white population was nearly twice as great as that of South Carolina. The somewhat inferior showing made by North Carolina may have been due to social and educational conditions existing at the time. North Caro-

lina was a comparatively new community, its people or a great majority of them living under conditions approximating those of pioneers engaged in developing a new country. In the thinly populated districts in which they lived there were no large communities, means of travel and communication were poor, social life was not highly developed and schools were poor and inadequate. In such a commonwealth where agriculture was the main industry there was naturally a smaller number of families whose sons would be inclined to follow a professional career of any sort.

The percentage of successful appointees thirty-five per cent has been noted. The corresponding percentage of failures, about sixty-five per cent, gives positive evidence of lack of good preliminary schooling. The rule always has been that lack of preparation is the main cause of failure to complete the course and these North Carolina failures were probably no exception to the rule. There is no telling how many aspirants tried for the entrance examination and failed. Not all of those separated from the Academy before graduation were deficient in studies or inapt in a military way. An old Cadet Register shows that George W. McGehee of North Carolina was a member of the class of 1825 and at the end of three years he stood No. 9 in a class of forty-four members. He was then rated as an Acting Assistant Professor of Mathematics, it being the practice at that time to employ some of the best students in the upper classes as instructors for the lower classmen. He left the Academy during his final year but the reason for the separation cannot be learned. Augustus W. Davidson admitted to the Academy July 1st, 1835, died while a cadet, October 25, 1837. In spite of all that has been said there must have been some good teachers and apt pupils in North Carolina in those days if anything is to be inferred from the records in scholarship made at West Point by such men as, Mordecai, Wright, Bell, Allen, Bragg, Gilmer, Bryan and others.

Prior to the year 1818 relative standing in classes based on proficiency in studies and good conduct was not prescribed, but under a regulation established in that year this grading was called for and the leading five cadets in each class were thereafter to be rated as "Distinguished." The names of these cadets were also published annually in the Army Register.

An inspection of the class standing records made by North Carolina cadets shows a very creditable record in scholarship. William H. Bell of the class of 1820 stood No. 3 in his class; Alfred Mordecai of the class of 1823 stood No. 1; Samuel M. Southerland of the same class stood No. 5; James Allen of the class of 1830 was No. 3; Braxton Bragg of the class of 1837 was No. 5; William H. Wright of the class of 1838 was No. 1; Jeremy F. Gilmer of the class of 1839 was No. 4; Charles P. Kingsbury of the class of 1840 was No. 2; Junius B. Wheeler of the class of 1855 was No. 5; Charles C. Lee of the class of 1856 was No. 4. All of these, ten in number, are noted as "Distinguished" under the rule referred to. These records were made in a school where no favors are shown, where hard work is compulsory and where competition is always keen throughout the four years course of study.

In addition to the above, Francis T. Bryan of the class of 1846 stood No. 6 in an unusually large class. He was considered such a good student that he was assigned on graduation to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, an assignment usually given to "Distinguished cadets."

Samuel B. Dusenbury of the class of 1820 stood No. 13; James H. Cooke of 1822 stood No. 11; Bennett H. Henderson of the class of 1826 stood No. 7 in his class; Francis L. Dancy of the same class stood No. 11; Leonidas Polk of the class of 1827 stood No. 8; Gabriel J. Rains of the same class stood No. 13; Arnoldus V. Brumby of the class of 1835 stood No. 7; John L. Keais of the same class was No. 14; James G. Martin of the class of 1840 stood No. 14. Many of the class were distinguished in after life. Thomas M. Whedbee of the class of 1846 was No. 10; George B. Anderson of the class of 1852 was No. 10. He was distinguished in pure mathematical studies throughout the course, but had no talent for drawing, a defect which impaired his general class standing. Before going to West Point he had been a student at the State University at Chapel Hill.

Solomon Williams of the class of 1858 was No. 11. Stephen D. Ramseur of the class of 1860 was No. 14. Before going to West Point he had been a student at Davidson College. The additional names with class standing have been given to show how many there were who were excellent students without being quite in the dis-

tinguished class. George W. Rains of the class of 1842, born in North Carolina and appointed from Alabama stood No. 3 in his class. He served in the Mexican War and resigned from the Army October 31st, 1856. Joined the Confederate States Army in 1861 and was appointed Brigadier General. Of all those whose names have been given some were brilliant students, the equal of the best that West Point has ever turned out. Alfred Mordecai of the class of 1823, a native of Warrenton, North Carolina, was one of these. Another was William H. Wright of the class of 1838, a native of Wilmington, North Carolina. He was the undisputed leader for four years in the class in which P. G. T. Beauregard stood No. 2. Through some strange fate he lived but a few years and the promise he gave of a brilliant future was never fulfilled. James Allen of the class of 1831 was somewhat like him in ability and promise, but he also died early. John L. Keais of the class of 1835 was killed in the Seminole Indian War in Florida about six months after his graduation.

Life seems to have been uncertain for these early graduates. Of those who died before the Civil War, not counting the four who were killed in action, no less than fourteen died before reaching middle age.

The longevity record was established by Francis T. Bryan of the class of 1846 who died at St. Louis, Mo., October 24, 1917, at the age of ninety-four. He lived more than 71 years after his graduation. William Mock of the class of 1836 who resigned from the Army in 1841, died in California in 1898 in his eighty-seventh year. He was a resident of California from 1849 till the day of his death.

William McRee of the class of 1805, was one of the most notable of all the early graduates of West Point. He was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, the son of an officer of the North Carolina line in the Continental Army. He was appointed cadet from North Carolina in 1803 and was graduated in 1805, being assigned on graduation to the Corps of Engineers. The war of 1812 coming on, he, at the age of twenty-six, was Chief Engineer of General Jacob Brown's Army on the Niagara frontier. In all the operations in that section he showed extraordinary ability and won remarkable tributes from his commanders and associates. His commander General Jacob

Brown, said of him "McRee's industry and talents were the admiration of the whole Army." General Winfield Scott wrote of him in 1843:

In my opinion and perhaps in that of the whole Army he [McRee] combined more genius and military science with high courage than any other officer who participated in the War of 1812. I know that this was at least a very general opinion. If the treaty of peace had not prevented he could as I also know have been made a general officer in 1815 and I am confident that he would in the field have illustrated the highest grade.

General Cullum, the author of Cullum's Biographical Register, said of him:

He was the bright particular star of the war of 1812.

But Colonel McRee was notable not alone for his great military talents. He was a man of fine sensibilities and noble character. It is said of him that when President Monroe wished to appoint him Chief of Engineers to succeed General Swift, Colonel McRee declined because he did not desire a promotion over the head of his senior in rank although the latter had expressly waived any objection. So imbued was he with the importance of rank and precedence in the Army that when a foreign officer, Colonel Bernard, was appointed into the Corps of Engineers and placed above him in rank he resigned his commission as Lieutenant Colonel rather than submit to what he considered the injustice of being superseded in rank in his Corps. As Colonel McRee was well known to be a modest man who abhorred notoriety or publicity, the pride he possessed, which was thus so seriously wounded, must have been legitimate and free from any element of self conceit. Conscious of his own ability and with a record of high achievement he had a right to be proud. It is unfortunate that he fell a victim to his own high ideals through the action of those in authority who were unable to understand the sentiments which guided him. In civil life his engineering ability provided employment but he was not a money-maker and he was never affluent. He was appointed Surveyor General of the United States for the District of Illinois and Missouri, February 22, 1825 and died of asiatic cholera at St. Louis, Missouri, May 15, 1833 in his 46th year. He was never married.

Daniel Turner of the class of 1814 was the only other North Carolina graduate who served in the War of 1812. Upon his graduation he was commissioned Second Lieutenant of Artillery and was immediately detailed to engineering duty in connection with the erection of defenses for New York City and its environs. At the close of the war he declined an appointment in the Regular Army and returned to North Carolina to live. Prior to 1824 he served several terms in the state legislature and in 1827-29 he represented the district in which he lived in the United States Congress. In 1854-1860 he was engaged in government construction work at the United States Naval Station, Mare Island, California. He died at Mare Island, California, July 21, 1860.

William Gibbes McNeill of the class of 1817 was one of the most distinguished of the early graduates of West Point. In the official record he is put down as having been appointed a cadet at the Military Academy from New York state, but he had been born in Wilmington, North Carolina, and his parents were permanent residents of that city. At the time of his appointment he was in attendance at a school on Long Island, New York, and this circumstance accounts for the fact that New York rather than his legal residence was recorded in his appointment. At that time there was no regular rule in making appointments to the Military Academy and the place of residence made no difference. The system of representative appointments was established later on. Upon graduation he was assigned to the Artillery, but was transferred to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, January 27th, 1823. In 1824 he was engaged in survey work in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and in 1827 his services were loaned by the government to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company for the purpose of locating a proper route for this road to the Ohio River. This was the first important railroad project undertaken in the United States. At that time the Military Academy at West Point was about the only technical school in the country capable of training competent civil engineers and development companies naturally turned to that source of supply.

Associated with General McNeill as he came to be called later, were several other Army Engineer officers among them another graduate, George W. Whistler to whom he was related by marriage.

These two were associated professionally before and after General McNeill's resignation from the Army which took place in 1837 and their work included numerous projects extending from New England to Florida and Alabama. They became leaders in the civil engineering profession and it was said of them by a competent authority; "These two engineers exercised an influence throughout the country for many years much greater than any others. Indeed there were few works of importance undertaken at that time in connection with which their names do not appear."

The war with the various tribes of Indians occupying Florida was the principal military activity for the Regular Army in the interval between the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. It came to be known as the Seminole Indian War and it lasted seven years beginning in 1835. In this war about 4,000 officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army and about 20,000 volunteers were employed from first to last. The loss in the Regular Army was 77 officers and 1,381 enlisted men killed or died of disease.

Of the twenty-four North Carolina graduates who were on the active list of the Army during the period of this war sixteen served in campaigns against the Indians in Florida and of the ten who had gone into civil life Francis L. Dancy served with volunteer troops from Florida.

In the so called "Dade's Massacre," an action fought 28th of December 1835, John L. Keais of the class of 1835, a lieutenant in the 3rd Artillery was killed.

Captain Gabriel J. Rains, 7th Infantry of the class of 1827, was promoted major for gallant and meritorious conduct at Fort King, Florida, where he was severely wounded.

#### MEXICAN WAR SERVICE

Forty-six cadets appointed from North Carolina were graduated from the Military Academy in the period before the Mexican War. This includes those graduating in 1846 the year in which the war began. Of this number thirty-five are known to have been living when the war began, ten were known to have died and in one instance where the graduate had left the Army by resignation no record can be found.

Of the thirty-five who were living in 1846, twenty-four were on the active list of the Army and eleven were in civil life, having left the service by resignation. Of the twenty-four on the active list, twenty served with the Army at the front in Mexico and four were kept on duty at home for one reason or another.

Of the eleven who were in civil life when the war began, two served in Mexico with volunteer Regiments. Of the remaining nine in civil life, some were probably too infirm or were otherwise physically unfit for active service in the field. As for the rest, who were perhaps not averse to going to the war in a proper capacity it may be said that there was not then any governmental policy or system through which the services of graduates of the Military Academy established in civil life could be utilized on the outbreak of a war. It is a known fact that the government at this time declined to accept the services of a number of graduates in civil life who offered themselves. Of the twenty-two who served in the campaign in Mexico, Captain John H. K. Burgwin, 1st Dragoon of the class of 1830 and 1st Lieutenant Charles Hoskins, Adjutant, 4th United States Infantry, class of 1836 were killed in action. Seven others were wounded in action. One was given brevet rank for meritorious conduct while serving in the enemy's country during the war and eleven others were given brevet rank for gallant and meritorious conduct in action on specific occasions during the war.

Captain Samuel McKenzie, 2nd United States Artillery of the class of 1818 died of disease in Mexico City after the campaign was over. In the plans made for the capture of Chapultepec, Captain McKenzie was placed in command of a special storming party taken from General Worth's Division consisting of ten officers and two hundred and sixty enlisted men. The action was fought exactly according to plan, and Captain McKenzie was mentioned in General Scott's official report as having been one of the officers most distinguished in the brilliant operations which led to the capture of the Mexican stronghold.

His case is an example of the slow promotion which was the rule in the Army in those days. After twenty-nine years of active service in the Army he was still in the grade of captain at the time of his death.

Alexander M. Mitchell of the class of 1835 held the highest rank in the Mexican War of all North Carolina graduates. Being in civil life and a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio in 1846, he was appointed Colonel of the 1st Ohio Volunteer Infantry and served with his regiment in Mexico being severely wounded at the battle of Monterey, Mexico.

Probably the most distinguished in this war was Braxton Bragg of the class of 1837. He was a Captain in the 3rd United States Artillery and the Commander of a battery of horse artillery known then and for long afterwards as "Bragg's Battery." All the canoneers were mounted and the battery was trained to manuever at a full gallop. The celerity and precision of its movements and the discipline of its members had made it famous before the war and at the battle of Buena Vista it became still more famous. There it gave a magnificent exhibition of the value of training and discipline when it alone in the crisis of the battle under the expert leadership of its commander, met and turned back a great host of the enemy that was threatening to overwhelm General Taylor's Army. Captain Bragg was brevetted twice during this war.

John D. Clark of the class of 1842 who served in the war as 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 8th United States Infantry and was wounded at the battle of Palo Alto was drowned in the Mississippi River near Helena, Arkansas, August 2nd, 1848. He was brevetted captain for his services in the battle of Palo Alto.

Henry L. Scott of the class of 1833 held a very important position on the staff of General Winfield Scott during the Mexican campaign. In Cullum's Biographical Register it is stated that he was Chief of Staff of the Army from January 15, 1847 to February 18, 1848, but he was not so designated in the Army roster in which he is rated as an Assistant Adjutant General. Nearly all of General Scott's orders and communications to the Army were made over the signature of "H. L. Scott" and he probably was in fact the Chief of Staff though this title was not then officially authorized. He was a first lieutenant 4th Infantry, when the war began, but was promoted to be captain 4th Infantry February 16, 1847. He appears not to have received any advancement in rank by reason of his position on the staff. Prior to the war from 1842 to 1846 he had served with General Scott as Aid-de-Camp and after the war he

was assigned to the same duty, serving as senior Aid-de-Camp from September 26, 1850 to May 14, 1861. He was given the rank of Lieutenant Colonel Aid-de-Camp to the General in Chief, March 7, 1855. He was brevetted major August 20, 1847 for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco and received a brevet as lieutenant colonel September 13, 1847 for gallantry in action at Chapultepec.

Colonel Scott was a native of New Bern, North Carolina, and there was no blood relationship with General Scott. If so, it was a very distant one. However, he married Cornelia one of the daughters of General Scott and this relationship would account in part for the long and close association. Aside from this consideration Colonel Scott must have been a very capable staff officer, able, industrious and tactful, to have satisfied General Scott known to be a very exacting commander in all his official relations. Colonel Scott was retired from active service on account of physical disability in 1861 and in November of that year he accompanied General Scott to Europe where he remained for several years. His resignation as a retired officer of the Army was submitted while in Europe to take effect October 31, 1862, but through some oversight in the War Department at Washington the order announcing the resignation was not issued. Upon his return from Europe after the war he found that his name was still on the Army list. He thereupon had the record corrected and declined to accept four years of back pay which the authorities held was legally due him.

North Carolinians were not conspicuous in the upper grades of the Regular Army during the Mexican War. An inspection of the Army Register issued January 1, 1847 shows only twenty-six North Carolina officers altogether, line and staff. The same register shows a total of ninety-seven Virginia officers line and staff. The senior officer from North Carolina at this time was Henry Davenport the Colonel of the 1st Infantry. He was born in Pennsylvania and commissioned in the Army from North Carolina in 1812. He was not present with his regiment in the Mexican campaign. The next in rank to him was Thomas F. Hunt, a lieutenant colonel in the Quartermaster's Department. He was born in North Carolina and commissioned in the Army from the same state in 1813. Samuel McRee of the class of 1820 a brother of Colonel William McRee was a major in the Quartermaster's Department. He served in

the Mexican campaign as Chief Quartermaster of General Scott's Army and was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel for meritorious conduct while serving in the enemy's country. All the rest served as captains or lieutenants. Mention has already been made of Alexander M. Mitchell of the class of 1835 who served during this war as colonel of the 1st Ohio Volunteers. Joseph Lane who was a native of North Carolina was a Brigadier General of Volunteers and brigade commander in General Scott's Army but he is recorded as having been appointed from Indiana.

It is a singular fact that between the date of the ratification of the Constitution in November 1789 and April 1916, a period of one hundred and twenty-seven years no native born North Carolinian was ever appointed to the grade of Brigadier General in the Regular Army. Edwin F. Glenn a native of Greensboro, North Carolina, class of 1877 was the first appointee.

The period between the Mexican War and the Civil War calls for only brief comment since it was a season of comparative inactivity for the Army. In 1855, Gabriel J. Rains who had become a Major in the 4th Infantry was stationed at Vancouver Barracks, Washington, and set out from that post to engage in a campaign against hostile Yakima Indians. Twenty-two years later, on July 3, 1877, his son Sevier M. Rains, a Military Academy graduate of the class of 1876, was killed in action with hostile Nez Perce Indians at Craig's Mountain, Idaho.

On May 18, 1858, William Gaston, class of 1856, a Second Lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons, was killed in action with hostile Indians at a point near where the Post of Fort Walla-Walla, Washington, was afterwards built. His body was brought east from the distant field on which he fell and now lies buried in the Military Academy Cemetery at West Point.

#### CIVIL WAR SERVICE

Of the sixty-seven North Carolina cadets who graduated before the Civil War, thirty-six are known to have been living when the war began, twenty-eight are known to have died before 1861 and of three there are no records to show whether they were then dead or alive.

Of those deceased before the Civil War, four had been killed in action, fourteen had died of disease or by accident while in service and ten had died while in civil life. Of the thirty-six known to be living in 1861, twenty-two joined the Confederate States Army, eight remained in the United States Army and six had no service in the Civil War on either side.

Of those who joined the Confederate States Army, six were in civil life in 1861 and sixteen resigned their commissions in the United States Army when war became imminent to cast their lots with the State to which they were accredited. Of the twenty-two who served the Confederacy, one became General, two were Lieutenant Generals, four were Major Generals, six were Brigadier Generals, five were Colonels and four served in other grades. Eight of the twenty-two were killed in action or died of wounds, three died of disease during the war and eleven survived the war.

Of the eight who remained in the United States service in 1861, three were natives of northern states and five were native born. One of the eight, Captain Alexander McRae, native born, was killed in the war and seven survived. Of the six all native born, who took no part in the war on either side, three were in civil life when the war began and three resigned from the Army when war became imminent and retired to private life.

In the cases of Alfred Mordecai class of 1823 and Francis T. Bryan class of 1846, both of whom resigned in 1861 and took no part in the war, a feeling of divided loyalty is said by their biographers to have induced them to take a neutral attitude. William H. Bell of the class of 1820 who also resigned in 1861 and took no part in the war, was then somewhat advanced in years, so that infirmity or ill health may have inclined him to hold aloof. He died of disease December 20, 1865, at the age of 67 years.

Of the twenty-two North Carolina graduates who joined the Confederate States Army in 1861, Braxton Bragg, Leonidas Polk, Jeremy F. Gilmer and Gabriel J. Rains were not immediately identified with North Carolina soldiers during the war. Theophilus H. Holmes and Richard C. Gatlin were partially so.

Robert Ransom, Pender, Ramseur, Daniel, Baker, Anderson, Martin, Campbell, Williams, Lee, Hill, Davis and Robinson were

closely associated with North Carolina troops all of them serving with contingents which went to the Army of Northern Virginia. Of this group of thirteen, only four survived the war, two died of disease during the war and seven were killed in action or died of wounds. It may not be generally known that the names of all graduates of West Point killed in the Civil War are inscribed on bronze tablets in the Cullum Memorial Hall at West Point. This long roll of honor gives the actual rank held at time of death and no distinction is made between those who served the Union and those who served the Confederacy.

Francis L. Dancy of the class of 1826, long a resident of Florida, became Adjutant General of that State in 1861. It is probable that he served throughout the war in that capacity. No record can be found of the Civil War services of Nathaniel Street of the class of 1825, and John M. Kerr of the class of 1860. Street was a resident of North Carolina before and after the war. John M. Kerr died at Yadkinville, North Carolina, early in 1862. According to Cullum's Biographical Register, both Street and Kerr joined the Confederate States Army in 1861.

Paul F. Faison and Alexander D. Moore who are not listed as Military Academy graduates were members of the West Point class which graduated June 24, 1861. They resigned from the Academy in May, 1861, after the State seceded from the Union and returned to their homes. Subsequently both were commissioned in North Carolina regiments, Faison becoming the Colonel of the 56th Regiment. He survived the war and was present with his regiment at Appomattox. Moore became the Colonel of the 66th Regiment and met his death at the battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia June 3, 1864.

George S. Lovejoy and George W. Clayton were North Carolina cadets in the class which graduated in June, 1862. They also resigned in May 1861 and returned to their homes. Both were commissioned in North Carolina regiments, Lovejoy dying of disease during the war while serving as lieutenant colonel of the 14th Regiment. Clayton became the colonel of the 62nd Regiment and survived the war.

Lovejoy was a very good student while at the Military Academy, standing No. 6 at the end of his first year in a class of 56 members.

Robert V. Cowan was appointed cadet from North Carolina, July 1, 1859, and remained at the Academy about a year. He served through the war and was Colonel of the 33rd North Carolina Regiment at Appomattox.

Richard M. Nelson was appointed cadet from North Carolina, Sept. 1, 1859. At the end of his first year as a cadet he is shown to have had a good class standing and he probably remained till May 1861. Beyond this no trace of him can be found.

John O. Long of the class of 1855, born in Illinois and appointed from "At Large" was the son of Edwin R. Long of North Carolina of the class of 1829. The Long family was a prominent one in Randolph County in the days before the Civil War and evidently this connection caused him to resign his commissions in the Army in 1861, and offer his services to the governor of North Carolina. In July 1861, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in the 22nd Regiment, an organization of which J. J. Pettigrew was the first Colonel. According to North Carolina Regimental Histories this regiment was reorganized in 1862, and new field officers were appointed, but no reference is made to Long or reason given for his disappearance from the roster of officers. Nothing can be learned further of his military record but he is known to have survived the war.

Mountfort S. Stokes was admitted to the Military Academy from North Carolina July 1st, 1827, but did not remain to complete the course. He is believed to be identical with the Stokes who became Colonel of the 1st North Carolina regiment and was killed in battle in the seven days of action before Richmond in June, 1862. In the history of the 1st Regiment given in the North Carolina regimental histories, Colonel Stokes is referred to as Munford S. Stokes, and in another place as Montford S. Stokes. No reference is made to any West Point record, but it is recorded that he served as Major in the regiment of volunteers that went from North Carolina to the Mexican War. United States Navy records show that M. S. Stokes was appointed Midshipman United States Navy, May 12, 1829. Promoted to be Passed Midshipman July 3, 1835. Resigned February 6, 1839.

Gaston Meares was admitted to the Military Academy from North Carolina July 1, 1838, but did not complete the course. He served

in the Mexican War as an officer in an Arkansas volunteer regiment. In 1861 he returned to North Carolina, became Colonel of the 3rd North Carolina Regiment and was killed in battle at Malvern Hill, Virginia, June 30, 1862.

Braxton Bragg was the most conspicuous figure among North Carolina graduates in this war. When the war came on he was in civil life as a planter in Louisiana, having left the Army by resignation in 1856 after declining an appointment as Major in a newly organized regiment. He reached the rank of General and commanded one of the principal armies of the Confederacy for nearly two years. With the great prestige he had won in the Mexican War and enjoying the personal friendship of Jefferson Davis, he was destined to high rank from the beginning. Capable and sincere, he was also a man of austere character who had little capacity for getting along amicably with others. This quality tended to offset his real merits and historians generally assign him to the list of unfortunate generals. Of the two who reached the grade of Lieutenant General, Leonidas Polk, the bishop, was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina. Becoming converted while a cadet he soon abandoned the Army as a career and turned to a religious life. To this work he had given thirty years of his life when the war came on. He was then fifty-five years of age and had long been disassociated from the military profession. Probably at the outset he was unfamiliar with some of the technical phases of military leadership. Nevertheless his early training stood him in good stead and he possessed one essential of leadership, high character. In view of his standing as a churchman his active participation in the war gave moral support to the Confederacy and it is not a surprising thing that he should have been given high rank and important commands. His service which was meritorious rather than brilliant was entirely with the western army in which he served as division commander in the Shiloh, Perryville and Murfreesboro campaigns and as Corps commander in the Chickamauga campaign. As the result of a controversy with General Bragg, relating to incidents of the battle of Chickamauga he was relieved of his command, but later he was vindicated and at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, May 1864, he was again a corps commander in General Joe Johnston's army. While reconnoitering in front of his command he was mortally wounded at Pine Mountain, Georgia,

June 14, 1864. He was one of the founders of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

Theophilus H. Holmes who also became a Lieutenant General had served nearly thirty-two years in the United States Army at the time of his resignation April 22, 1861. He was made Brigadier General, June 5, 1861, Major General October 7, 1861 and Lieutenant General October 10, 1862. His record shows that except for a brief service in the Army of Northern Virginia during the battles before Richmond, May-June 1862, he was not associated with any of the important campaigns of the war. The high rank he attained early in the war may be attributed to a certain priority due to his long service in the United States Army, it being the policy of the Confederate government to give rank to former officers of the United States Army in accordance with their old rank. This rule did not work out in the case of others, notably Gabriel J. Rains, who was General Holmes' senior in the old Army by two years. In addition, General Holmes was a member of General Lee's class at West Point and he was also associated for three years at West Point with Jefferson Davis who was one class ahead of him. It is known that Davis had a very high opinion of him. It would be easy to say that here was a case of favoritism, but there must have been something in his character and record which appeared to justify an expectation of competency in the various grades to which he was appointed. It is said of him that he wished to decline promotion to the grade of Lieutenant General on the ground that others were more worthy than he and that he accepted the commission only upon the insistence of Davis. At the close of the war General Holmes settled on a farm near Fayetteville, North Carolina and was engaged in farming until his death June 20, 1880, at the age of seventy-five years.

Jeremy F. Gilmer born in Guilford County, North Carolina, February 23, 1818, became a Major General and Chief of the Engineer Bureau of the Confederacy. He was an engineer of great ability and his work during the war was confined almost entirely to the engineering branch so his services were not of a kind to attract a great deal of public attention. Graduating high in his class of 1839, he was assigned on graduation to the Corps of Engineers in which he served with great credit in the field in the Mexican War. When his own state seceded from the Union in 1861 he resigned his

commission as Captain in the Corps of Engineers. His station at that time was San Francisco, California, then a very inaccessible point and to give time for the arrival of his successor who had been designated by the United States government the very amicable arrangement was made by which he deferred his departure for several weeks in order that the transfer of property and duties to his successor in office might be made as required by Army regulations. In September 1861, he was commissioned Major of Engineers, assigned to duty on the staff of General Albert Sidney Johnston and was present with that officer at the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, where he was severely wounded. Upon his recovery in the summer of 1862 he was promoted to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel of Engineers and ordered to Virginia as Chief Engineer, Army of Northern Virginia. In October 1862, the Engineer Bureau of the Confederate War Department was created and he was appointed Chief of the Bureau with rank of Colonel of Engineers, his commission bearing date of October 4, 1862. Under his management the Engineer Bureau increased in usefulness and in the scope of its activities and under date of August 16, 1863 the Bureau was reorganized and he was made its Chief with rank of Major General. He devoted much of his time in 1863-64 to the improvement of the defenses of Charleston, South Carolina, and under his direction they were brought to a high degree of perfection. He continued his duties in Richmond as Chief of the Engineer Bureau until the end of the war. Thereafter until his death he made his home in Georgia, the home of his wife who was a relative of General E. P. Alexander.

Robert Ransom was born in Warren County, North Carolina, February 12, 1828. Having been appointed cadet in 1846 he was graduated in 1850, standing No. 18 in a class of fifty-four members. On graduation he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons. In 1855 he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the 1st Cavalry and in January 1861 he was promoted to be Captain in the same regiment. His service was principally at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas and at other posts along the frontier of that period. Following his resignation May 24, 1861 and the subsequent offer of his services to the governor of North Carolina he was appointed Colonel of the 9th North Carolina Regiment (the 1st Cavalry), a regiment destined to

serve with great distinction throughout the war. He was promoted to be Brigadier General, March 6, 1862 and Major General May 26, 1863. He commanded a brigade in Holmes division in the seven days action before Richmond ending July 1, 1862 and his brigade performed conspicuous service at Sharpsburg as part of General J. G. Walkers division. He commanded a division, at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, his command occupying the stone wall position on Marye's Hill. Following his promotion to the grade of Major General he was assigned to duty as a cavalry commander in Tennessee, but his service in that area was uneventful. In May 1864 he was again on duty in Virginia as an infantry commander. He took a prominent part as a division commander in the battle of Drury's Bluff, Virginia, May 16, 1864. For his part in this action he was censured by General Beauregard, but the justice of the criticism may well be questioned when the conduct which evoked the censure is weighed against the positive success gained by General Ransom's command in this engagement, rated as a Confederate victory. The results however, fell short of expectations and General Beauregard in his disappointment was disposed to put the blame for the partial failure on General Ransom and General Whiting. This incident may have had no connection with General Ransom's relief from the division he had commanded at Drury's Bluff. At any rate he was so relieved and assigned to the command of the cavalry of General Jubal Early's army then about to undertake a diversion against Washington City. Owing to ill health General Ransom did not long remain with his new command and he was then given a territorial command including South Carolina, Georgia and Florida which he retained till the end of the war. General Ransom was a very strict disciplinarian, his high standards in drill and discipline making a great impression on the 1st North Carolina cavalry an excellent regiment from the beginning of the war to the very end. Possessed of genuine merit, demonstrated in several of the major actions of the war, he never remained long in any one assignment. There is evidence in this and in other incidents of temperamental qualities which made it difficult for him to get along harmoniously with his associates. The differences which arose created resentments which reacted unfavorably on his own career. With decided initial advantages his fame did not equal that of Pender, Ramseur, Hoke or

Grimes. It must not be forgotten that he was handicapped by a serious illness in the last year of the war.

Pender a Major General, Ramseur a temporary Major General, George B. Anderson and Junius Daniel, Brigadier Generals, all killed in the war, won distinction in an army largely dominated by Virginia influence. Of those killed while holding the rank of Colonel, Reuben P. Campbell a native of Iredell County was the oldest. He was a classmate at West Point of General J. G. Martin and had served more than twenty years in the United States Army prior to 1861. Falling early in the war he had little opportunity of proving his own merit. Of all those graduates who lost their lives in the war, Ramseur was the youngest. He was a temporary Major General at the age of twenty-seven.

Of the Brigadier Generals who survived the war Gabriel J. Rains was the oldest. He was a native of Craven County, North Carolina, and a classmate at West Point of Leonidas Polk. When the war came on he was about fifty-eight years of age and a Lieutenant Colonel in the Regular Army in which he had served thirty-four years. His resignation was accepted ten days after the date of the first battle of Bull Run. Having some inventive talent and knowledge of explosives he was directed June 18, 1862, to take charge of the submarine defenses of the James and Appomattox rivers. He was next Superintendent of the Conscription Bureau at Richmond from December 16th, 1862 to May 25, 1863. On June 17, 1864 the Confederate Torpedo Service was organized and he was appointed its Chief. Prior to 1861, the torpedo, or the principle which it embodies, had been thought of by inventive minds but only in a vague and general way. The idea had never become crystalized into a workable device. During the Civil War however, a definite advance was made and although the early appliances were crude and imperfect in their operation enough was accomplished to demonstrate the great effectiveness of torpedoes, especially against shipping. Through the use of torpedoes the Union Forces were barred from the ports of Wilmington, Charleston and Savannah, till near the close of the war. It is stated on good authority that fifty-eight Union vessels, some of them iron clads, were destroyed by torpedoes in southern waters during the war. It seems fair to claim for General Rains that he was a pioneer in torpedo warfare, his own inventive talent playing no

small part in the results achieved. The Confederacy thus supplied the groundwork for future efforts in the improvement of the torpedo and the idea has since been greatly developed and extended especially in its application to naval warfare. General Rains's brother, George Washington Rains, fourteen years his junior in age and a graduate of the class of 1842 was a man of very superior attainments in a scientific way. Having been directed by Mr. Davis to build a powder mill for the Confederacy and having little to go on except his own talent and energy, he built and put into operation at Augusta, Georgia, the best powder plant in the world of that day. Its superiority lay not only in the quantity but in the quality of its output. He had served at the Military Academy as Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology from 1844 to 1846. In the latter year he left this duty to go to the Mexican War in which he greatly distinguished himself as a staff officer serving with General Scott and General Pillow. Resigning his commission as Captain of Artillery in 1856 he became a resident of Newburg, N. Y. and a member of a firm engaged in the manufacture of machinery. In 1861 he sacrificed all his business interests and went south to share the fortunes of the Confederacy. He lived for many years after the Civil War dying in 1898 at the age of eighty-one years. In his later years he was usefully employed as a teacher at the University of Georgia and a writer on scientific subjects especially chemistry.

Brigadier General R. C. Gatlin was another veteran officer of the old Army having served twenty-nine years at the time of his resignation in 1861. He was soon appointed Brigadier General Confederate States Army, but his service in that grade was uneventful. In 1863 he resigned his Confederate commission to accept an appointment as Adjutant General of North Carolina an office formerly held by General J. G. Martin.

General Martin was an experienced officer of twenty-one years service in the United States Army at the time of his resignation in 1861. Appointed Adjutant General of the State his work in the first year of the war pertained to the task of mobilizing the men and resources of the State for the great war then in prospect. This task was so well performed that its difficulty and magnitude have been somewhat underestimated. In May 1862 he was appointed Brigadier

General Confederate States Army, and subsequently served as Brigade Commander in Virginia in 1864. In a technical way he was a good military man and in addition he had the temperament and the character suited to a rank much higher than that which he attained. Whatever the possibilities in this direction, his chief claim to distinction is based upon his work as a state official in the early days of the war.

Of the eight North Carolina graduates who adhered to the Union cause in 1861, John Gibbon, appointed cadet from Charlotte, N. C., but a native of Pennsylvania was the only one who attained a General's rank. All the others served in the lower grades and in minor capacities and not one of them was even a Colonel. General Gibbon was a Major General and Corps Commander at Appomattox. Two brothers of General Gibbon serving in the opposing army, were officers in the 28th North Carolina Regiment. After the war, General Gibbon, reduced in rank to Colonel in the regular army, was a conspicuous figure in the Indian Campaigns of 1876-1877. August 9, 1877 at Big Hole, Montana, he was severely wounded while leading a handful of men in a desperate battle with Chief Joseph's band of Nez Perce Indians. Alexander McRae, a native of Fayetteville, N. C., was killed February 21, 1862, at Val Verde, New Mexico in an action fought with Confederate troops from Texas. His actual rank at the time was that of Captain 3rd United States Cavalry, but he was killed in a hand to hand fight in trying to save from capture a piece of artillery which he was helping to serve. Next to General John Gibbon, Junius B. Wheeler was the most notable graduate of this category. He was born in Hertford County, North Carolina and entered the State University at Chapel Hill with the class of 1853. Receiving an appointment to the Military Academy in 1851 he was graduated with honors in 1855. First assigned to the cavalry, he was later transferred to the corps of Topographical Engineers and when the war came on he was on duty at the Military Academy as instructor in Mathematics. He remained on this duty till June 18, 1863. His remaining service during the war was with the Corps of Engineers in the field, principally in Missouri and Arkansas. He was brevetted Major for services at the battle of Jenkins Ferry, Arkansas, April 30, 1864. He became a Major in the Corps of Engineers July 10, 1866 and was appointed Professor

of Civil and Military Engineering at the Military Academy September 16, 1871. In the interval between the close of the war and his appointment as Professor at West Point he performed very important service for the government in connection with the improvement of ports on Lakes Michigan and Superior. Though well educated and capable it was his lot to serve in minor and subordinate capacities throughout the war. This was the case with a majority of West Point graduates who adhered to the side of the North, about sixty-two per cent serving in grades below that of Brigadier General. Professor Wheeler was a familiar figure with cadets who were at West Point between the years 1871-1884. His effectiveness as a teacher lost nothing from the fact that he had little of that austerity of manner which was the rule with his associates. In 1884 while still ten years short of the compulsory retirement age he applied for retirement from active service and went to Lenoir, North Carolina to live. He was apparently in good health at the time of his retirement, but he survived less than two years dying at his home July 15, 1886, at the age of fifty-five years. He left several daughters, one of whom, Gertrude, married Thomas Vance, son of the late Senator Z. B. Vance.

The sixty-seven graduates of the ante-bellum period have all passed away. One of these was dismissed from United States service and this is the only instance of a record which is in any way discreditable. All the others in their lives and careers were governed by sentiments of honor and duty. Francis T. Bryan of the class of 1846 was the last of these to die. He survived till October 24, 1917 and at the time of his death at the age of ninety-four he had been for ten years the sole survivor of North Carolina graduates of this period.

## THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR\*

BY FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

Aside from the absorbing interest which the average South Carolinian has always been forced to have in the problems of the field, because thereby came the means of his living, this interest in the years after the Civil War was greatly heightened because agrarian problems of high economic and social significance had to be solved. Men were not agreed as to their solution, and in these extraordinary times they were as much the subject of animated controversy as are political questions in normal times. The outcome of the war had destroyed the ordered system of slavery, on which the farmers of the State had largely depended for their labor, and had settled irrevocably only one issue of the farm—the freedom of the Negro. What this freedom meant, the naive political liberals who brought it about did not trouble to give a detailed answer. If they had, their plan would not have been of much use since there were persons more intimately concerned with this problem who had power to protest effectively and bitterly against whatever might be done. The owners of the soil were ready to contest any rights the Negro might have been given which they did not deem proper; and the Negro, who had now acquired the emotions of a freeman, stood ready to protest, if a minimum interpretation was given to his freedom. As the situation was, both whites and blacks were in confusion as to their respective rights. How much freedom should the Negro have? Who should own the soil? What wages should be paid and how paid? These were the concrete problems which must be solved. All sorts of solutions were suggested and attempted by the native whites, and the Negroes, and by the outsiders with powers and interests within the State. They varied from plans for the elimination of one or the other of the two races from the State, to compromise proposals of a more practical nature. Finally, after much struggle all parties concerned came to the realization that it was neither practical nor just to hope for the complete elimination or subjugation to the will of the

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other of one of the races, and a compromise was effected. This compromise, it is true, satisfied the full hopes of neither race, but it could be tolerated by both and it made possible a return to ordered production.

In the endeavor to make clear the issues in South Carolina agriculture, we shall consider in this article the ambitions of the Negroes and the whites and the endeavors of both to settle their difficulties. In a subsequent article we shall describe how the difficulties between the races were finally settled and explain new problems which arose as a consequence. But before entering upon these major themes, we shall speak briefly of the physical difficulties in the way of agricultural prosperity.

Even had there been no problems of race and labor to vex those who undertook the task of agricultural reconstruction, this reconstruction would have been most difficult, due to the general destruction caused by the war. We cannot enter into a full description of the destruction wrought since it would carry us beyond our field. It is necessary to limit ourselves to its immediate effects on agricultural problems. The value of all farm properties of the State fell from \$169,738,630 in 1860 to \$47,628,175 in 1870; the average value of farm lands per acre from \$8.62 to \$2.96.<sup>1</sup> There was little capital available for agricultural purposes and the old sources of credit had been destroyed. The principal prospective source of credit, cotton<sup>2</sup> which had been accumulated during the war, was partly destroyed by the confiscations of the United States treasury agents and the Federal tax on its sale. Moreover, during the war there had been a general deterioration of the quality of soil, due to neglect, concentration on soil-exhausting provision crops, defective plowing, the growth of grass, the filling in of ditches, and the failure to use imported fertilizers.<sup>3</sup> There was a decline in the quality of the cotton seed.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the war ended so late in the spring of 1865 caused late planting that year. With all these difficulties came crop failures in 1866 and 1867, due to bad weather.

As more or less natural consequences of his newly-won freedom, the South Carolina Negro sought to get the maximum of substantial

<sup>1</sup> *Census of 1910*, VII, pp. 494-495.

<sup>2</sup> It was estimated that there were 130,000 bales in the State in the summer of 1865. *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 13, 1865.

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Cultivator* (Athens, Ga.), XXV, p. 198 (June, 1865).

<sup>4</sup> "Juhl" (J. J. Fleming), in *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 4, 1866.

benefits from his new state. Some of his ambitions were within the realm of practical achievement, and in spite of the opposition of the white planters, they were attained and have since been recognized by the majority of the whites. Others, however, either were impossible to attain or were exercised in such an extravagant manner as to defeat their own purpose. Some indeed were so demoralizing as to bring ruin to many sections. As may well have been expected, the principal ambition of the Negro was to assert his freedom—to exercise the right of freedom of contract, to go where he pleased, to labor as he saw fit, to receive wages, and to spend them according to his own wishes and to own land.

The first desire of the freedmen was “to enjoy freedom.” This meant an indulgence in those physical comforts and pleasures which their association with the whites had taught them were desirable and which had been previously denied them. They would acquire a horse or a mule and a wagon or a buggy in which to ride, a dog and a gun to be used in hunting, showy clothing and other luxuries of personal adornment. They were determined to establish homes, and many wives were determined to work no longer in the fields.<sup>5</sup> From their homes was dispensed “a prodigal hospitality while a pound of bacon remains.”<sup>6</sup>

It would be natural to expect that the increased wants of the Negro would have inspired increased industrial efforts. Such no doubt was ultimately the case, at least in the up-country; but it has been counterbalanced by his extravagance. Inheriting a capacity and willingness to labor unceasingly, and surrounded by opportunities common to all Americans—relatively high wages and the opportunity to purchase lands cheaply and to make them valuable—he has spent what he has earned in a fashion incomprehensible to persons descended from European peasants. Thereby he has failed to become master of the soil. His prodigality and indifference to mercenary considerations have been of little use in the competition for the control of the soil with his former master, made hard and bitter by the reverses of the war.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, for several years

<sup>5</sup> See comment of *Rural Caroñinian* (Charleston and Cokesbury), VII, p. 131 (March, 1876).

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1867, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> Sir George Campbell, *Black and White* (London, 1879), p. 336, described the spending qualities of a group of low-country Negroes who were admirable workers as follows: “They seldom save. After they have made a little money they like to go and spend it. They drink, but not to such a degree as to interfere with their work. They go home and get drunk on Saturday night, go to church on Sunday and generally are back at work on Monday.”

after the war many Negroes did not realize that it was only through strenuous efforts as laborers that they could get the means with which to satisfy their increased desires. They and some of their northern friends interpreted the military conquest of the State as involving a more thorough exhaustion of the landowners than the actual facts warranted. It was wrongly imagined that the Negroes could take possession of the land without effective resistance by the owners. Many Negroes thought that freedom gave opportunity to desert the land and live without labor. Failing in these and other ambitions, many resorted to thievery and other uncertain short cuts to the satisfaction of their wants. Thousands demanded the right to manage the farms they worked.

We shall now discuss how these ambitions were asserted, their effect upon the agricultural economy of the State, and the degree to which the Negro was victorious in the struggles involved.

The ambition of the Negro to possess the land grew out of the interpretation given a necessary military policy pursued by the United States government on the captured sea islands around Beaufort. Abandoned lands were worked under government supervision by liberated Negroes and later confiscated for non-payment of taxes and partly sold to Negroes at small charges. These acts were followed by the assignment by General Sherman of the entire coast between Charleston and Beaufort to his colored camp followers and the vigorous execution of this policy by General Rufus Saxton, an abolition enthusiast. Although it soon became clear that President Johnson would not support such a sweeping policy of confiscation, the action of the agents of the government were so contradictory that there was room for doubt as to what the final disposition of the lands would be.<sup>8</sup>

In the face of such a policy the Negroes manifested an avid desire to have lands and became convinced that the national government was going to gratify this ambition to the fullest extent. As early as 1863 those of Port Royal had received with joy the rumor that they were to be allowed to purchase confiscated lands.<sup>9</sup> By 1865 their imaginations were afire. Sidney Andrews, a northern traveler who

<sup>8</sup> Lack of space prevents an adequate treatment of the Port Royal Experiment. Information bearing on it can be had in: Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, XII (September, 1863); Charles Nordhoff, *The Freedmen of South Carolina* (N. Y., 1863); Laura Josephine Webster, "The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina," *Smith College Studies in History*, I; and Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal* (Boston, 1906).

<sup>9</sup> Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

was in the State in September of that year, reported: "There is among the plantation Negroes a widely spread idea that the land is to be given them by the government, and this idea is at the bottom of much idleness and discontent. At Columbia and Orangeburg, country Negroes with whom I conversed asked me, 'When is de land goin' fur to be dewided?' Some of them believe that the plantations on which they have lived are to be divided among themselves. One of the [constitutional] convention delegates told me that an old Negro man, who declined going with some of the hands bound for Charleston, gave his reason for remaining that, 'De home-house might come to me, ye see, sah, in de dewision.' There is a widespread idea that the whites are to be driven out of the lower section of the State, and that the Negroes are there to live by themselves."<sup>10</sup> In other sections of the low-country the Negroes were reported as possessed of "the wildest notions and were wandering over the country in a state of idleness which must lead to want and crime;"<sup>11</sup> in Georgetown "the roads were black with them, endlessly wandering."<sup>12</sup> In justification of their ambition they asked, "What's the use of giving us freedom if we can't stay where we were raised, and own our houses where we were born, and our little pieces of ground?"<sup>13</sup> "We raised them [the planters]," said a former Negro soldier,<sup>14</sup> "and sent them to school, bought their land, and now it is as little as they can do to give us some of their land." Late in 1865 the idea that the lands would be distributed on New Year's was held "with a tenacity which nothing could overcome."<sup>15</sup> This credulity was taken advantage of by unscrupulous strangers. Throughout the up-country land stakes painted and numbered were widely sold at one or two dollars a piece. The Negroes were told that all that was necessary to do to secure possession of the coveted forty acres was to mark off with the stakes the plot of their choice.<sup>16</sup>

In the attempt to become owners of the land, the Negroes, especially those who crowded the sea islands, showed a determination of a type never characteristic of their race in less exciting times, and

<sup>10</sup> *The South Since the War* (Boston, 1866), pp. 97-98.

<sup>11</sup> "Juh!" writing from Sumter in *Charleston Daily Courier*, July 24, 1865.

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Jane Pringle in *Our Women in the War* (Charleston, 1885), p. 350.

<sup>13</sup> *The Nation* (N. Y.), I, p. 393 (September 28, 1865).

<sup>14</sup> *The South Carolina Leader*, March 31, 1865, quoted in Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>15</sup> "Juh!" in *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 6, 1865.

<sup>16</sup> From the testimony of General M. C. Butler in *Ku Klux Conspiracy (South Carolina)*, pp. 124, 134.

they threatened for a time to override all measures of restraint which the alarmed United States authorities tried to impose. Some idea of what the possession of the land meant to many is illustrated in the conduct of the Negroes of certain plantations in the low-country. On the Santee, "with the utmost determination and insolence," they broke open the barns, killed the cattle, and stripped the houses of furniture and other valuables.<sup>17</sup> A party of white landlords who went to Edisto Island early in 1866 to make contracts with the freedmen to work lands which had been legally restored, were received with insolence and threatened violence by the freedmen then in possession of the lands. The leader of the Negroes told the planters that the freedmen had strong friends in Washington who had made a law giving them the land for three years, that they would therefore make no contracts, and that the whites could not stay on the island since any Negro who harbored them would surely have his house burned. "You had better go back to Charleston," said this leader firmly, "and go to work there, and if you can do nothing else, you can pick oysters and earn your living as the loyal people had done, by the sweat of their brows."<sup>18</sup> Other landowners who went to James Island with like purpose could get the Negroes to agree to no type of labor contract. One old Negro, who had been accounted a faithful slave, when asked about contracting, said, "What little we do will be sarvice to we-self. We don't want to work for rest [the planters]." A Negro woman on being asked on what terms she would work replied, "Gov'ment drap we here. Can't go 'till Gov'ment take we off."<sup>19</sup>

A disturbing factor in the agricultural life of the period of only less importance than the craze to possess the land, was the feeling among the bewildered freedmen that it was possible to live without hard labor, or even without labor of any type. This attitude was largely the result of sudden emancipation. The Negroes were told that freedom carried with it solid benefits and they set about enjoying these benefits in a most realistic fashion. It is true that they listened patiently to such platitudinous advice which was so freely given them by the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau: "Labor," said General

<sup>17</sup> Narration of Captain Thomas Pinckney in Myrta Lockett Avary, *Dixie after the War* (N. Y., 1906), pp. 341-342.

<sup>18</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 6, 1866.

<sup>19</sup> [John] [Townsend] Trowbridge, *The South* (Hartford, 1866), pp. 542-543.

Saxton, "is ennobling to the character, and, if rightly directed, brings to the laborer all the luxuries and comforts of life. . . . Plow and plant, dig and hoe, cut and gather in the harvest. . . . Be peaceful and honest. Falsehood and theft should not be found in freedom."<sup>20</sup> But they did not follow the general's advice. To their simple minds slavery was synonymous with work and freedom with not working. Had they not been told that they were free and did not freedom mean that they were masters of their own time? It was not natural to expect them to be able immediately to make the fine distinction between labor for the benefit of others, as had been the case under slavery, and labor for their own benefit at some remote date when the crops were harvested or when a better civilization should result therefrom. To their way of thinking, their northern friends, through the good things which they had to give away, gave sounder proof that it was possible to live in idleness than they gave through their ill-understood abjurations concerning the wisdom of hard work. From 1861 until 1868, gifts of clothing and victuals were widely distributed among the freedmen by northern charity. This relief was largely necessary in the face of the absolute destitution which existed among the refugees; its necessity was broadened and intensified by the short crops of 1865, 1866, and 1867; whites as well as blacks benefited from it; and it was almost universally approved by the native whites since they were acquainted with the destitution which existed; and we have no reason to believe that those who provided the gifts were actuated by other than the simple desire to relieve distressed humanity. Nevertheless there is no doubt that this charity, humane and necessary as it was, had a demoralizing effect upon the freedmen.<sup>21</sup>

Another tendency among the Negroes detrimental to their success as agriculturalists was their migratory habits. Traditions of long endurance did not attach them to any particular locality; and as slaves they had been freely moved to meet the changing demands of ante-bellum agriculture. This tendency was given tremendous impetus by the changes of 1865, the desire for land, and the hopes of enjoying the charity of the Freedmen's Bureau. Once acquired, it has remained one of the salient characteristics of the South Carolina black

<sup>20</sup> From an address delivered August 16, 1865. *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, Part II, pp. 230-231.

<sup>21</sup> For illustrations see *Charleston Daily News*, May 31, 1865, and November 4, 1868.



agriculturist which sharply differentiates him from the peasantry of other countries. Although, as we shall see, the tendency to move has often had the backing of sound economic instincts, it has been one of the principal causes of complaint against the race and has done it more harm than good. Its mad character just after the war is made clear by a few examples. The planters of Abbeville reported in July, 1865: "The able-bodied men and women have, in many instances, abandoned the farms on which they were employed, leaving behind them the children and the old people. . . . In some instances husbands have deserted wives and children, and we have known instances of both father and mother abandoning their infants to the care of others."<sup>22</sup> "Many of the blacks wander from place to place," wrote the Sumter correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier*, September 23, 1865. "They know not whither or why, unless it be from an unfortunate fancy for an idle and quasi-gipsy life." At the beginning of the next year the same correspondent reported that the Negroes of his neighborhood were "in a state of anxious locomotion, changing homes, moving luggage, hunting places, and making engagements for the current year. . . . A directory which might have correctly located them a month ago would scarcely enable you to find one of them now."<sup>23</sup> A month later he reported them as breaking labor contracts in order to move. "Already," he added, "the freedmen have commenced deserting in squads of five or ten at a time; some of the more humane planters . . . are left with scarcely force enough to feed their stock, and are now engaged in hunting up another supply of labor."<sup>24</sup> The following year the same sort of conditions existed in Sumter. *The Sumter Watchman*<sup>25</sup> reported that "great restlessness and desire for change" were manifested even by those who were receiving the highest wages and who had made no complaints. Although most of these changes were made after the harvest season and before planting season, the fact that they might be made in the middle of the growing season created an atmosphere of suspicion and insecurity which benefited neither tenant nor landlord.

Like many among the whites, many of the Negroes went West for economic purposes. There were sound motives of self-interest

<sup>22</sup> *Tri-Weekly News*, Winnsboro, July 23, 1865.

<sup>23</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 9, 1866.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, February 3, 1866.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, January 18, 1867.

behind this movement. Wages were higher in Georgia and in the states west of it.<sup>26</sup> On June 21, 1866, Congress opened the public lands to Negroes. Moreover, the climate and social condition of the states to the west and south were such as to make them readily adaptable to this change. In the winter of 1866-1867 it is estimated that thousands of South Carolina Negroes, discontented because of the failure of crops, their inability to become landowners, or their inability to make satisfactory contracts with the landowners, emigrated to Florida. The Federal government encouraged this movement by making provisions for contracts and by furnishing six months' rations.<sup>27</sup> Later many moved toward the Gulf states.<sup>28</sup> So profound an impression did these movements make that many of the whites, as we shall see, became convinced that the State was losing its colored population. Indeed the census reported that in 1870 there were living in other states 97,492 colored persons who were born in South Carolina; in 1880 this number was 93,489.<sup>29</sup> But this did not mean that the State was losing its colored population. This westward movement was not as great as the corresponding movement among the whites, and by a wide margin failed to neutralize the natural increase of the colored population which remained at home.

Another disturbing factor in the agricultural life of the people was the thoroughly quixotic idea of many blacks that they could improve themselves by emigrating to Liberia. This "Back to Africa" movement had for many years appealed to both the friends and enemies of the race as a solution of the great American race problem. The motives behind the South Carolinians who wanted to go to Africa is made clear by the words of one of their leaders: "We do not believe," said the Reverend Elias Hill of York County, "it is possible, from past history and the present aspect of affairs, for our people to live in this country peaceably, and to educate and elevate our children to the degree which they desire."<sup>30</sup> This sentiment came

<sup>26</sup> The wages paid male agricultural workers in South Carolina were lower in 1867 and 1876—two of the three years taken into account—than in any of the other ten cotton states. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1876*, p. 131.

<sup>27</sup> Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 140; *Charleston Daily News*, January 21, 27, 28, 29, 1867; and *Fairfield Herald*, December 16, 1866, and January 9 and February 20, 1867.

<sup>28</sup> The following item taken from the *Charleston Daily News*, January 11, 1870, is typical of the many published throughout the Reconstruction period: "A party of some sixty Negroes from Chester District—men, women, and children—passed through Laurensville during the Christmas holidays, en route for Alabama. They were moving in wagons, had fair mules and horses, and were generally well equipped for the journey." "The regular official accounts," said the same newspaper, March 30, 1870, "show that 31,000 Negroes passed through Columbia en route for the West since the last crop."

<sup>29</sup> *Handbook of South Carolina, 1883* (Columbia, 1883), p. 389.

<sup>30</sup> *Ku Klux Conspiracy (South Carolina)*, p. 1410.

to a head when the African Colonization Society made known in 1866 that it would transport Negroes to Liberia from Charleston on its ship, *The Golconda*, free of cost with provisions sufficient for six months subsistence. Some twelve hundred Negroes, largely from South Carolina and Georgia, made application for passage.<sup>31</sup> *The Charleston Daily Courier*, February 27, 1867, carried the news of the safe arrival in Monrovia of some six hundred. *The Golconda* made a second trip in May 1867, with some three hundred passengers.<sup>32</sup> In the following November this ship and another, *The St. Helena*, carried about one thousand emigrants.<sup>33</sup>

Although the talk of the possibility of going to Liberia created much unrest among the Negroes of South Carolina, hardly more than two thousand actually made the venture. Many of these were so disappointed that they advised others not to follow their example. An illustration of this sort of reaction came from James Ruffin, who had once served as a slave in Winnsboro and was then a professor in a Liberian college. He wrote in 1867 to a Winnsboro newspaper: "I long to get back to your town where I can see my old friends, . . . and eat once more bacon, hominy, and sausage at Christmas time." He expressed an aversion for "the Yankee white men" with whom he had come in contact, as well as for the naked Liberians and their fish, fruits, yams, and plantains.<sup>34</sup> Others experienced disaster. For example, the state press carried the news that two hundred and fifty of the six hundred who had gone over on *The Golconda* had died and that the remainder would gladly return to America if they had the money with which to pay their passage.<sup>35</sup> Some of this number did return.<sup>36</sup> Emigrations in 1877 were halted by the confiscation of the ship used for the purpose<sup>37</sup> "and the unhappy people who went found themselves much worse off than if they had stayed at home."<sup>38</sup> The truth was that the South Carolina Negro, like the white man, loved South Carolina too well to make a good emigrant. Yeasty sentiments about being his own

<sup>31</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, November 16, 1866.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, May 21, 1867.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, November 18, 1867. Other movements are recorded in *Ku Klux Conspiracy (South Carolina)*, pp. 1215-1216, 1354, 1410-1411; *Charleston Daily News*, November 4, 1871; and Benjamin Brawley, *Social History of the American Negro* (N. Y., 1921), p. 197.

<sup>34</sup> Letter dated Monrovia, August 24, 1867, published in *Fairfield Herald*, October 30, 1867.

<sup>35</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, November 1, 1867.

<sup>36</sup> For example, several to Newberry. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1868.

<sup>37</sup> Brawley, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>38</sup> Sir George Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

master in the African Fatherland were no fitting substitute for living at home in South Carolina, under the only climatic and social conditions to which the Negroes were accustomed.

More practical than the ambition to emigrate or to own the land was the insistent demand of many freedmen that the old system of working the plantations in units by gangs of laborers be abolished. They demanded that the plantations be broken into small farms, to be worked under contracts which gave them a considerable voice in their management. In other words, they demanded more radical changes than those made effective by the mere substitution of volunteer labor with wages for the old system of forced labor without wages.

A majority of the planters, although perfectly willing to recognize the freedom of the Negroes, desired to retain the gang system to which they had been accustomed, and it seems to have been widely practiced during the first two or three years of freedom. General Howard reported in 1866 a "repugnance" among the planters to leasing lands to their former slaves,<sup>39</sup> and an influential newspaper<sup>40</sup> felt that "the plan of paying monthly wages in money had proved most satisfactory" during that year. The *Fairfield Herald*, October 10, 1866, was convinced that the renting of land to Negroes "is an alarming and increasing evil, one that is calculated to bring about a state of things not only revolting to our natures but threatening to our existence." In 1870 William Alston clearly stated the whites' aversion to other than the wage system: "It [the leasing of land] is ruinous; improvement is almost impossible; depreciation of property almost certain. Besides, it is the wrong policy; it makes the laborer too independent; he becomes a partner, and has the right to be consulted."<sup>41</sup>

Notwithstanding this opposition, the Negro was insistent that he be allowed to become manager of the farm he worked. As early as 1863 the labor superintendents on St. Helena Island were forced to yield to the demand of the freedmen that they be allotted individual patches.<sup>42</sup> "There is but one opinion expressed," wrote a labor superintendent,<sup>43</sup> "I don't want no driving, either by black

<sup>39</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, Part III, p. 36.

<sup>40</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 23, 1867.

<sup>41</sup> *Rural Carolinian*, I, p. 317 (February, 1870). See also opinion of D. Wyatt Aiken, *ibid.*, II, pp. 194-195 (January, 1871).

<sup>42</sup> Letters of November 15, 1862, and January 26, 1863, in Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 148.

<sup>43</sup> C. P. Ware, November 16, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 113.

man or white man. There will be a difference in de land, sir, but we can't help dat; each work his and do as well as he kin.' ” In 1865 General Howard said, “Under no conditions will the colored people be willing to work for their former masters under the overseers as before, but if they [the planters] could rent the land to them, they would in other respects agree to the arrangements proposed.”<sup>44</sup> A year later another officer<sup>45</sup> reported, “There is a strong desire, amounting almost to a passion, on the part of a large number of the more enterprising blacks, to obtain land by lease.” Several years later Edward King<sup>46</sup> said, “The freedmen yearly manifest stronger disinclination to work in gangs on other people's land, and desire to acquire small farms and live independently, however rudely.” At the end of the Reconstruction period, in 1876, the United States commissioner of agriculture said that the laborers greatly effected a quasi-proprietorship.<sup>47</sup>

The result of this demand was the breaking up of many large estates into small farms, which were in some cases sold to persons of both races but more often leased to Negroes. The extent to which this took place is revealed by the census figures of 1870. The size of the average farm in the State in that year was 233 acres as compared with 488 acres in 1860, and 541 in 1850.<sup>48</sup> The Negroes abandoned the cabins clustered near the “big house”—the slave quarters—and began to dwell in cabins scattered over the land which the landowners erected for them.<sup>49</sup> In the opinion of the United States commissioner of agriculture<sup>50</sup> this freedom meant more to the Negro “than any of the post-bellum amendments to the Constitution of the United States.”

That the Negro was able to bring this about was due largely to the working of the law of supply and demand, before which the planter, acting individually and through the legislature, was quite helpless. There was a decrease in the supply of labor, due to the

<sup>44</sup> Statement of October 17, 1865, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 11, p. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Brigadier General Charles H. Howard in *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, Part III, p. 36.

<sup>46</sup> *The Southern States of North America* (London, 1875), p. 464.

<sup>47</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1876, p. 131.

<sup>48</sup> Between 1860 and 1870 the number of farms under one hundred acres increased from 19,961 to 44,183, and the number of those between five hundred and one thousand decreased from 1,350 to 461, and the number over one thousand decreased from 482 to 129. M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (N. Y., 1897), p. 129.

<sup>49</sup> In his journey through the State in 1878 Sir George Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 351, “saw nothing but scattered negro huts.” “The negroes,” he adds, “seem now never to live in villages; they have left the old slave lines and set up isolated houses on the farms.”

<sup>50</sup> *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 34.

withdrawal of many of the colored women from the field, the removal of many of both sexes to the towns or to areas of higher wages, and the general decline in the efficiency of Negro labor consequent upon the demoralization of freedom. On the other hand, there was an increase in the demand for Negro farm labor, due to the stimulus given the production of cotton by the prevailing high prices. The Negroes were especially trained in cotton culture and thoroughly capable of taking care of any competition which might have arisen through the importation of foreign whites. Furthermore, the demand for Negro labor was heightened by the fact that the whites were forced to a greater degree than before to concentrate on the exploitation of the land, since it was the principal resource which the war had left. Other circumstances forced concessions to the Negroes. Due to their lack of ready cash, only the more prosperous planters were able to pay weekly or monthly wages. Many preferred the new systems because it necessitated the minimum of personal contact with the self-assertive freedmen. There were also advantages of a very concrete nature accruing from Negro farm management: the latter was made responsible for losses as well as gains. Many opposed to the idea changed their minds when they found it profitable.<sup>51</sup>

There can be little doubt that this insistence on land division was responsible for much grave injury to South Carolina agriculture. The United States commissioner of agriculture<sup>52</sup> said with some exaggeration that it "was the best possible plan to destroy fertility and profit and demoralize labor." It led to undue concentration on the production of cotton since this was insisted upon as a means of paying rent. The prosperity of large areas of the low-country was dependent upon large scale production and when this was abandoned they fell into decay. Moreover, the Negro, because of inexperience and the many distractions to which he was then subject, would have been a much more efficient producer had the more experienced white man been able to enforce a stricter discipline. As the situation was, the white man was often forced to submit to all sorts of insubordination and rascality. Such experiences as the following were by no means uncommon: "All agree," said a report from

<sup>51</sup> For example, D. Wyatt Aiken, *Rural Carolinian*, VI, p. 455 (June, 1875), and "Au Revoir," *ibid.*, V, pp. 486-487 (June, 1874).

<sup>52</sup> *Annual Report*, 1876, p. 131.

Clarendon in 1866, "that the freedmen have been careless—doing less work, and that less thoroughly than in former days. . . . Reproof of negligence is often met with insolence and threats."<sup>53</sup> A year later from John's Island came the report that leasing land "would not do" and that "some more regulated and systematic plan" must be found, since the laborers were only raising enough corn and potatoes to satisfy the demands of bare sustenance and were allowing their cotton to be overrun hopelessly with grass.<sup>54</sup> Shortly afterwards a correspondent of the *Charleston Daily News*, August 30, 1867, observed that on the same island all the Negroes whom he had met felt they knew everything that was necessary about plantation management and work, and that all had some "twisted idea" with which to defend their right "to do things in their own way." Some even argued that the presence of grass had nothing to do with the prosperity of the cotton plant. A few months later the freedmen of the cotton district of St. Peter's Parish were reported as only harvesting two bushels of corn to the acre and as engaged in stealing cotton, corn, hogs, and fowls.<sup>55</sup>

The demoralization and inefficiency which we have described wrought incalculable harm to the agricultural well-being of the State, ultimately worked to the disadvantage of the Negro, and created the impression that he was inferior to the white man as a laborer and hardly worthy of the boon of freedom. So great was the injury done that whole sections of the low-country, the area which had been richest in 1860, suffered blows from which they have not recovered to this day. Although the Negro laborers were hardly responsible for the destruction wrought in 1865, their failure to coöperate more effectively since that date has been the principal cause of this section's agricultural inefficiency. Conditions there nine years after the war were vividly described by Edward King<sup>56</sup> as follows: "The undoing of the old relation between the races has been the ruin of certain sections of the lowlands. Neither race seems likely to resume operation on anything like the old scale of grandeur. . . . Today, the majority of those engaged in planting at the outbreak of the war, are pitifully poor. . . . The enforced poverty of

<sup>53</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, July 24, 1866.

<sup>54</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, August 27, 1867.

<sup>55</sup> Report of Captain H. C. Brandt, sub-assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for October, 1867. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1867.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 428-431, 458. Other descriptions of low-country waste are found in *Rural Carolinian*, VI, pp. 405-407 and 741-742 (May and October, 1875).

many is even bitterer than at the close of the war. . . . Along the Ashley, the old manorial houses and estates, like Drayton Hall and Middleton Homestead, stand like sorrowful ghosts lamenting the past; on James Island one may wander among rich cotton plantations, now overrun with the maze of fortifications. . . . There is a wide belt of forsaken plantations near the Cooper River, along the famous Goose Creek. . . . Along Charleston Harbor are deserted and bankrupt towns like the pretty Mount Pleasant which is filled with moss-grown and rotting houses whose owners have fled unless they are too poor to get away."

This observation was confirmed by the statistical examination made by Major Harry Hammond in 1880. The coast region, excluding the city of Charleston, had under cultivation in that year only 1.5 acres per inhabitant as compared with 3.8 acres per inhabitant for the State at large and only sixty-two acres of improved land per square mile as compared with 135 acres for the State. Only eleven bushels of grain per capita, the minimum for the State was grown there, and the per capita average of lint cotton was ninety-two pounds, as compared with 181 for the State. The fact that eighty-three per cent of the inhabitants of this area were colored is significant in connection with these figures. Conditions were also bad in the lower pine belt where the Negro population was almost as great—sixty-nine per cent. There, not more than one acre in twenty-two was under cultivation and land sold from five dollars to fifty cents an acre. Only 2.7 bales of cotton were produced per square mile. General deterioration was observed. Conditions were also quite gloomy in the upland swamp area, another section where the percentage of Negroes was high. Lands which had been cleared before the war were relapsing into their original state, according to report. A typical plantation, which before the war had yielded an average of thirty-five bushels of corn per acre, was not producing enough of that product to feed its Negro renters. Although the population had trebled since 1825 the total of cattle had fallen to approximately the number of that date.<sup>57</sup>

The deterioration of low-country agriculture is strikingly illustrated by the falling off in the production of sea island cotton and

<sup>57</sup> Harry Hammond, "Report of Cotton Production in the State of South Carolina," *House Misc. Doc.*, 47th Cong., 2d Sess., Part 6, pp. 477, 479-481, 485.

rice, the two great wealth producing staples of that section of an earlier date. The State exported 54,904 bales of this cotton during the three years immediately preceding the war; during three years ending in 1873 it exported only 23,307 bales.<sup>58</sup> The State produced 119,100,524 pounds of rice in 1860 and only 32,304,825 pounds in 1870. Subsequent years witnessed declines to even lower levels, which presaged the ultimate extinction of the industry in our day.<sup>59</sup> Although numerous factors played a part in the decline in production of these two staples, perhaps the principal cause was the deficiency of Negro labor. The growing of sea island cotton requires the most careful direction. Grave injury was visited on it when the Negroes insisted that they control the farms. The only manner in which rice could be produced with profit was on a large scale. The craze of the Negroes for farms of their own caused a scarcity of rice field laborers. Again, the production of this staple involved labor in malaria-infested bogs. This could be performed most satisfactorily by forced labor. The freedmen deserted for less exacting and more healthy callings. Although the planting of rice was quite profitable when successful<sup>60</sup> the embankments and draining systems required more care than the insubordinate freedmen were willing to give.

An appraisal of the behavior of the South Carolina freedman in relation to agriculture would not be just unless factors other than the amount produced are taken into account. One must remember that the Negro because he was free had purposes for existence other than effecting the maximum production of cotton, corn, and rice. Much of his conduct which appears like madness when judged only from this view point has a new meaning when it is realized that the freedman was aiming at a greater degree of personal liberty and happiness. He was striving to improve himself against the opposition of a class which had only lately held him in the most abject slavery and which still, in many of the details of living, was hardly willing to grant him a status above that of slave. That he was to any degree successful in rising above that status was due more to his ill-understood strivings after agricultural liberty than to willing concessions on the part of the planters, or to the benevolent aid of

<sup>58</sup> Edward King, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

<sup>59</sup> Patrick Hues Mill, "The Condition of Rice Culture in South Since 1865," *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), VI, pp. 72-78.

<sup>60</sup> Harry Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 480, said that in 1880 the return on an acre of rice was \$35.50 and on an acre of cotton \$18.10.

Congress or Federal officials. By insisting that the large estates be broken up he was able to be more than a hired laborer: he got the liberty to establish a home and the leisure to enjoy the pleasures dear to his heart. The tendency of the women to desert the fields made possible a more stable and attractive home life. The retirement of the low-country Negroes from the rice fields may have lowered the productive capacity of the State, and even lowered its level of civilization, but it also made possible the fulfillment of the ambition to have homes and to live in a satisfying leisure. Even in the worst forms of rascality—stealing for example—there was often a manifestation of the soundest opportunism, if not the best morality. This is well illustrated by the South Carolina version of the famous Br'er Rabbit stories. Br'er Rabbit, who represents the Negro, "is not as large nor as strong, as swift, as wise, nor as handsome as the elephant, the alligator, the bear, the deer, the serpent, the fox, but he is 'de mos' cunnin' man dat go on fo' leg'—and by this cunning he gains success." So the Negro, inferior to the whites in education, wealth and social position, could only hope to succeed by stratagem.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps he gained more by the clever tricks he perpetrated on his landlord than he lost through the reckonings he had to face.

It is usual for historians of Reconstruction to assume that almost all of the troubles which arose at that time were due to the failure of the Negro to adjust himself readily to freedom. But a study of the problems of South Carolina agriculture demonstrates that, at least so far as concerns this important phase of the life of a typical southern state, the white man had almost as much difficulty as the Negro in adjusting himself to the new conditions. He was subject to ambitions almost as wild and he showed a reluctance almost as great to adjust himself to circumstances which subsequent events have proved inevitable. His actions in this connection will now be discussed.

In the first place, the typical white South Carolinian not only regarded the abolition of slavery as the greatest of calamities, but also thought it impossible to make successful use of the free Negro as an agricultural laborer. "By yielding to the abolition infidelity and emancipating our slaves," declared a patriotic South Carolinian on the eve of the invasion of the State by the Federal armies,<sup>62</sup> "we

<sup>61</sup> A. M. H. Christensen, *Afro-American Folk Lore* (Boston, 1892), pp. XI-XII.

<sup>62</sup> "Gideon," *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 24, 1865.

shall destroy the household, disorganize the family, and annihilate our government, and contrary to the will and judgment of God bring down His just wrath on our heads." The Constitutional convention of 1865 made it clear that the whites accepted abolition as a necessity imposed by outside force. "If the Negroes have been set free," a writer of that time made known,<sup>63</sup> "it is not by the act of South Carolina, but it is done in spite of her. It is due to no authorized act of any government; it is done alone by the arbitrary, irresponsible power of the United States arms. . . . If South Carolina acquiesces, it will be a concession to force, not an act of free choice." Naturally such a spirit produced gloomy predictions concerning the possibility of making use of the labor of the freedmen. General Carl Schurz, in his journey through the State in July, 1865, found that the whites with whom he talked accepted abolition, but were unanimous in the opinion that the emancipated Negroes could not be used as satisfactory farm laborers.<sup>64</sup> "The Negroes," a Charleston planter told Sidney Andrews shortly afterwards,<sup>65</sup> "were always a nuisance, and you'll find them so in less than a year. . . . They'll all be idle before winter. . . . I would not give ten cents a piece for them." A member of the Constitutional convention said to this same traveler: "You Northern people are utterly mistaken in supposing anything can be done with these Negroes in a free condition. They can't be governed except with the whip." Wherever he went Andrews was constantly told that "the ungrateful wretches would not live as free people."<sup>66</sup> So firm was the belief that the Negro was innately endowed with an overmastering aversion for other than compulsory work that his utter economic demoralization and consequent extinction were freely predicted. "Constitutionally lazy, naturally improvident, ignorant and warm-blooded," said an anonymous South Carolinian in *DeBow's Review*,<sup>67</sup> "the diseases which scourge vice, ignorance, and poverty must make fearful havoc with this unhappy race." "The black population," said a member of the legislature,<sup>68</sup> "has been so thoroughly demoralized by sudden emancipation that years will elapse before they can,

<sup>63</sup> "Honesty," *ibid.*, September 2, 1865.

<sup>64</sup> *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (N. Y., 1908), III, pp. 159-169.

<sup>65</sup> *The South Since the War*, p. 25.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>67</sup> New Series, II, p. 41 (July, 1866).

<sup>68</sup> Mr. Easley of Pickens in *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 30, 1866. Other opinions in the same vein are found in Henry D. Capers, *The Life and Times of O. G. Memminger* (Richmond, 1893), pp. 373-376; and Stephen Powers, *Afoot and Alone*, pp. 27-28, 35.

if ever, . . . be relied upon as a body for steady and efficient labor. . . . An undue portion of the Negro population will crowd into the cities, towns, and villages. The Negro has a passion for traffic and for keeping a shop, for the running of errands and for the performing of any sort of small job by which he can gain a precarious living and avoid the uncongenial necessity of steady toil in the field."

In the face of such gloomy forebodings and the actual disorganization in many aspects of agricultural life, it was but natural that the first impulse of many planters was to find refuge in some foreign country where conditions approximating those to which they had been accustomed could be found. General Wade Hampton, the most prominent citizen of the State, received numerous letters during the summer of 1865, asking him to lead a party of South Carolinians to some foreign country.<sup>69</sup> The possibility of flight to Mexico appealed to the imagination of many ex-Confederate officers.<sup>70</sup> South Carolinians also planned to emigrate to Venezuela. That country offered liberal grants of land in its extensive hinterland to prospective settlers. The Venezuelan Land Company was organized, and C. R. Bryce, a prominent citizen of Columbia, was made one of its directors. He was authorized to issue as many as 2,500 grants of land of 1,280 acres each to persons in South Carolina.<sup>71</sup> But the country toward which South Carolinians were most seriously attracted was Brazil. It was attracting many foreigners through its liberal land grants. Moreover, the fact that it supported Negro slavery and had in certain areas a climate like that of the southern states were inducements which made special appeals to South Carolina planters. A committee composed of Dr. J. McF. Gaston of Columbia and Robert Meriwether and H. A. Shaw of Edgefield visited the Brazilian States of Pernambuco and Sao Paulo and brought back flattering accounts of conditions in the latter State.<sup>72</sup> The newspapers featured stories of the enthusiastic receptions given southerners in Rio de Janeiro — bands played "Dixie," church bells pealed, and land offered at twenty-two cents an acre.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See Hampton's letter to the *Columbia Daily Phoenix* in *Charleston Daily Courier*, August 1, 1865.

<sup>70</sup> Evidence of the interest of South Carolinians in this project is shown by an article. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1866.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, March 10, 1866.

<sup>72</sup> Their report is published in *DeBow's Review*, N. S., II, pp. 30-38 (July, 1866).

<sup>73</sup> For example, see the article of the special correspondent of the *New Orleans Delta* in *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 7, 1866.

The emigration projects, however, largely ended in talk. So far as can be ascertained South Carolinians went to neither Mexico nor Venezuela (the author at least has run across no examples of such movements), and only a few persons, mostly from Edgefield and Chester, went to Brazil. The reasons why more did not go are not far to seek. Agricultural conditions at home were not as bad as some planters imagined, and the Latin-American countries scarcely offered opportunities of equal value. The political and social conditions at home did not involve inconveniences comparable to those which would have arisen had South Carolinians attempted to adapt themselves to the strange languages, manners, and attitudes toward the colored races prevailing in Latin America. The South Carolinian, because of his peculiar prejudices of race and manners, was no fit subject for adaptation to a strange environment. Furthermore, the monarchical regime in Mexico which had bid for Southern immigration soon collapsed, and, in the words of the *Charleston Mercury*,<sup>74</sup> was supplanted by "an anarchial despotism" friendly to the United States. Brazil, according to this newspaper, was bound to go through the same ordeal of abolition which South Carolina had experienced. "We are apprehensive," said an influential newspaper of the interior of the State,<sup>75</sup> "that emigration to Brazil, like emigration from this country to Mexico, will result, in the majority of cases, in disappointment and misery." Moreover, the leaders on patriotic grounds were asked not to desert the State. Hampton, the wisest and most respected of the planters, said in his eloquent reply to those who asked him to head an emigration: "The very fact that our State is passing through so terrible an ordeal as at present should cause her sons to cling more closely to her. . . . The Roman Senate voted thanks to one of their generals because in the darkest hour of the Republic he did not despair. Let us emulate the example of the Romans, and thus entitle ourselves to the gratitude of the country."<sup>76</sup>

But no such barriers stood in the way of emigration to other portions of the United States. This movement was prompted by sound economic and social considerations, in the face of which the supposed political and social objections to living under the American flag had little reality. Nor did patriotic appeals to cling more

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in *Fairfield Herald*, March 25, 1868.

<sup>75</sup> *Fairfield Herald*, October 24, 1866.

<sup>76</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, August 1, 1865.

closely to South Carolina act as a restraint. The migrants came largely from the disappointed and the lower orders of society, people of a type who could not afford to let sentiment override the economic urge, as may have been the case among the ex-officers who contemplated going to foreign parts. The West offered social and economic conditions like those at home and the positive advantage of cheap lands which would increase in value. South Carolinians were already in the habit of going there, since as many as 256,868 of the 470,257 native born white South Carolinians living in 1860 were reported then as living there and elsewhere in the United States outside of South Carolina. After the war this movement continued, for 148,574 of the 418,875 native born white South Carolinians living in 1870 were reported then as living in other states; these figures were 137,418 and 500,994, respectively, in 1880.<sup>77</sup> But of course the emigration of the whites was not a means of that race's escaping from necessary contact with the Negro; the proportions of the two races in the State throughout Reconstruction was about the same as in 1860.

Another scheme designed to give the whites a means of escape from the necessity of dealing with the Negroes was to sell their lands to northerners. Many people, both in the North and in the South, believed that the freedmen could be most successfully managed by those who had won his gratitude in giving him freedom. Other circumstances which tended to attract Northern capital to South Carolina were the extremely low price of land; surplus capital in the Eastern states; the belief that the New Englander, because of his reputation for thrift, could transform potentially rich but degenerate South Carolina into a commonwealth approaching Massachusetts in prosperity; and the feeling that because of the removal of the "incubus of slavery" and because of the high price of cotton the South stood on the brink of an era of prosperity. The newspapers of 1865 and following were filled with alluring bargains in "first class plantations" which "offer unprecedented bargains as strangers to the climate can remain on them the entire year."<sup>78</sup> "There are a large number of planters" wrote a northerner who had already made purchases,<sup>79</sup> "who are offering their lands at very low rates, and so

<sup>77</sup> These figures are republished in *Handbook of South Carolina, 1907*, p. 526, from the United States census reports.

<sup>78</sup> This advertisement appeared in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, December 14, 1865.

<sup>79</sup> E. S. Philbrick in a letter of October 15, 1865. Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-317.

many tempting chances are offered to northern men." "If a man comes from the North, and has money to invest," said the *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 10, 1866, "he is not obliged to roam around the city to meet parties to whom he can talk to advantage." From Massachusetts came the report that companies were being organized to interest Northerners in the purchase of southern plantations and estimates of possible two hundred per cent profits from such undertakings were made. *The Boston Post* felt that since Southerners were unable to manage the freedmen, such investments might be good for Northerners.<sup>80</sup> "To bring here," wrote Sidney Andrews from Charleston,<sup>81</sup> "the conveniences and comforts of our Northern civilization . . . is a work ready for the hand of every New England man and woman." He reported that many men from eastern Massachusetts were on their way to South Carolina, and that half of those on the steamer on which he went to Charleston were Massachusetts men going to seek their fortune in the South.<sup>82</sup> It was natural that considerable land should have fallen into Northern hands.

But this was no solution for the State's agrarian problem. The expanding industrial opportunities of the East and West were sufficient to absorb surplus capital. The low price of land in South Carolina was a symptom more of economic decay than of economic opportunity. Northerners confined their purchases largely to land near the coast where agricultural adjustments were most difficult. There the climate was not the best, and many prospective immigrants, living in an age which greatly exaggerated the drawbacks of a southern climate, were driven away by fear of malaria.<sup>83</sup> Those who braved these alleged difficulties were seldom of a type capable of making successful farm managers. Some were adventurers bent upon gain by the easiest possible road. Many of this class turned from farming to politics and store-keeping. They exploited the Negro to a degree beyond the scruples of even the most unscrupulous native whites. Their doings as politicians are too well known to need

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in *Charleston Daily Courier*, December 21, 1865.

<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> "The swamp malaria," said a Northerner in commenting on the supposed unhealthiness of the low-country (Stephen Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 44), "was more deadly than the breath of the bohun upas." Henry Latham, *Black and White* (London, 1867), p. 199, had the following exaggerated notion of the danger of the climate of the lowlands: "If you go out before sunrise or after sunset, or sleep with your windows open, between the first of September and the middle of November, you feel, first a chill which nothing can remove until a fit of burning fever follows it, which is ended for a time by copious sweat. And this will last you for some six months."

elaboration. The following quotation from the writings of an observant Northern lady<sup>84</sup> will give some idea of the extremes to which they went in commercial transactions: "A swarm of speculators hung about the freed people, to get away their lands. They used various means, chief of which was bad whisky, treating the poor men to get them to give up their deeds, and treating them to clinch the bargain." A quite different class from these were certain high-minded persons interested in the philanthropic purpose of proving free Negro labor a success. They were usually persons of considerable wealth and education. Their great weakness was that they were not actuated by the motive which usually induces emigrants to settle in a new environment—the desire to improve individual fortunes. Obviously as soon as their emotions to improve the Negro were cooled by actual contact with that perverse race they gave up farming and returned to the more comfortable North where easier fortunes awaited them.

The most successful of these planters of whose experiences we have a fairly adequate record was E. S. Philbrick, a Massachusetts engineer. In the face of trying difficulties he displayed a high degree of managerial ability and for three years had some degree of success. He adopted such devices of slavery as the task system and the allotment of supplies, although he was careful to allow freedom of contract and paid wages. But this did not mean the continuation of his experiment; he had been able to make ends meet only because of the abnormally high price of cotton. The conditions with which he and his managers had to contend were so trying that they were almost as willing to abandon their undertaking as their less successful neighbors. They were continuously subjected to the criticisms of ill-informed Northerners, who accused them of exploiting their laborers for undue personal gain. Bungling army officers demoralized their laborers through contradictory policies. To this should be added drought, crop-destroying pests, disagreeable climate, an epidemic of smallpox, dearth of work animals and tools, and doubtless deterioration of the soil and seed. But the most chronic cause of complaint was the unreasonable conduct of the Negroes. Not as yet understanding that freedom had its duties as well as its joys, they took advantage of every opportunity. "The satisfaction derived from the faithfulness

<sup>84</sup> Botume, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 261.

and honesty of perhaps thirty Negroes," wrote one of Philbrick's assistants,<sup>85</sup> "is hardly sufficient to atone for the anxiety and distrust with which one regards the remaining ninety, who lie by habit and steal on the least provocation, who take infinite pains to be lazy and shirk labor. . . . 'Wherefore he is called the everlasting Niggah.'" Because they were given the right to sell their own crops, they stole from others and sold as their own. The Negroes often united and struck for wages which were impossible to pay. Philbrick was accused of making huge profits out of their labor. "You have been jamming the bills in that big iron cage [safe] for six months," he was told on January 9, 1865, when he asked them to contract for the next year, "and there must be enough in it to bust."<sup>86</sup> The outcome of all his trouble was the sale of his lands to Negroes and the return of himself and his aids to the North to seek better opportunities.<sup>87</sup>

An illustration of utter failures in plantation management by Northerners come from the experience of a certain Colonel Chadwick who undertook the management of lands near Georgetown. He rented the Charles Sinkler plantation, "Belvidere," in 1865. He took possession with wife and child, planted "vines and fig trees," and believed he had found a home for life. But soon dark accounts of his doings were sent to the owner by neighbors and tenants; and he acknowledged that he was unable to get the Negroes to agree to contracts. Sinkler, in alarm, returned to investigate. "The Negroes," writes his daughter,<sup>88</sup> "crowded to meet him, with tears of joy, and poured out tales of Colonel Chadwick's ill treatment; how Thisbe, a woman who had never given any trouble, apparently became impudent to him and stirred up rebellion among the others, and how he tied her by the wrists behind his buggy and made her trot down to Pineville, twenty-five miles off, where there were military headquarters, etc." Chadwick was dismissed.

While some were trying to solve their labor difficulties by selling lands to Northerners and emigration schemes, a far larger number were stirred by the prospect of inducing European immigrants to come to South Carolina to work their lands. The circumstances

<sup>85</sup> Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118, 177, 227 and ff.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 332.

<sup>88</sup> Elizabeth Allen Coxe, *Memories of a South Carolina Plantation During the War* (Phila., 1912), pp. 67-70. An equally striking failure is told in Bliss Perry, *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson* (Boston, 1921), pp. 251-266.

which stimulated interest in this project were the confirmed belief that the freedman was incapable of proper farm work and the fact that many Europeans were at that time finding their way to other sections of the United States.

Many whites believed that the Negro was actually being eliminated in such large numbers as to cause such a scarcity of labor as to make the introduction of outsiders imperative. The *Winnsboro Tri-Weekly News*, July 1, 1865, said that the demand for "intelligent labor" would bring about the condition that "poor cuffy, in the plentitude of his freedom, will find himself without food, without employment, without a home, and without a friend, a citizen of the world with perfect liberty to starve." "We regret to say," was the opinion of a South Carolinian writing a year later in *DeBow's Review*,<sup>89</sup> "that the time is not far distant . . . when the Negro will have passed away under the heavy pressure of white population." "A few short years," said the *Laurensville Herald*,<sup>90</sup> "and their race in this country will be run. To be put in competition and on a level with the white race to make a living, is starvation to the Negro."

Many whites also thought they saw positive circumstances which would lead to immigration. They knew how the West had been made powerful and prosperous through immigration and how South Carolina, because of fear of the introduction of prejudices against slavery through the coming of outsiders, had suffered defeat because of its refusal to encourage new European blood. The abolition of slavery had removed many of the objections to the coming of immigrants and gave rise to the aforementioned belief that the State through free labor would soon become quite prosperous. Many believed that the large estates would break into small farms, for which the immigrants were supposed to have a predilection. Every one knew that the State was possessed of rich natural resources and a climate suitable for Europeans. There were thousands of unoccupied acres, previously worth forty to fifty dollars each, which could now be bought for from five to ten dollars. Moreover, the majority of immigrants coming to America at that time fitted in with the white South Carolinians' notion of good people. They were the blond Irish, and if the Irish did not exactly fit in on account of their religion, a

<sup>89</sup> N. S., II, p. 285 (September, 1866).

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in the *Fairfield Herald*, February 13, 1867.

portion of the large stream of Germans finding its way across the ocean might be attracted. They were blond and Protestant; a considerable portion of the original white population of the State was of that race.<sup>91</sup>

With such ideas in mind, the legislature, after some hesitation, passed on December 20, 1866, an act creating the office of commissioner of immigration, and ten thousand dollars was appropriated to be used by him to register desirable lands and to advertise in northern Europe for immigrants.<sup>92</sup>

To the new office Governor Orr appointed John A. Wagener. Wagener had been largely responsible for the establishment of a German colony at Walhalla, and being a native of Germany, had a special knowledge of conditions there.<sup>93</sup> He went about his work with enthusiasm and intelligence. An attractive pamphlet, *South Carolina: A Home for the Industrious Immigrant*, was published in English and German. Agents, well acquainted with conditions both in Europe and South Carolina, were dispatched to Germany and the Scandanavian countries, where they did all in their power to impress prospective emigrants with the advantages which South Carolina had to offer.<sup>94</sup> Meanwhile, Wagener was busy registering the many acres that the planters were willing to sell to the immigrants.<sup>95</sup> Immigration societies were organized in various sections of the State.<sup>96</sup> Some planters even made offers to give away fifty acres of land to each immigrant head of a family on condition that five hundred dollars in improvements be put on each gift.<sup>97</sup> These activities bore fruit in the arrival of the German bark, *Gauss*, at Charleston on November 29, 1867, amidst much popular rejoicing, with 152 immigrants aboard; and Wagener was able to report on June 19, 1868 that he had been instrumental in inducing some four hundred Europeans to settle in the State.<sup>98</sup>

But what was thought by many to have been the beginning of a movement which would have meant much toward the rehabilitation

<sup>91</sup> These views are set forth in the message of Governor Perry, *House Journal, Extra Session, 1865*, pp. 14-15; John A. Wagener, *South Carolina: A Home for the Industrious Immigrant* (Charleston, 1867); Address of Mr. Easley in the House of Representatives, *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 30, 1866.

<sup>92</sup> *Statutes at Large*, XIII, pp. 380-381.

<sup>93</sup> See letter of Orr to Willy Wabach—*Charleston Daily Courier*, March 6, 1866.

<sup>94</sup> See letters in *Charleston Daily Courier*, August 21, 1867, and October 30, 1867.

<sup>95</sup> Figures on registrations, *ibid.*, May 22, 1867, and January 7, 1868.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, June 20, 1868.

<sup>97</sup> E. J. Watson in *Handbook of South Carolina, 1907*, p. 513.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, November 29, 1867, and August 3, 1868.

of the State, was handicapped by the refusal of the Radical government, which came into power in 1868, to support Wagener's bureau. The Negroes and their carpetbagger friends naturally opposed a movement intending to give support to their political enemies and to supplant the Negro as the most important labor factor in the State. One of the earliest political conventions of the colored people, the one held at Zion Church, Charleston, November, 1865, clearly indicated the attitude of those who were going to assume political control of the State. This convention in an address to the whites complained of the desire "to bring foreigners to your country, and thrust us out or reduce us to a serfdom intolerable."<sup>99</sup>

Nevertheless, efforts to bring in immigrants continued without official support. Throughout the years of Reconstruction there was frequent mention of such projects in the press. The local immigration societies continued to be active. The Newberry society brought settlers into Newberry and Laurens counties.<sup>100</sup> With the growth of the evils of Republican rule, the desire for immigrants increased. The people of Fairfield desired foreigners "not simply as laborers, but to render our present labor more efficient by competition, to protect our corn cribs and pig pens . . . and to take the government out of the hands of an inferior race."<sup>101</sup> In 1869 the South Carolina Improvement and Trust Company was promoting the breaking up of plantations into small farms and was establishing a colony of immigrants at Ora in Laurens County.<sup>102</sup> During the same year the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical Society earnestly recommended the establishment of additional immigration societies.<sup>103</sup> An agricultural and mechanical convention held in Charleston in May, 1870, proposed that a line of steamers be established between Charleston and Europe to encourage immigrants, and that societies be formed to offer them free lands.<sup>104</sup> During that year there was much talk of the feasibility of importing Chinese to work in the rice fields.<sup>105</sup> "Let them come, the sooner the better," said a South Carolinian.<sup>106</sup> "They will probably do the work which the

<sup>99</sup> *Proceedings of the Colored People's Convention, Held at Zion Church, Charleston, November, 1865*, p. 25.

<sup>100</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, December 11, 1868, March 9, 1869.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, June 11, 1869.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, May 6, 1869.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, July 7, 1869.

<sup>104</sup> *Rural Carolinian*, I, p. 573 (June, 1870).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, I, *idem*.

<sup>106</sup> W. F. Roberts, *Southern Cultivator*, XXVIII (January, 1870).

freedmen won't do and which whites can't do." In 1871 Generals Butler and Gary of Edgefield formed a company to sell \$750,000 worth of lottery tickets as a means of obtaining money with which to advance the passage money of immigrants and to purchase lands for them.<sup>107</sup>

These efforts, however, had little appreciable effect upon the composition of the State's population. In 1880 only 7,686 of the State's white population were foreign born. This was less than one per cent of the State's population, 2,300 less than the number of 1860, and a scant counterbalance for the 137,418 native born white South Carolinians then living in other states.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, only six per cent of this number were engaged in agriculture. It may be truly said that immigration had been no solution of the State's agricultural problems.

The reasons why immigrants refused to come to South Carolina were largely an accentuation of those which kept out Northern capital. The Germans were prejudiced against the State. They believed its climate bad and its society disorderly. Those who arrived on the *Gauss*, for example, hastily departed, expressing the belief that South Carolina was "extremely unhealthy and inhabited by Negroes and half-civilized whites."<sup>109</sup> They would join their kinsmen in the West, where social conditions were more to their liking and economic opportunities more real. In South Carolina wages were at low figures and land, although cheap, was dearer than it was in the West. To these were added such social factors as bad housing, bad roads, few public schools, thieving among the blacks, and "in some sections ignorance, prejudice, and superstition among the masses."<sup>110</sup> Few South Carolinians did anything of a concrete nature to further immigration. "We have had immigration conventions and immigration societies enough," said the sagacious editor of the *Rural Carolinian*,<sup>111</sup> "but little has been done beyond the passing of sundry excellent resolutions. The generality of those who professed interest not only refused to give lands but also asked unreasonable prices for them." For example, Wagener in 1867 complained that lands which

<sup>107</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, February 20, 1871, June 22, 1871.

<sup>108</sup> *Handbook of South Carolina, 1883*, pp. 389-391.

<sup>109</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, November 30, 1868.

<sup>110</sup> See reasons of B. W. Jones, *Rural Carolinian*, II, p. 605 (August, 1871). For a vivid portrayal of the shock experienced by a family of cultured German immigrants when they came in contact with the comparative barbarities of rural South Carolina, some fifteen years after Reconstruction, see Ludwig Lewisohn's *Up Stream*, chap. I.

<sup>111</sup> VI, 817 (December, 1875).

would bring from one to two dollars at public auction were offered to immigrants at fifteen dollars an acre,<sup>112</sup> and the *Rural Carolinian*<sup>113</sup> said in 1876 that almost invariably too large a price had been demanded for lands and thus men of humble means were driven away. Since the anticipated breaking up of the land into small proprietorships did not materialize, there was a tendency for men of small means to leave the State rather than enter it.<sup>114</sup> Neither were the whites pleased with the few immigrants which settled in their midst, nor the immigrants with them. "There is no evidence of any general desire," said a correspondent of the *New York Nation*,<sup>115</sup> "to receive intelligent laborers from other countries. . . . They are not encouraged to come, but when they do come, they are subjected to espionage and surveillance . . . and often to violence and outrage." The traditional aversion for the outsider as a possible abolitionist was transferred to the outsider as a possible carpet-bagger. The small white farmer who desired to buy or rent was as jealous of the competition of the white foreigner as he was of the Negro. "The poor white men," said a writer in the *Rural Carolinian*,<sup>116</sup> "look upon every immigrant as placing land so much further beyond their reach." Sentimental considerations of a racial or political nature did not lead the planters to give the immigrants better conditions of employment than they were willing to give Negroes as capable. The party of Germans who came to Newberry amidst so much flourish became dissatisfied because they were "not willing to settle down and live on bacon and corn bread."<sup>117</sup> A party of Italians observed by Edward King<sup>118</sup> haughtily rejected a yearly wage of one hundred dollars and a weekly ration allowance of corn meal and bacon. Such experiences led the most thoughtful champions of the interests of the white farmers to believe that immigrants were no satisfactory substitutes for the Negroes. "We have every reason to believe," said the *Charleston Daily News*, November 26, 1868, "that it would be many years before we could obtain sufficient white labor to enable us to dispense with the services of the colored man. . . . He is here already; he is familiar with our

<sup>112</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, May 22, 1867.

<sup>113</sup> VII, pp. 530-531 (December, 1876).

<sup>114</sup> See article of "Up-Country Farmer," *Rural Carolinian*, I, p. 521 (May, 1870).

<sup>115</sup> III, p. 370 (November 8, 1866).

<sup>116</sup> I, p. 713 (August, 1870).

<sup>117</sup> B. O. D., *Rural Carolinian*, II, pp. 638-639 (August, 1871).

<sup>118</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 451. See also *Fairfield Herald*, November 26, 1868.

habits and customs: . . . and when the political swell has subsided he will be as docile and industrious a laborer as we could desire." D. Wyatt Aiken, the unsentimental editor of the *Rural Carolinian* who was a very successful farmer, with a show of realism, did his best to prove to his class the impossibility of solving its problems through immigration. "The South," he said,<sup>119</sup> "needs capital more than laborers. . . . The simple hireling, with naught but muscle to commend him, would be wiser to stay away than come. No day laborer can compete with the Negro in the employment of the former slaveholder, or in the cultivation of the Southern staples. In these latter days experience has taught the world that the successful cultivation of cotton is a science only appreciated by the Southern born planters and their former slaves."

But if the white man was unable to attract outsiders to his lands, he did find another means of partly ridding himself of the monopoly of Negro labor. He began producing with his own hands a much larger proportion of the State's cotton crop than had been his habit. It was estimated that in 1875 thirty-two per cent of the cotton of the State was produced by white labor, whereas only half of that amount had been so produced in 1860.<sup>120</sup> One writer<sup>121</sup> told of white youths raised in a counting house who, in beginning farming, were "jerked and jostled about to the infinite amusement of the grinning darkies," but were later successful in their endeavor. Major Harry Hammond<sup>122</sup> reported that in 1880 in certain portions of the up-country the number of whites in the fields was proportionately larger than the number of Negroes. This was due to a variety of reasons. There was, as we have seen, considerable foundation for the belief that the freedmen were more inefficient. But the principal cause was the economic decline of the low-country, where the larger proportion of the Negroes lived, and the economic rise of the up-country, where a majority of the whites lived. This was due to the fact that the greater portion of the State west of Columbia and Cheraw was not touched by the destructive and demoralizing influences of the invader. Since the landlords of the up-country had a greater degree of personal contact with the Negroes, because the proportions of that race were smaller, they could exercise a stabilizing influence

<sup>119</sup> *Rural Carolinian*, IV, pp. 291-294 (March, 1873).

<sup>120</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1876*, p. 136.

<sup>121</sup> J. S. J. of Richland, *Southern Cultivator*, XXVI, p. 260 (September, 1868).

<sup>122</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 521.

which, to a great degree, counteracted the demoralizing influences of sudden manumission. The high price of cotton immediately after the war made the importation of Peruvian guano profitable, and when its effects upon upland cotton was seen it was imported in large quantities.<sup>123</sup> In 1867 other types of commercial fertilizer were made available through the development of the extensive phosphate deposits found in the low-country. Fertilizers made possible the growing of cotton on the worn and partially exhausted hill lands. They so greatly stimulated the plant that it could be grown successfully in the foothills where the seasons were quite short. They gave new value to the heretofore almost worthless sand lands of the middle counties.<sup>124</sup> So great was the "mania" for fertilizer that in 1875 sixty per cent of the entire cotton crop of the State was produced with its aid,<sup>125</sup> and in 1880 the up-country, which was only one-third the area of the State, was producing fifty-three per cent of the total cotton crop.<sup>126</sup>

Meanwhile many whites were seeking the aid of legislation as a means of restoring discipline among the Negro laborers. This was a far wiser approach to the problem of agricultural restoration than some of those we have just mentioned, since recognition was given to the fact that both races were to continue indefinitely as important factors in the State's rural population. The centering upon legislation as a possible means of solving the problem was possible in the first year or two after the war. The planters were in control of the legislature, and they felt that under the protection of President Johnson they were to be allowed something of the free hand to which they had been accustomed in dealing with the Negro. To them legislation was imperative to meet the trying labor problem of the day. "To make the disorganized labor available—or, indeed, to make it work at all," said the speaker of the house of representatives,<sup>127</sup> "is the most difficult and delicate question which has ever been presented to a people." "Something," said the Sumter correspondent of the *Charleston Daily Courier*, November 11, 1865, "must be done to

<sup>123</sup> It had been introduced in the State as early as 1854 by Rhett and Robson, Charleston merchants.—*Charleston Daily Courier*, October 29, 1869.

<sup>124</sup> Harry Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 491, said in 1880 of this type of soil: "Since the introduction of commercial fertilizer . . . good crops have been produced on lands of this character, formerly considered of little value. As a consequence, some of these lands near a railroad, which were sold in 1858 at \$3 an acre, have recently brought as much as \$30 and even \$40 an acre."

<sup>125</sup> M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry*, p. 136.

<sup>126</sup> Harry Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

<sup>127</sup> Alfred Aldrich, *House Journal, Extra Session, 1865*, p. 6.

enforce and secure regular labor, or this fine country will become a wilderness." The response was the enactment in 1865 of the labor provisions of the famous "black code." The blacks were to occupy an inferior caste; their movements and occupations were restricted; provision was made for binding them out as apprentices.<sup>128</sup>

The fact that these laws were politically inexpedient, and that they were out of keeping with the equalitarian spirit of the age, has been repeatedly demonstrated and is quite aside from the purpose of this article. The question which demands our attention is whether they offered a means through which order might have been restored in the sorely disrupted agricultural life of South Carolina. Since they never went into operation, due to the intervention of the military authority of the United States, our answer must be conjectural. To a certain point they were realistically prophetic, since they describe many conditions which were to become actualities in the agricultural life of the State. The whites were the master class and were to remain in that position; they were the owners of the land and were to remain so; the Negroes were their economic inferiors and no amount of legislation attempting to alter this fact could change their position. To this extent the laws were realistic, and industrial peace might have come to the State sooner had a clear statement of these facts remained on the statute books. But beyond these basic limits the laws were quite impractical, since they failed to take into account the full measure of power which the Negro was then able to exercise. He was in reality a free man and no amount of legal circumlocution could greatly alter that fact. Freedom had taught him how to make the most of his opportunity for freedom of contract. The law of supply and demand, as has already been made clear, gave him certain advantages, in the exercise of which he hardly could have been restrained by so artificial an expedient as legislation. The competition of the planters themselves for his labor would have given him a position on the farm far superior to that which the "black code" attempted to define.

<sup>128</sup> *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, XIII, *passim*.



GERMAN TRACTS CONCERNING THE LUTHERAN  
CHURCH IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING  
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY\*

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AND  
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PART I

TEXTBOOKS FOR THE YOUTH OF NORTH  
CAROLINA, OUTLINED BY A SOCIETY  
OF HELMSTAEDT PROFESSORS

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\*These tracts are translated from the original German by Mr. Krummel.  
The introduction and notes not translated from the original are by Mr. Boyd.



## INTRODUCTION

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century German immigrants made their appearance in North Carolina. They came from Pennsylvania and settled in the Piedmont region, in the area including the present counties of Forsyth, Guilford, Orange, Alamance, Stanly, Cabarrus, Gaston, Lincoln, Iredell, Stokes, Davie, Davidson and Rowan. Their outstanding characteristics were loyalty to their native language and customs—German being used in the churches for many years,—skill in the industrial arts and agriculture, and a disinclination to participate in politics. Their numbers we do not know, but according to the census of 1790 there were approximately eight thousand. Their religious heritage was German Reformed and Lutheran. They organized and built churches but ministers were few, the only pastors prior to 1773 being of the German Reformed church. Often the members of the two denominations worshipped together and often, also, services were conducted by the laity. With this situation the Lutherans were not satisfied, and in 1772, after unsuccessful efforts to secure pastors and teachers from Pennsylvania, they sent two commissioners to Europe, Christopher Rentelmann, from Organ Church, Rowan County, and Christopher Layrle of St. John's Church, Mecklenburg, (now Cabarrus County) to apply for aid to the Consistory of Hanover. Passing through London the commissioners received encouragement from the royal court; a call for aid was issued from the Chapel of St. James and King George III himself made a contribution. From Hanover the Reverend Adolph Nüssmann, formerly a member of the Franciscan Order, was secured as pastor and Gottfried Arend as school master. These worthies arrived in North Carolina in 1773 and located in Orange County. Soon Arend was ordained a minister and took charge of the churches in Rowan, Nüssmann transferring to Mecklenburg (now Cabarrus County). It was the hope of these men and their parishioners to secure further aid from the Consistory of Hanover, but the Revolution interrupted all communication with the fatherland. In 1787, however, effort was made to renew relations; the hope being to secure more pastors and also books for religious and secular instruction. Communication was opened, however, not with the Consistory of Hanover, but with

the Reverend Johann Caspar Velthusen, Professor of Theology in the Julius Charles University at Helmstaedt, Dutchy of Brunswick, who, as court preacher at London in 1773, had been interested in the missionary movement of that time in behalf of North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> Under his leadership a missionary society was organized to aid the Lutheran churches in North Carolina, and soon additional pastors arrived, Reverend Christopher Bernhardt in 1787, Carl August Storch in 1788, and Reverend Arnold Roshen soon after. However, the aid sought and extended was not confined to the sending of ministers. Text books, lay and religious, were asked for and under the leadership of Velthusen eight text books were prepared and published for use in the Lutheran schools of North Carolina. Thus the Lutheran Church was given a broader foundation and in 1803 the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina was formally organized.

Concerning these matters the pamphlets here reprinted in translation give much information. They include the four formal reports of the Helmstaedt professors concerning the text books prepared for the youth of North Carolina and also two reports of Nüssmann concerning the status of the Lutheran churches in North Carolina. Space permits only the publication in this issue of the reports on the text books; those concerning the churches will appear in the issue of April 1930.

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<sup>1</sup> Velthusen 1740-1814 was a personage of note in Lutheran circles. From 1759 to 1764 he studied Theology at the University of Gottengen and from 1770 to 1773 was connected with the Court Chapel in London. In the same year he became superintendent at Gefham, Duchy of Lueneburg and 1775 was appointed Professor of Theology at Kiel. Three years later he passed on to a similar position at Helmstaedt, and in 1787 to a professorship at Rostock. In 1791 he became general-superintendent of Bremen and Verden. He was the author of eighty books and monographs and also contributed frequently to periodicals.

N<sup>o</sup> 1350.

Lehrbücher  
für die Jugend  
in Nordcarolina,

entworfen  
von  
einer Gesellschaft  
Helmstädtischer Professoren.

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Erste Lieferung:  
K a t e c h i s m u s  
und  
F r a g e b u c h.

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Leipzig,  
bey Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius.  
1787.



# Text Books

For the Youth  
of North Carolina.

Outlined by  
A Society  
of  
Helmstaedt Professors.

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First Number:

Catechism  
and  
Question Book.

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Leipzig,  
Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius,  
1787.



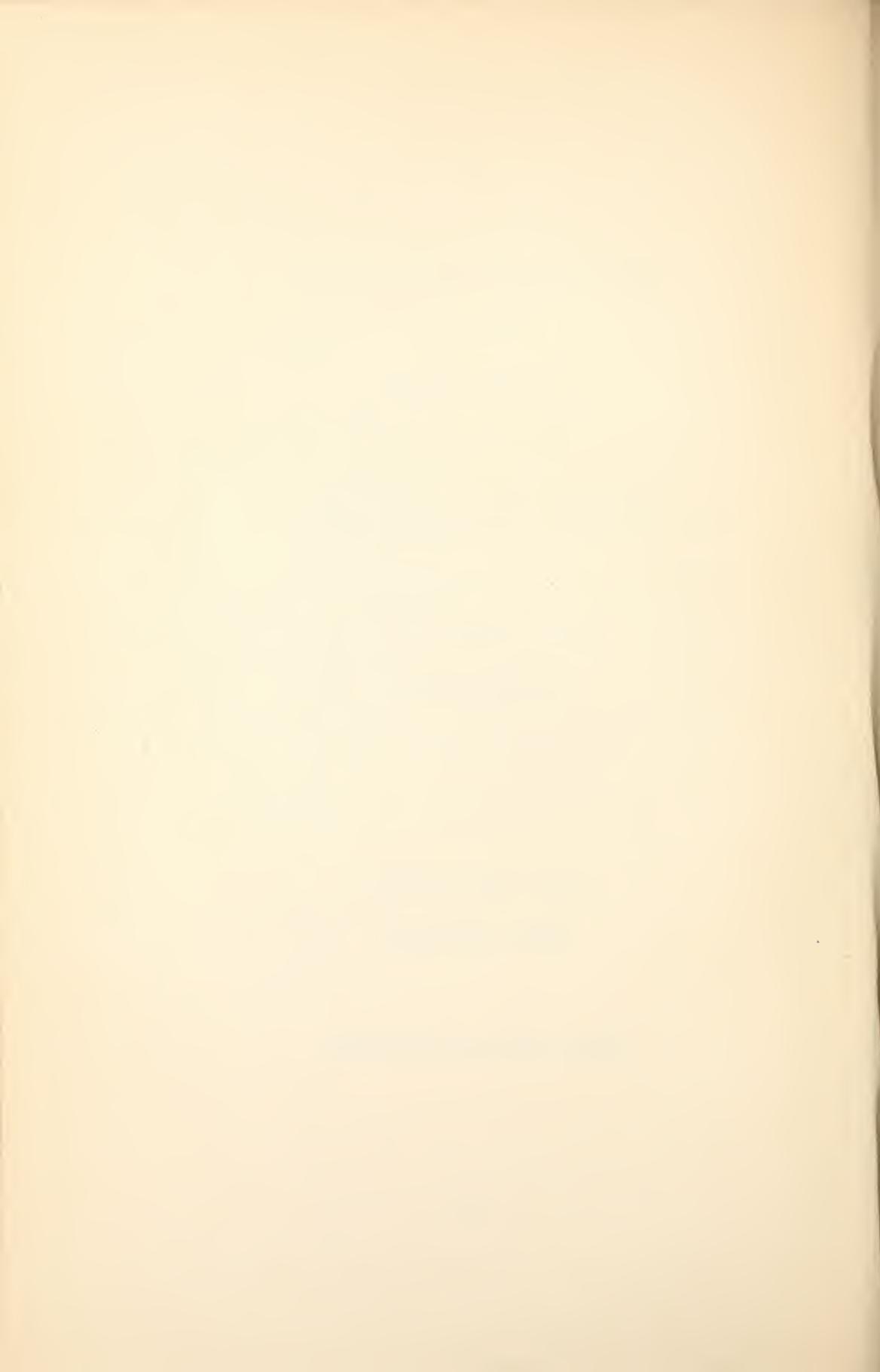
To the Most illustrious Prince  
and  
Sovereign,

**Ferdinand,**

Duke of Brunswick  
and Lüneburg,  
etc., etc.,

Our most gracious  
Ruler and Lord

Most reverently dedicated.



**Most Illustrious Duke, Gracious Lord and Sovereign.**

Your Serene Highness, with the energy peculiar to your great soul, has in a special way most graciously promoted an undertaking for which only the desire to serve our brethren could have inspired the courage necessary for its execution.

In Germany Providence has already begun to prosper the new enterprise. If the man who is soliciting from our university this support (in which cause we are now associated with him for a limited time) will find in America the same Christian, brotherly spirit, which in Germany is achieving so much beyond our expectations, the good results for our Evangelical congregations in North Carolina, perhaps also for other adjacent sections, may be greater than we are now able to foresee.

However the outcome we will calmly leave to Providence through whose dispensations this work has fallen to our lot.

From the list of names enumerated in this, the first number of a series of text books, our brother in that distant land will be able to recognize the German spirit in which they must rear their children, if the latter shall at some time become worthy of their noble ancestry.

Most Illustrious Duke!

It reacts upon us with thrilling inspiration when we imagine how now soon a thousand voices of these German children on the outposts of the civilized world will join with us in imploring the Almighty to prolong the beneficent life of the most kindly Ruler, who as the Defender of Germany is great, and as a Father to the oppressed, in a very exalted sense of the term, is immortal.

With a feeling of the most reverent and grateful devotion we shall remain unto death,

Most Illustrious Duke,  
Most gracious Sovereign & Lord,  
The most humble and obliging  
Admirers of  
Your Ducal Highness,

*The Editors.*

Helmstaedt,  
Sep. 12, 1787.



## Reports of the Undertaking of several Helmstaedt Professors in behalf of North Carolina

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At the request of the Evangelical preacher in North Carolina, Mr. Adolph Nüssmann, several professors of Helmstaedt have united in the task of editing a series of textbooks for the German youth of that distant country. With the proceeds anticipated from this undertaking they expect to pay the transportation for two or three Evangelical preachers, with a supply of donated books, as far as Charlestown. This whole enterprise grew out of the following very natural conditions.<sup>1</sup>

In 1772 two delegates from North Carolina asked one of our Society, who was at that time stationed at the court in London, for his good offices. About sixty families, adherents of the Augsburg Confession, desired a preacher from the King's German possessions. They also tried, if possible, to obtain a school teacher. But they were especially anxious for such books by means of which a current of fanatic writings, then flooding that country, might, at least in a measure, be checked. The King supported this venture with considerable gifts in money. At the same time a call was issued to the Consistory of Hanover to assist this cause as much as possible.

On the twentieth of September, 1772, in the Royal Chapel of St. James, a drive for this same purpose was proclaimed.<sup>2</sup>

At that time Mr. Nüssmann had already accepted the call. Arrangements for his own provision were however by no means made secure. Nevertheless because he was so interested in the instruction of the youth he urged that they should at once send a school teacher with him on his journey. He even promised the latter his share of the salary which he, according to the assurance of the delegates, had a right to expect. The date of departure was moved forward. The preacher and the teacher were to travel via Hamburg with their donated books. The boat was

<sup>1</sup> For other circumstances in connection with the church organization of North Carolina, irrelevant to our present purpose however, we here refer to the article found in the *Hanoverian Magazine* of the year 1786. [See appendix to this document. EDITORS.]

<sup>2</sup> The surplus left in London in the year 1773 with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amounted to 94 Lbs. Sterling, as we learned from the German foreign office of that city. We had some hesitation about accepting Mr. Nussmann's offer, according to which we would have been able to defray a part of the printing expenses with this money originally intended to increase his salary. From the report made by the Hanoverian court preachers in the year 1772, which I now possess, we see the fact confirmed, which I, the writer, still recall very vividly, viz.: that this society, which I in consequence of a verbal agreement with the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cornwallis, deposited the funds which had come into my hands, had promised the delegates a contribution of money on the condition that they should first have solicited help from their most intimate friends of their own faith and country. I also recall that various individuals of the exalted clergy had promised assistance under similar conditions; and [I furthermore] find it noted in the sermon, in which I on Sep. 20, 1772, announced the collections in the court chapel. This fact is also specifically mentioned in that printed sheet by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Bishop of London (Dr. Tarrick at that time) who was then the general superintendent, or overseer, of the American churches.

already near the English coast when it was driven back into the Elbe by a storm and was declared unseaworthy.

Nüssmann left his companion with the effects, which were to follow him on the next ship sailing from Hamburg, and hastened to London via Holland where he was expected. The second court preacher of that place had previously brought his wife over to London in this same ill-fated ship, and only after some time later did both realize the danger in which they were hovering, because even at that time the boat was said to have been leaking somewhat. Observations of this kind under similarly dangerous conditions tend to bind souls together. Nüssmann lived several weeks with him. He paid the transportation for the latter as far as Charlestown and the passengers together with their effects were put on board. It was, however, not until October 14, 1786, that he received via Copenhagen the first letter from his friend. It was dated May 11, of the same year.

In this letter, written at Dutch Buffaloe Creek, in Mecklenburg County, Mr. Nüssmann expressed a desire for co-workers, because in that neighborhood there were so many families who longed for a sermon. In this letter he furthermore demanded of us young men, into whom (as he expressed it) we should instill determination, courage, and a genuine apostolic spirit, in order, even under great difficulties, to spread the Gospel in those growing states. After he believed himself to be forsaken by both London and Hanover, he associated himself more closely with the German Evangelical preacher in Charlestown, Mr. Frederick Daser, in order that the one might especially look after the state of North Carolina and the other after the states of South Carolina and Georgia with regard to their common needs, making a special plea for them among their friends in their mother country. At the same time he expressed himself to the effect that since his assembly had appointed him as third commissioner for the erection of an academy in Salisbury, he would also endeavor, as much as possible, to relieve the greatest needs of his forsaken countrymen here.

He urgently requested that we, for the present, might at least still provide transportation for two preachers as far as Charlestown, since after that, all things necessary would be arranged for. This request seemed worthy of our careful attention. Meanwhile, however, we informed him that we could neither bind it upon any one as a duty, nor try to persuade any one, until the one or the other organization had stated how much it was willing to pledge for the most necessary support of its prospective pastor. If this had been done we declared ourselves ready to make a careful and conscientious selection of the young men whom we had observed, at the same time taking due account of their examinations.

Even more urgently than the immediate sending over of several assistants he desires in this same letter a catechism for North Carolina written under the supervision of our University.

One more anxiety, (as his words go) I have, which I must disclose. No greater vexation has amazed me than the various kinds of catechisms that are floating about here in this country. God knows how anxious I am to educate thoroughly the youth of this place, especially those of the age for religious instruction. The need is obvious, and much more urgent than in Germany. Poorly instructed children are at once led astray when they come in contact with unbelievers or with those of false beliefs. In this country there ought to be a catechism which would stand up under the severest test, that might serve as a safe guide for the children, and one that would furthermore reflect credit and honor wherever it was seen. The most respected people of all congregations offer the same complaint; for the evil is obvious to all

If you now wish to render a genuinely true service to our local youth as well as to the entire Evangelical Church of this section please formulate for us an entirely different catechism, have the same printed and send it to us. In my humble judgment the arrangement might be as follows:

Part I: An introduction to the Christian doctrine, which would recount in story form the history of the Old Testament, the life-work of Jesus Christ and the more important events of the Christian Church, somewhat like Seiler's Catechism, which was printed in Bayreuth in 1780, and which later accidentally came into my hands.

Part II: The fundamental truths of Christianity; perhaps according to the pedagogical methods of Mr. Jacobi, who is also very popular in your country; however, without questions, which are not very practical, and are furthermore exposed to the ridicule of the sectarians.

Part III: Moral teachings, repentance, faith, gratitude and duty, likewise according to Mr. Jacobi's method. The moral teachings should be paramount, should constitute the greater part, and should seem very obvious and pronounced. This would convince our secretarians that we are seriously concerned about a real Christianity.

The ten commandments might be related with some explanations in their proper place in the history of the Old Testament. Still you know all this better than I can tell you. Nevertheless I wanted in a measure at least to express my thoughts [on this matter]. But you may arrange this as it seems best to you. Since you are a Professor of Dogmatics and Ethics, and at the same time train students in the teaching of the catechism, this undertaking would fit well with your regular work, even though you should in the end have to compose an entirely new catechism; and to bring the love and religion of Jesus into the wilderness will certainly furnish you with inspiration. On the title page and also in a short preface, which should be drawn up under your supervision and also that of the entire University, the intention for southern America might receive special mention. The ready and willing reception of the same would manifest its uniformity in doctrine with the entire Evangelical Church in general, and it would lay the foundation for the Evangelical Church at this place. A few other short treatises would be necessary, of which G. G. will speak in the near future, because I at present am too fatigued to write any more, due to a violent fever which since Easter morning has emaciated me, so that I have not regained my strength, even though through the goodness of God I am now rid of the fever.

One more need I must mention. I know I can not easily exaggerate my confidence in you. I have been missing very badly the following books: A good paraphrase of the New Testament; a good practical work on Ethics; a good church history; a German dictionary; a geography, for example, the one by Buesching, and a few others for the instruction of the children; for example, Du Fresnoy, which is provided with maps, a small atlas, and something like a scholarly history, especially of the last fourteen years. My book, *Home Treatment of Diseases*, by Tissot, which has rendered me great service, was lost during the time of the war.

This faithful report of the needs of his library, when compared with another somewhat more gloomy passage of the letter, brought to his friend's mind vividly and in a natural way, the plan agreed upon between them in detail fourteen years ago in London. It emanated originally from the late Council to the Consistory, Goetten, in Hanover and at that time was also actively supported by him. Nüssmann had likewise developed into a catechist under the direction of Goetten. It was Goetten from whom he received for his missions, his elaborate, carefully planned, written pastoral instructions which were furthermore, as far as information about them was obtainable, very well adapted to all local conditions. Prominent among the projects of Goetten was the plan, that above all things the establishment of a North Carolina Church Library would be [seriously] considered.

In this same letter the following words especially engaged and stimulated our *thoughts*:

In these remotest parts, where blindness, ignorance, superstition and fanatic enthusiasm rage, the teachers are separated by distances of 70, 80, 100 to 200 miles.

Also the description which he gave of the conditions of the Evangelical Church of that place:

For the want of instructors and school teachers it has become completely degenerate, and must, if help does not come soon, revert completely to a state of heathendom. Thousands of homes with numerous children, but widely scattered, are forgetting Christianity. Their children know still less of it and the next generation will be veritable heathen. There are no teachers there capable of instruction; and those which are there destroy more than they build up. I have labored as faithfully as I was capable of doing, and as the Lord gave me strength. But one arm is too short. With sadness I observe every day something lacking, now here, now there, and now everywhere. Nevertheless my greatest concern was for Buffaloe Creek, which from the very beginning had received God's word. One must here still represent something like an apostle, rather than an instructor, of the congregation. If one would restrict his activity to one congregation, one could, of course, accomplish much good; but the injury to the whole would be all the greater.

Mr. Nüssmann's demands seemed so just and so urgent, and the fulfillment of the same seemed so closely akin to our academic calling, that it was merely a question of how we might in the best manner achieve that which might be expected from us. For to do this absolutely in the manner proposed to us by him, was impossible. After serious deliberation we came to the agreement, that the shortest way would be to work out several manuscripts with one common purpose in view. The various reports announced so far contain the following:

- I. A Catechism.
- II. A Book of Questions on the Catechism.
- III. A Biblical Manual for Everybody.
- IV. A Selection of Biblical Narratives, supplemented by a Short History of Religion.
- V. The Most Common and Practical Knowledge of Reasoning (Logic).
- VI. A Manual of Civic Information.
- VII. A Geographic Compendium.

To be sure, in the working out of these seven manuscripts with which we hope to be helpful, there as well as in our native land, we have tried to accomplish at the same time several combined purposes. The first two manuscripts, which are already printed, the "Catechism" and the "Book of Questions," for example, besides the purpose for which they were produced, will for the present also be used at the local Catachetic Institute and also for the weekly instruction of the class prepared for confirmation, which is likewise connected with this Institute.<sup>3</sup>

The entire proceeds, however, of these two, and one half of the proceeds of the remaining five books go into the fund. With this we expect to carry out our plans, which we even now shall be able to do, as soon as the conditions from America are met to our satisfaction.

As a proof of the Christian brotherly spirit with which up to this time our undertaking has been supported by noble Germans and even by foreigners the following list of names may serve:

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<sup>3</sup> With this purpose in view the editor of the present catechism, instigated at Nussmann's request, has at once had reprinted a threefold literal outline, which, however, has no connection with our common undertaking or fund.

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As a gift to the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann the following books were sent (Apr. 10, 1787.) through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Nicolai in Bremen:

Seiler's Larger Book on Religious Devotion.

Old. Test. Part I, and New Test. Pt. 1 and 2 (gifts of Mr. Seiler).

June 20, 1787, through the kindness of Mr. Wilmerding, a merchant of New York, addressed to Prof. Dr. Kunze, a pastor of New York:—3 copies of the *Anspach Hymnal* (intended for church libraries of North Carolina, a gift of the Court pastor, Mr. Junkheim, assistant judge of the provincial court, Mr. Uz. and the publishers.)

We have furthermore in our possession, the following:

3 additional (total 4) copies of Seiler's *Larger Book on Religious Devotion*, with promise of its continuation.

New Test. Translation & Notes by Mr. Seiler.

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Smaller Book on Religious Devotion. 4 copies.

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Provisions for a Liturgy.

Prayers for Sundays and Church festival days.

(These as gifts from the Publisher Mr. Bohn in Hamburg, partly for church and partly for school libraries.):

Pyles Paraphrase of the Acts, in paper binding, 2 copies.

Feddersen's Ethics. 25 copies.  
 Bueschings Preparation. 2 copies.  
 Trapp's Interviews with Young People. 2 copies.  
 Matermeier's Astronomical Handbook. 2 copies.  
 Masheim's Religious Addresses.  
 (Gifts of Prof. M. in Goettingen) :  
 Blumenbach's Handbook for Natural History with Copperplates.  
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 Dr. Rienhard's Sermons, Based on Principles of Jesus. 2 copies.  
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 Sturm's Sermon on the History of a Family, Book I.

(Gift of the editor) :

Wiedeburg's Humanistic Magazine of 1787. Nos. for New Year, Easter, St. John's Day and St. Michael's Day.

(From the Author) :

Lentz'—Foundations of Christianity.  
 Short History of Revealed Religion (by an anonymous donor).  
 Nature's Arena, with Copperplates. 8 vols. 4 Parts.  
 Miller's Historical and Moral Expositions.  
 Stapper's Ethics, 6 Pts.  
 Buddei's Moral Theology.  
 Cramer's Pamphlet on the Hebrews.  
 Spoerl's Pastoral Theology.  
 Reimarus' Natural Religion.  
 Seckendorf's de Lutheranism.  
 Roden's Playlets for Children.  
 Herme's Handbook of Religion.  
 Walch's Dogmatic Science of God.  
 Giseke's Sermons, Pt. I.  
 Mielck's Sermons, 2 Pts.  
 Langemak's Observations on the Psalms.  
 Langemak's Sermons, by Kuehl.  
 Longemak's Sermons of the yr. 1769.  
 Wolfrath's Truths of Faith.  
 Hymnal of the Augsburg Confession, in Austria.  
 Bengel Gnomon's New Testament.  
 Balduin's—Epistles of Paul. (presumably in Latin.)  
 Rollin's Histoire Ancienne; 5 Vols.  
 Furthermore there has been promised to us the shipment of several books to Senior D. Gerling in Hamburg. The announcement concerning these may be expected in the further issues of these reports.

However much books, for which we have not made a special request, would now prove a burden to us, we nevertheless are anxious to receive several larger works on Natural History in order to arouse and develop a love for that special field among the German preachers of that country. We therefore request such wealthy and well wishing friends, to whom our undertaking appeals, to come to our aid the more readily, since the introduction of such books into the German church libraries of that country is the only means of securing rare things of nature from this new world for the museums of Germany.

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The special favors of sympathetic friends, scholars, mail officials and bookdealers, through whom our efforts and expenses, connected with the details of our enterprise, have been decidedly reduced in many ways, are too numerous to be mentioned individually here. However the silent acknowledgement of the heart is also an expression of gratitude.

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Our cash receipts to date are 865 Rthlr. 10 Ggr. Of this amount about 339 Rthlr. 15 Ggr. were gifts, which are kept separate from the bank account and are to be used only for the sending out of preachers. Included in this sum though are also 22 Rthlr. 12 Ggr. received from the sale of several books for the general fund.

Advance subscription at the rate of 12 Ggr. per copy can still be made for the five remaining books, which we expect to publish next Easter or at the time of the Spring book-market.

Helmstaedt Sep. 12, 1787.

J. C. Velthusen. H. P. C. Henke.

L. Crell. G. S. Kluegel. P. J. Bruns.

# Text Books

For the Youth  
in North Carolina.

Outlined by

A Company

of

Helmstaedt Professors.

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Second Number:

Handbook of the Bible

and

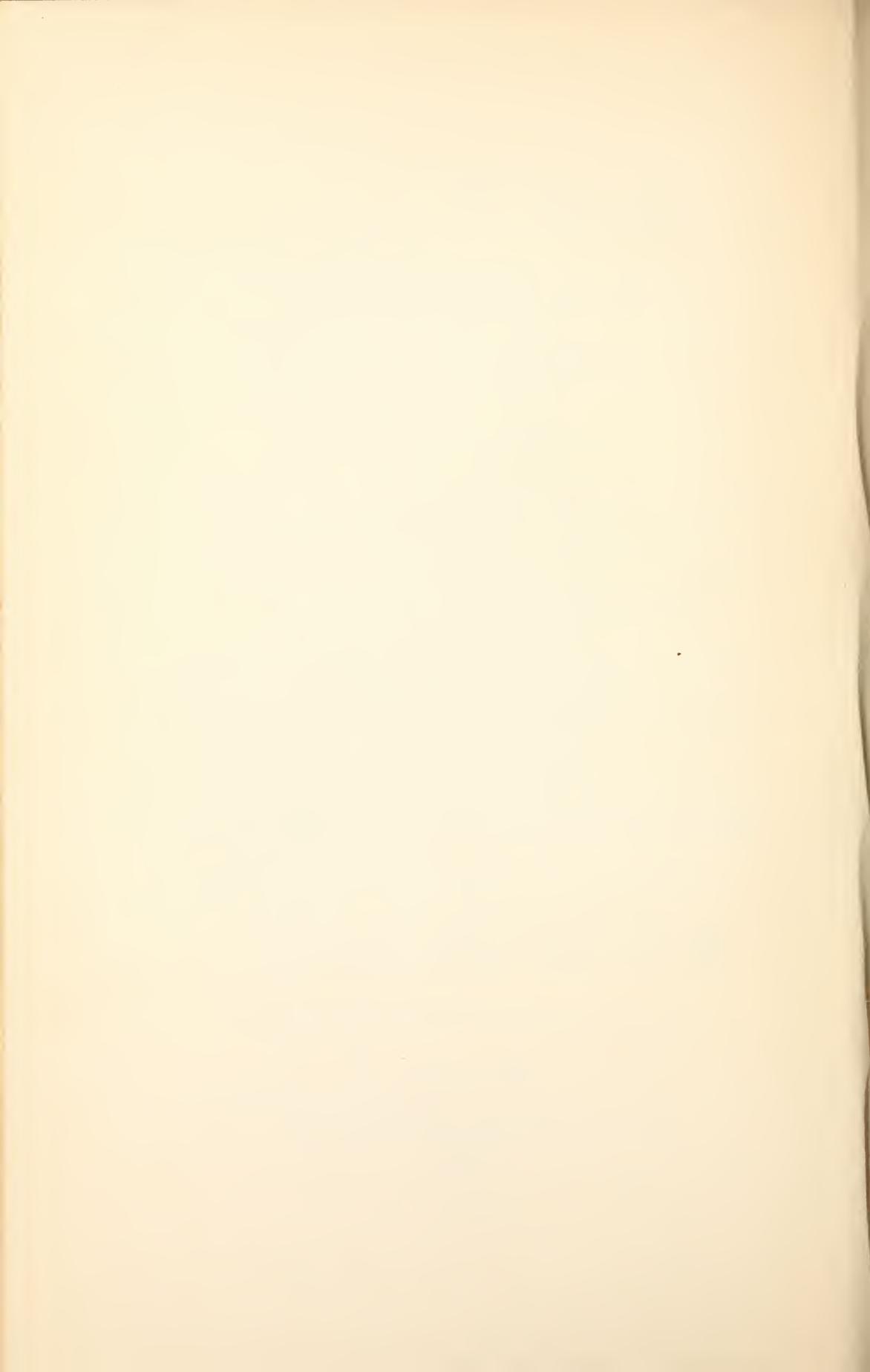
Biblical Narratives.

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Leipzig,

Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius,

1788.



## Continued Reports of the Undertaking of Several Helmstaedt Professors for North Carolina.

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On the 12th of March, 1788, with the approval of His Highness, the Duke, the erstwhile student, Mr. Carl August Gottlieb Storch, was ordained as Evangelical assistant pastor for North Carolina<sup>1</sup>. He was dismissed with the gracious assurance of his Sovereign that the faithful discharge of his official duties, demonstrated among those of our faith in that country, should serve him as a recommendation for a teaching position suited to his preparation, here in Germany, if he, in the course of several years for acceptable reasons, should return to his native country.

Through the repeated assurance of those in a position to observe his work daily, who commended him very highly for his teaching ability and his faithfulness, and who furthermore were always glad to hear him preach, he was very favorably remembered by us during the years which he spent as private tutor in the regions of Zell and Diepholz. In a rather severe test to which we submitted him we found him exceptionally capable. The trial sermons and religious instructions which he gave here publicly before his appointment met with very general satisfaction. In the family by which he was last employed as instructor for the children he is missed very much. After leaving us he returned to this befriended family, that he might in the vicinity of Bremen await the departure of the ship which was to take him to Baltimore. Upon his amiable reception by those of our faith and of our nationality in America, especially in North Carolina, will depend the manner in which we shall henceforth be able to assist them in the needs of their church. Our cash receipts to date, the beneficent contributions and the sums advanced for our seven announced text books, already amount to a total of 1238 rententhaler, 13 groschen and 8 pfennigs.

For almost an entire year it did not seem possible that we would, in so short a time, be able to achieve our main purpose, viz.: the sending over of capable preachers. The Rev. Mr. Daser, to whom we up to April, 1787, had sent everything intended for the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann, according to the directions of the latter, had left Charleston in August, 1786, as we learned from his reply of June 20th, 1787. From here he had gone to another charge consisting of both English and German members, located about seventy miles farther inland in Orange County, where he was obliged to await the opportunity afforded by tourist wagons, before Mr. Nüssmann could obtain our letters which had been forwarded to him, in various ways through the kind mediation of our

<sup>1</sup> The Ordination Speech under the title: "Address and Prayer for the Ordination of Mr. C. A. G. Storch as Evang. Asst. Pastor for N. Car. etc." has been printed and is on sale by the same publishers who are printing our "Text Books."

friends in London, Amsterdam, Kopenhagen, Hamburg, Altona and Bremen. Furthermore, the assertion of the Rev. Mr. Daser, that he himself knew of two congregations in South Carolina who were looking for a pastor, was neither definite nor reassuring enough to expect a man, whose success now almost weighed more heavily on our hearts than our own, to make such a journey on so uncertain a foundation; especially, since we already have adopted the principle of sending men only under conditions in which we ourselves, if our other circumstances made it possible, would be willing, in the trust of God and the good cause, to undertake the journey. Likewise we thoroughly detest all unbidden emigration from our Fatherland as well as all vagrant roaming about in the world for adventure.

Meanwhile, too, Prof. Kunze, a pastor in New York, without knowing anything of our undertaking, had renewed his old friendship with those of us who had learned to know and to love him in London on the occasion of his call to Philadelphia, and thereby brought about a personal acquaintance between us and the man who delivered the letter. This enabled us even now to agree orally on a definite plan with Mr. Wilmerding. He was born of a worthy family in Brunswick, is now, however, located in New York, and as secretary of a German Aid Society, organized among our fellow countrymen of that place, fully relieved us of all anxious worries. Our courage was further strengthened by several trustworthy friends who had been in Virginia and also at various places along the boundary-line of North Carolina. They were unanimous in their praise of the brotherly Christian spirit among our Evangelical brethren of that country, and assured us that preachers, who proved to be at all worthy of the confidence placed in them, would not suffer any want. All of this however produced nothing further in us than the determination, first to hasten the completion of our promised Text Books, which we considered the most probable source and means of specific help. Consequently we were most concerned, first to discharge our duties towards our good-natured creditors, before undertaking anything so far remote, for which our unaided efforts at such a great distance were insufficient, and for which furthermore, only a beaconing of Providence from America was able to pave our way.

But, even earlier than we had expected it, Providence pointed out this paved way to us. Only a month and a half ago Mr. Hartmann, a native of Brunswick, now located in Virginia,<sup>2</sup> in his magnanimous way offered his assistance for our enterprise, so that we were able to arrange with him the establishment of a small subsidiary fund in Baltimore, to which, for the present is assigned all the money secured in that section from the text books, the sale of which he at our request, and with no personal interest whatsoever, has undertaken. [The intention is] that thus our traveler in case of an emergency or of any unforeseen embarrassment

<sup>2</sup> Not far from Rowlands Ferry, on the Potomac River in London County, in the neighborhood of Colonel Clepham; on the main highway to New York and the two Carolinas.

might at our behest receive from this fund the help for which we consider ourselves obligated to him. This happy acquaintance, and the personal confidence which soon grew up between these two traveling companions we considered as a hint of Providence to take this up at once, and to utilize this proffered help in such an essential matter, even though the promised total delivery of our publications, which for the greater part are already outlined, but were interrupted by more urgent demands, should thereby suffer a short but unavoidable delay.

This delay however was caused by another, for us very painful, accident, which no doubt will completely exonerate us in the judgment of every fair-minded reader. Our beloved friend and co-worker, Prof. Kluegel, who had undertaken the compilation of *The Most Practical Information* and a part of *The Manual for Civic Knowledge* was unexpectedly detained in the rapid completion of his work, which in rough draft was progressing nicely, by a call to Halle, whither he also actually went a few days ago. Meanwhile, however, we can in his behalf offer the assurance that as soon as the first disturbances, always attending such a change, have been overcome, the completion of his part of our collection, next to his professional duties, will receive his first and most serious attention. Of one of the announced books, viz.: *The Selection of Biblical Narratives*, together with *A Short History of Religion*, the editor has temporarily been able to supply only one half, viz.: *The Biblical Narratives*. Before working out the *History of Religion*, he wished to complete his more elaborate *Church History*, of which the first part has just been finished. A further reason for doing this was the fact that he might arrange everything with better proportions, especially with regard to the size of the shorter and more popular work. For good reasons he has divided this original work into two separate and independent publications. Nevertheless our subscribers will receive both, without any subsequent payments, for the advance subscription price at which we announced it as the fourth text book of our Collection. The *Geographical Handbook*, of which all that was available from the best sources has been assembled and for the greater part worked out, has been delayed somewhat at our suggestion, because we are still expecting from Charleston some contributions which may be especially noteworthy, or may at least supplement the information now found in other books. At any rate this publication will come from the press by St. John's Day, and nothing but sickness or similar obstacles beyond the control of man, will prevent us from being able to fully satisfy our subscribers by the next Michael-mas-fair.

Since books for religious instruction were the most necessary for the church needs of that country, we felt obliged to expedite these editions more than the rest. Therefore we now furnish first, *The Biblical Handbook for Independent Readers*, and second, *The Selection of Biblical Narratives*.

The following names are to be added to the list inserted in the Reports of the First Number :

Promoters, subscribers and  
those paying in advance :

*Altona*

The late Councillor of the Consistory and Provost Alemann.

*Brunswick*

Mr. Jenner, Student, N. 1, 3.

The Rev. Mr. Knittel, N. 2, 3.

His Excellency, the Privy Councillor von Muenchhausen, 20 Rthlr., for copies of the 2nd Catechism for poor children in North Carolina and Helmstaedt.

*Bremerode*

Anonymous, 7 Rthlr. 12 ggr., for copies of the *First Catechism* and of the *Index to Proverbs*.

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Supt. Lueder.

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Rev. Basedow's Mother-in-law gives 1. Rthlr.

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Mr. Roettger, Councillor of Justice and Attorney for the Gov't., 2 copies.

The Baroness, wife of v. Solenthal, Privy and Consulting Councillor, donates to the Cause. 1 Ducat., 2 Rthlr. 12 ggr.

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*Sesen*

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*Wernigerode*

Supt. Schmidt, Councillor of the Consistory.

*Zerbst*

The "S. E." Lodge Frederick zur Bestaendigkeit, 7 Rthlr. for 2 copies.

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The donated books enumerated in the First Number of our *Reports*, page 45, as being held in our possession, were sent in the preceding month, with the above described shipment, (with the exception of the books donated by Mr. Bohn.<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>3</sup> Presumably these books constitute the large package with the designation: "C. E. B.," which was sent by Mr. Bohn's Publishing House to Dr. Gerling in Hamburg, in whose possession the package is still held.

Simultaneously with this same shipment the following books, received by us since our first number appeared, were sent to Baltimore:

- Werenfels'—*Sermons*. (Donated by Mr. D. Miller of Goettingen.)  
 Mack's—*Sermons*.  
 Steinhofel's—*Lectures on Religion*.  
 Boehmer's—*Sermons on Christian Compassion*.  
 Trautvetter's—*Catechisings on the Ten Commandments*, with Introduction by Miller.  
 Ueltzen's—*Sermons*.  
 Miller's—*Art of Catechising*, with Model Demonstration.  
*Hymnal* of University of Goettingen. (by Editor.)  
 Seiler's—*Large Book of Biblical Devotion*, New Test., Pt. 3., 4 copies. (A gift by the author.)  
 Knittel's *Art of Catechising*, 2nd Ed., 3 copies. (gift of the Author.)  
 Knittel's *Art of Catechising*, 1st Ed., 6 copies. (gift of Mr. L.)  
 Guthrie's Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar (presented to the 1st Asst. Pastor by Mr. v. Hinueber, in London, Privy Councillor, and Councillor of Justice.)  
 A very complete atlas with maps.  
 (Anonymous gift for the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann)  
 The Late Pastor Henke's—*Sermons*. First Book.  
 (Anonymous gift for the first Asst.-Pastor)  
 King's—*Historia Symbolic Apostolici of the Augsburg Confession in German. Libri Symbolici*, Editor, Rechenberg.  
 150 copies of the *First Catechism*, and  
 36 copies of the *Index to Proverbs*, (The gift of a subscriber, for distribution among the poor in North Carolina.)  
 Purchased with our own fund, two copies each of:  
 Tissot's—*Health Guide for Country Folk*.  
 Langen's—*Physician for all People*.  
 The *Gotha Scholarly Magazine*, 11 vols. from 1774-1784.  
 The *Frankfort Scholarly Magazine* from 1772-1775.  
 (Gift of Prof. Wiedeburg to the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann.)  
 The Lemgo—*Select Library of the most Recent Literature, for 1772 and 1776*. Vols. 1, 2, and 6.  
 200 unbound and 25 bound copies of our *Large Catechism* (from our friend, in keeping with specifically declared intentions of various donors, for the poor in North Carolina.)  
 Further, intended for the poor children of N. Car., from subscriptions still held in our possession:  
 72 Bound copies of the *Second Catechism*.  
 Klopstock's—*Messiah*, 4th Ed. of 1780, on writing paper.  
 Also in readiness in Leipzig: (Gift of the Publisher, Mr. Crusius).  
 Weisse's—*Friend of the Children*.  
 Likewise in Brunswick (Through the mediation of the Rev. Mr. Knittel, donated by a Society of that place, 5 Rthlr., 4 ggr.—and by the publisher, Mr. Meyer, 12 copies, the remainder paid from our fund).  
 50 copies of *The New Brunswick Hymnal*, as a gift to the congregation in N. Car. which Mr. Storch will please accept with our hearty approval and satisfaction.

In Hamburg with Dr. Gerling the following is in readiness for a new shipment:

Prof. Eckermann's (of Kiel) *Metrical Translations of the Book of Joel*. (Gift of the Author.)

*Proclamations for School Examinations*, Eutin, 1780.

*Meditations upon Discontentment*, Guebeck, 1777.

(Gift of the Author.)

Rev. Wolfrath's (in Altona) *Glimpses into the Invisible World*, 2 copies.

*Sermons on the Destiny of Man*, 2 copies.

*Joys of Secret Devotions*, Books, I and II.

Large Package, marked: "C.E.B." (From Bohn's Publ. House.)

1st, 2nd, & 3rd *Collection of Sermons*, by Dr. Lange, Court-preacher in Glueckstadt. (Gift of the Author.)

*Biblical Principles of Human Salvation*, 2 copies of 1st Ed. and 2 copies of 2nd Ed.

Package of 200 *Sermon Outlines* by the Author, Rev. Becker in Luebeck.

*Political Journal*, for the yrs. 1785-'86, 2 copies. (Gift of Privy Councillor von Schirach.)

A sealed Package—a gift of Gen. Supt., Dr. Pratje of Stade.

We repeat our request to our wealthy and altruistic friends to send us for the church libraries in North Carolina, especially several larger works on natural history. Up to the present our situation has been such that the acquisition of these would prove too heavy a drain on our funds. From this source we must on the one hand defray the cost of printing and other sundries, and on the other hand we are obliged to guard well our balance so that in case of urgent request we might be able to pay for one or two further transports of considerable size. We, however, express this repeated wish with all the more freedom and assurance, since we have reasons to expect that Mr. Storch, without neglecting his official duties, will, during his leisure hours, pleasantly occupy himself with the observation of natural peculiarities of his territory, at least as far as his limited means will permit. Thus he can give repeated proofs of his grateful consideration for his native land by writing us about his observations or even by sending from time to time some rare natural specimens of that Southwestern Hemisphere. He can furthermore by this means all the more secure himself against that indifference and neglect, which, owing to the extreme respect<sup>4</sup> and confidence on the part of these congregations, are so exceedingly dangerous to the teachers and ministers of that country.

Helmstaedt, April 5, 1788.

J. C. Velthusen. H. P. C. Henke.

L. Crell. P. J. Bruns.

<sup>4</sup> For this compare our description of religious conditions among the Germans in North Carolina in the *Historical Portefeville*, June, 1787, p. 23 ff., excerpted from Dr. Kunze's *Pathway of Life*, printed in Philadelphia. (pp. 167-170.)

# Text Books

For the Youth  
of North Carolina.

Outlined by  
A Society  
of  
Helmstaedt Professors.

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Third Number:

A History of Religion  
and  
Geographical Handbook.

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Leipzig,  
Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius,  
1788.



**Second Continuation of the Reports on the Undertaking  
of several Helmstaedt Professors for  
North Carolina.**

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Promoters, Subscribers  
And Those Paying in Advance.

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His Highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick and Lueneburg, 50 Rthlr.  
His Highness, the Duke of Brunswick Lueneburg Bevern, 10 Rthlr.  
The Family of Count Stolberg of Wernigerode, 15 Rthlr.

*Alterode, in Mansfeld*

The Rev. Mr. Hagemann.

*Brunswick*

His Excellence, Privy Councillor Feronce of Rotencreutz, for a book on Natural History, 10 Rthlr.  
Chief Game Warden, von Stierstorf.

*Bremen*

Madame Rolfs, (to Rev. Roschen) for a book on Natural History, intended for a pastor's library in North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> 10 Rthlr.

*Clausthal*

General Supt. Dahme, for N. 1, 2. and the *Second Catechism*,—1 Rthlr.

*Hanover*

Mr. K. v. d. B. (additional) 5 Rthlr.

*Helmstaedt*

Mr. Diephuizen of Middleburg in Zeeland, through G.G.B., N. 7.  
Mr. Engelhart, through R. B., N. 7.  
Mr. Jacobi, student of Amsterdam, through G. G.  
Mr. A. L. Miran, through G. G. B.  
Mr. J. H. Mueller of Amsterdam, through G. G. B., N. 7.

*Luebeck*

Mr. Bandelin, teacher in the gymnasium, donates 1 Rthlr., 9 ggr. For copies of the *Second Catechism*, for poor children in N. Car., by several intimate friends of the Author, donated 10 Rthlr.

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<sup>1</sup>On this occasion we wish to announce to our friends in N. Car., especially Rev. Roschen, a very useful botanical publication, which, because it is published in Philadelphia, they can very easily secure there themselves:

*Humphrey Marshal's Arbustrum Americanum*; The American Grove, or, an alphabetical catalogue of forest trees and shrubs, natives of the American United States, arranged according to the Linnaean system, containing some hints of their uses in medicine, dyes and domestic economy. Philadelphia (Publ. by) Crukshank, in Market Street, 1785, 8.<sup>o</sup> (169 pp.)

On this occasion we also request Prof. Kunze of New York, by means of his connections with Philadelphia, kindly to arrange for gifts of books on Natural History, especially on Botany which are printed in Philadelphia for the pastor's libraries in North Carolina (For example, Catalogue of Plants, publ. by John & Wm. Bartram, botanists in Kingseffing.)

His zeal for everything that pertains to the welfare of the human race is guarantee to us that he will receive this request, and grant it as far as it is possible for him, in the same spirit that is prompting us to express our wish to him in this manner, due to the great difficulties involved in a correspondence with New York. This same favor we expect of Mr. Vaughan in Philadelphia, who was kind enough to call on us a few years ago in Helmstaedt, if by chance this historic preface should come to his observation.

In 1773 there was left in London a surplus sum of money, which was mentioned in the first issue of these Reports, page 13. Of this sum, (according to a communication of the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Butler) 40 pounds sterling were considered the pledged support of the local society for the spreading of the Gospel. Thirty guineas were transmitted directly from there to North Carolina. The remainder, in keeping with the wishes of Mr. Nüssmann's congregation, was deposited by the privy councillor of justice of that place with 370 Rthlr. in gold in Hanover to my credit, as Abbot Velthusen, for which bound copies of our textbooks will be demanded.

Meanwhile this sum, independent of the fund, has been safely deposited in Hanover until after sending several sample copies in advance to the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann, we receive more definite instructions from him as to which special publications might there again be most readily sold, because after this money has served its original purpose it is to be deposited as a productive investment by the Evangelical Dutch Buffaloe Creek Congregation, and the interest accruing from it is to be applied as an increase in the pastor's salary of that charge.

The German congregation of Charleston, which consists of fraternally united members of the Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic churches, subscribed 20 guineas, for which we are to send bound copies of our religious textbooks to be used by them in the instruction of their youth, in which their joint pastor, Mr. Faber, secured last year from Tuebigen, is now successfully engaged. [It should, however, also be mentioned] that, Apr. 28, of this year, through the kind offices of Mr. John. Chr. Goertz, a wine-dealer of Bremen, some of the earlier sample copies had already been forwarded to this congregation.

This money, the pastor, Mr. Faber, has been requested to deposit there for safe-keeping so that in case of unexpected embarrassment he might in our behalf, and according to his judgment, offer help to the pastors in Charleston, who have been, or later shall be sent there by us.

From several of our noble-minded countrymen and fellow-believers, such as Messrs. Faber and Gaebel, we already have proof and assurance that such preachers for North Carolina, who did not by mere chance, and trusting wholly to good luck, enter upon such a hazardous journey, but who were following a definite call, would be received in a brotherly, cordial, and generous spirit by them, and, also as far as it is possible would receive help for their further journey.

Our first preacher, Mr. Storeh, whose last letter from this country, dated May 2, ult., at the mouth of the Weser, on board a ship, arrived safe and sound on June 27, in Baltimore. In a letter dated July 17, and received in Bremen by our friend, Conon Nicolai, he himself says: "The journey in general was exceedingly short and pleasant. We experienced neither storm nor any other unpleasant accidents. Country, people, and mode of living please me quite well. In a few days I expect to go from here to Charleston and thence overland to North Carolina."

Our second pastor, Mr. Arnold Roschen, went by boat on Sep. 5, from Bremen, his native city, directly to Charleston, where he has relatives. Since he in his great desire to enter upon such a calling, offered to make this journey at his own expense, our society considered it only fair to appropriate freewillingly to him a sum of 100 Rthlr. from the funds, entrusted to us by magnanimous friends for judicious distribution, and furthermore to have all the assistance offered us in America directed upon him personally.

For although in general it is quite contrary to our plan, to appoint for the two or three transportations, to which for the present, our obligation had to be restricted, such men who had not been reared and educated under our own observation, nevertheless there were not only in Mr. Roschen's letters declarations which were bound to arouse love and confidence in him, but he was furthermore very emphatically recommended by two men, who have shown a very helpful interest in our undertaking, and whose testimony carries the greatest weight with the public. These men are the very meritorious General-Superintendent, D. Pratzje in Stade, presiding officer of the churches in the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, who has long since tested him and found him capable of the duties of a pastor; and the beloved Canon Nicolai, in Bremen, to whose instruction, and also to that of the late Mr. Walch and other famous teachers of Goettingen our Mr. Roschen owes his education. The Royal Consistory in Stade has therefore also at our request granted to Mr. Roschen the same assurance which by our gracious Sovereign had kindly been granted our first pastor, under all circumstances to credit and reward his loyalty shown in North Carolina in such a way as if he had spent these years in the service of his own native land. And Mr. Roschen's ordination, through Supt. Riefesthal with the assistance of the other canons in Bremen, likewise followed (immediately) in consequence of a special decree of the Royal Consistory in Stade.

To a third candidate of the Royal Consistory in Hanover, now sojourning in the county of Bentheim, who primarily through his ardent zeal for teaching the catechism has attracted our attention, we have given the first claim to the third congregation and have offered him all possible help, under certain conditions which were imposed for his own safety, and which we have every reason to believe will readily be satisfied.

We however request our friends in North Carolina and Charleston to appoint some legally authorized persons in Bremen, (or Hamburg) who, as soon as we have furnished prepaid transportation for a preacher, or for books as far as Charleston, will at once assume all further supervision, arrangement and responsibility; not only because we otherwise, quite contrary to our original purpose, would prematurely exhaust our already seriously depleted fund, but also because without any such arrangement on their part we would feel compelled to withdraw all

further cooperation after the third transportation, (which indeed is all we actually promised.) But on the other hand, if as much help as possible is forthcoming from them, we might indeed, as suggested above, offer considerable assistance not only in the matter of supplying literature but also in matters pertaining to the churches in general.

Our cash receipts to date amount to 1409 Rthlr. 6 ggr. This sum, if the two pastors already sent over by us will not meet with exceptionally untoward circumstances, will very likely enable us to do more than we had promised, or indeed could promise. In the fourth and last number of our textbooks, to be published about Easter, 1789, we will indicate the total disbursements as well as the surplus, and, as far as possible, the supply of books still belonging to the fund. We will furthermore, on this occasion give to the public satisfactory assurance of the efficient administration of the property thus acquired for the German Evangelical Church of North Carolina.

With regard to the two pastors, previously sent over by us, we already have most reassuring reports from two congregations. Still, on this matter our readers will no doubt prefer to hear the man himself speak, whose convincing language, even in his first communication already won the hearts of many noble-minded friends. On the ninth of April of this year, we had the pleasure of receiving a second letter from North Carolina dated, Buffaloe Creek, Mecklenburg County, from Sep. 26th to Oct. 2nd, 1787, of which we feel obligated to give to the generous promoters of our enterprise the excerpt in full, as it is already recorded in print in the *Historical Portfeuille* (June); especially since they can best see from this in what spirit their love for humanity was received and acknowledged by our brethren of that country.—Here are Nüssmann's own words:

When I received the delightful reports from Germany I tried, as soon as possible, to make them known among the German congregations, which, however required some time, since in the absence of any printing facilities one is obliged to travel on horesback and tell the people orally. All are highly rejoicing in a kind Providence which has awakened such altruistic friends who are willing to assist the poor American church in its spiritual needs. They praised God aloud and rendered thanks, frequently with tears.

Ever since the time when this beneficent deed was first known to us we have, in our religious services, been utilizing both the sermon and the following prayer to render thanks to God and to implore Him that the benefactors may be strengthened in their altruistic tendency, that the generous-minded preachers may be kept from all harm on the sea, and (finally) that the books, so specially arranged for our circumstances, might produce in a twofold measure the effect for which they were intended.

In the meantime I have had many important things to consider and to provide for. These preachers will perhaps come soon, or they are

perhaps already prepared to start. Consequently the first necessary consideration was to provide a definite position for two or three preachers in North Carolina, and to arrange everything in such a manner that, upon their arrival, they may know just where to go, and may be received with carriage and horses; likewise to secure a decent, clean house for them to live in.

And, as far as circumstances permit, this has already been done, thanks to God! So that whenever they come we may find genuine pleasure in their arrival. As soon as their coming is made known to us, everything will be done to assist them. This journey, however, to the remotest parts of the several congregations has taken the greater part of my time until far into September. Messrs. Christopher Bernhard and Gottfried Arnd have been, and still are, very helpful to me in this matter.

The former is a young, educated man from Wuerttemberg with considerable ability, about 24 years old, in whom I can see daily that the gospel truths, which he preaches, are a vital matter in his own young life. He preaches for the lower Second Creek charge in Peint Church, and in several other churches besides. His uncle, the Rev. Mr. Bernhard, is Special Superintendent in Stuttgart. The second one is known to you,<sup>2</sup> and preaches for the four Catabaw congregations. He is loved and honored by his people.

Through Mr. Daser's departure from Charleston the convention scheduled for the 23rd Sunday after Trinity was cancelled. He had obligated himself as far as possible for the union of the Evangelical churches in these free states. An assembly of the congregations was arranged in South Carolina, whither I with several delegates from North Carolina intended to go, and from there we expected to write to Germany. The petition, strengthened by the convention, I expected to have printed in Germany. God, however, has drawn me there earlier, against my wishes. Meanwhile, however, I thought I had every reason to believe that the Evangelical church of Charleston, which has so many intelligent members, and for so many years has preserved such good order, would soon procure another pastor or would come to some agreement with Mr. Daser.

Rumor had it that the congregation had written to Wuerttemberg for a new pastor. Now, it was my hope that when this one came the good cause of uniting into a "Corpus Evangelicorum" would take place. But when will he come? Consequently there was not much consolation in this anticipation.

To be sure the congregation had read the letters, for Mr. Abraham Markley, a merchant, who received them open from Mr. Daser, sent them to me in a sealed envelope.

<sup>2</sup> He is the catechist, educated in Gottingen and Hanover, who entered upon his journey as a traveling companion to Mr. Nussmann.

Meanwhile on the 11th of Sept. a new ray of hope dawned upon me.—Mr. Bernhard, who was fully informed of my worry, came riding a distance of twelve miles to bring the glad news that a reliable drayman had, toward the end of August, seen a new preacher for the congregation in Charleston. Some believe he is from Wuerttemberg. Be that as it may, if he is only equipped with scholarship, a sense of justice and human love, all will be well. That is often the case. In divinely appointed tasks often thick, heavy stones are lodged in the way, and as soon as one is certain that human strength cannot remove them, they disappear by a higher power. I will at least place my trust in Him. In this epoch of the Evangelical Church in our free states He will not fail to reveal Himself and put His helpful hand to the task. Until the arrival of our brethren we three will have a large area to cover on horseback, and will have to look after the interests of some twenty congregations.

One thing more I must mention in order that my statement, that I had been appointed as third commissioner of an academy to be founded in Salisbury, might not be misunderstood. By an academy the English people here do not mean what we Germans call an academy. It is a mere beginning of a school system in a rough, wild country where forty years ago there were few or no inhabitants whatsoever, excepting the Indians. Several of my English grammar schools, if they united their children, might constitute a modest gymnasium, which, if supported by smaller subordinate schools and subscriptions,—since there is no fund,—might grow and develop. Now in order to promote this, thirty or more trustees or Commissioners, are appointed by the Assembly, among whom there are three (Lutheran) preachers, two Presbyterians and myself. Among the other trustees there are also Germans. Nine trustees, or commissioners, constitute a board, which decides matters by a majority vote. Building expenses are here met by subscriptions, other expenses by a voluntary society, or lottery. One sees that the whole matter is still in its infancy, and one should not think more of me, or of the academy, than what is really true. The undertaking is a good one. May God prosper this cause and grant that at least one German teacher may be among them. There is some hope for this, but as yet only a weak hope, because the salary must be made up by subscription, for which many have already declared their willingness. Mr. Corkle, a very affable Presbyterian Minister, who usually presides, requests you and the academy in Helmstaedt to furnish a good book on the work of the schools; very much depends on the first foundation, and we have no good books for that.

In the matter of salaries my incoming good brothers have no cause for hesitation. As yet circumstances would not permit any insisting on legally binding promise. However the oral promise through delegates in the presence of witnesses is sufficiently binding for them. The delegates will also promise, indeed have already promised, to give them a written

call, indicating the salaries, as soon as they arrive. They will not be inclined to dismiss conscientious pastors, since they have paid and kept inferior and undesirable preachers for periods of four or five years.—[You ask] How high the salary is likely to be?

The first charge in Guilford County consisting of four churches I believe, will, with incidentals offer more than 100 Lbs. rather than less. This German settlement is located at some distance along the Haw River, extends over about 28 miles, from Rock River at the right to a considerable distance beyond Great Alamance Creek on the left, and is about 18 miles wide in the middle, where many good Evangelical people live, who in all their four churches have no preacher. These four congregations were assembled through their delegates and made the promise mentioned above. And I wish with all my heart that they had a preacher.

On Abbots Creek is the other settlement for the second preacher, about 14 miles long and 10 miles wide. On the upper end it is connected with the (Moravian) Herrnhut Settlement, which has 6 large churches. These numerous people of the Evangelical Faith have in [their] three churches no preacher. They, too, were assembled through their delegates and promised to secure, and pay for, a preacher as the enclosed letter of Mr. Bernhard will confirm. The salary amounts to about 80 Lbs. But it has outlying constituencies which will increase this salary.

Ebenezer in Georgia, if it is without a preacher, would be a very important place for us. Letters have been sent there, but so far no answer has arrived. If Mr. Faber of Charleston should come to the interview, fixed for Oct. 31, in Camden, or if he will communicate by letter, this matter will soon be cleared up.

If only my brothers were with me! God will be sure to keep us. Our mode of living, here, to be sure, is somewhat crude, but through practice it becomes a part of our nature. The wilderness has indeed become much more agreeable during the time that I have known it. May God preserve your courage, my brother! It was much wilder here only 14-15 yrs. ago; scarcely any acquaintances and many enemies; many and yet God, the faithful Lord, has helped. When you after 14 years write to your native land, who knows what good things you will then be able to say about this wilderness?

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Here I will add several important domestic observations. We wear all sorts of dark colors, gray, brown, blue. Since we always ride horseback on our travels the more delicate colors would not serve our purpose. Nevertheless while administering the Lord's supper or on other festival occasions it is customary to be dressed in black, if one has the clothes. A good raincoat if it is rainproof, is better than an overcoat, and is

necessary on our frequent travels. Good linen is scarce here and very expensive, consequently it would be good if our incoming brothers supplied themselves with it before they start. They can have shirts made here cheaper than in Germany, and it would be better to bring their material uncut, but of medium grade, and not much fancy stuff, for here we must pay more attention to wearing qualities than to finery. Boots are used while riding, heavier ones in the winter, and lighter ones in summer; and while walking in the forest one is protected against bites of snakes, of which the poisonous varieties, however, are rather scarce. For as the settlement grows in population their number is gradually decreased. Light boots in the summer also protect one against ticks, very harmless, to be sure, but nevertheless a very annoying variety of vermin, which hang in clusters like dust on the grass, and, when touched, cling to ones legs by the hundreds, causing an annoying itching on the entire body. So far, however, they have never attached themselves to my boots. Wigs we do not need. We wear our natural hair short, trimmed in English fashion, without any artificiality, without curls, powder or the like. All this would be something unusual among us.—While at home we wear thin clothes in summer.—The dressing-gown is unknown here. Thin trousers of wide cut, and ankle length, usually of linen, interwoven with blue threads. Black silk neckties are very convenient—. This one thing above all I wish and request, that no one come in here who was already married in Germany. It would have to be miraculous if he were not to meet with a thousand sad experiences. An American wife is in our circumstances infinitely better adapted.

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Mr. Bernhard's enclosed communication  
Guilford County, Aug. 31, 1787.

The German settlement in Guilford County lies about 70 English miles north of Salisbury, and is 28 miles long and 18 miles wide. Many hundreds of families live here close together. For many years they have been without a preacher, exposed to roaming fanatics, who in some places have already found a considerable following among the ignorant. There are four Evangelical churches here, which for some years have been standing vacant and deserted. Still occasionally they are filled by the shallow noise of an untutored fanatic, for whom it is an easy matter through the noise of violent words to engage the imagination of his audience, at least for a short time, and to win the approval of an ignorant, superstitious and fanatic people. It is high time that these poor congregations, among whom still many are found who sincerely long for the Gospel, should receive help, if they are not to degenerate completely into a state of heathendom. Therefore we con-

sidered it necessary to visit these congregations first, and to announce to them the generous offer which, after reading the letters from Helmstaedt, aroused in us such genuine joy.

We arranged then, after the close of the service, that all four congregations should send delegates to an appointed place, where we might take council about the matter.

These delegates were then informed how, through the help of God and through the sincere altruism of several highminded friends of the Christian religion, a way had now been paved for them in Helmstaedt for the advancement of Christianity. The main facts of the printed and written reports were read to them.—The joy that came to these good people with this news is not to be described.—Tears, broken words and sobs revealed the emotions of their hearts.

They were then asked whether they would accept one of these preachers and provide for him a satisfactory support. Thereupon they assured us with one accord that they henceforth would have nothing more to do with those fanatic false teachers, which heretofore they, for the want of a good preacher, had tolerated in their midst. They promised to receive one of these preachers as soon as they were informed of his arrival in Charleston and to take his baggage here on a wagon, also to assume responsibility for all necessary expenses connected with his coming, and henceforth to provide him with abundant support.

The names of the delegates are as follows:

First congregation: David Tranberger, Peter Schmid, Dewald Fuchs, John Oberle.

Second congregation: Nicolous Gixs, Michael Schafner.

Third congregation: Adam Schmid, Adam Staehr, George Kobel, Antony Kobel, David Low, Sr., David Low, Jr.

Fourth congregation: Bastian Goehringer, Peter Sommers, Antony Goebel, Ludwig Eiselen, Christian Eiselen, John Wagner, Henry Hardt, Henry Kopp.

They requested that we in our letters to Germany should express in their behalf sincere thanks to the beneficent brethren and noble-minded friends, and reaffirmed repeatedly that they would apply these gifts according to the intentions of the benefactors, and would love the pastor assigned to them as their father and revere him as their teacher and support him in everything according to the circumstances of their strength.

When now this business had been transacted to the general satisfaction of all, a seventy year old man arose in the meeting and addressed us as follows: "Dear men, since we are now placing ourselves wholly in your hands and with painful longing await the early arrival of the preachers, it seems to me to be no unreasonable request, if we ask you during this interval to visit us occasionally and to proclaim the Word of God among us."—

The entire company expressed their approval and joined him in this request. However great the distance, however difficult such a journey, and however overcrowded our work in the other congregations was, we could not refuse such an urgent request. Consequently we promised during the interval, from now until the arrival of the preachers, to alternate in visiting them. Thus we left these congregations and continued our journey to the German congregations on Abbot's Creek.

Abbots Creek, Sept. 21, 1787.

The German settlement, bearing this name is located in the northern part of Rowan County and is about 14 miles long by 10 miles wide. There are three Evangelical churches here. But here, too, Christianity will fast approach its decline, unless immediate help is secured. In general one can say of the religion of the local Germans here what shortly before had been said of those in Guilford County. The absence of good preachers caused these people, who after all had a longing for the Gospel and would gladly have heard the Word of God, to take their refuge to such men, who, like roaming knights, traverse the land, and, after they were no longer able to make their living because of the evil conduct in their profession,—became preachers.

Here two delegates were selected by the three congregations who appeared at a definite place designated by us, where we, just as in Guilford County, read aloud to them the necessary things from the written and printed reports, which likewise proved to them a cause for general rejoicing.

To the question, whether they were willing to accept one of these preachers and to provide for him the necessary support, they answered with one accord that they would be genuinely glad if they could secure an honest Evangelical teacher who would live in their midst; that they would do all in their power to provide for his support;..... and that they would also keep a wagon in readiness to go after one of these preachers as soon as they were informed of his arrival in Charleston.

The names of the Delegates from the three congregations are as follows:

First Congregation: Philipp Fuchs.

Second Congregation: Christian Mayer, Valentin Dag, Johannes Lapp, Col. Geo. Spucher, Henry Doerr.

Third Congregation: William Fraenk, Leonhard Kern, Johann Beck, Sr.

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In order to prevent frequent misunderstandings we find it necessary to explain very clearly at this time that we have never been willing to send over untrained school teachers. Their transportation charges would be no cheaper, and every educated minister could recruit them, even more satisfactorily, from his own community if we supply them with

the maximum number of books necessary for such purpose. Besides, it would involve us in an endless exchange of letters and enormous expense if we were to extend the relatively small assistance, at our disposal, to individuals who are personally unknown to us. [This would be unwise] as long as we are able to make selections from such persons who were reared under our own observation, whose character, skill, family connections and health we have observed and tested from time to time, and with whom we furthermore are able to discuss orally all essential matters.

How much, in general, we are willing to give due consideration to recommendations from men of high esteem and influence with the public, is shown by our procedure thus far, in as much as only one of the three ministers already appointed was a student of our own institution. In the remarks of many foreigners who, much to our increased annoyance, have made inquiries of us, we find all sorts of extravagant expectations, for which our public reports furnished no occasion or basis. They imagine beyond the ocean an independence and freedom, or at least such carefree days, which, if they ever could be allotted to mortal man, would frustrate the obvious plan of Providence to make men dependent upon each other and thus in our need to lead us to God. The most probable prospect, which we hold out to our wanderers, is a situation which offers infinitely more hardships and demands more adaptation to opposing opinions than they ever experienced in their native country. The following passage from the private letter of a worthy German Evangelical preacher in America was given to us by a reliable person:

"Very much depends upon the greater or lesser degree of sensitiveness on the part of every individual preacher. Whoever is inclined to worry and feel offended over unfavorable and stupid remarks had better not come to America; and whoever has not sufficient strength of character to undertake unpleasant tasks, which are inevitable, would likewise do well to stay far from here. On every hand there are obstacles to overcome, but wise is he who does not magnify them through impatience. I myself have always been happiest when I bore the burdens laid upon me calmly, seldom, if ever made any complaints, and always fulfilled my duties. In fact, the actual pleasures of my situation would not have been appreciated so fully and so keenly, had not here and there a hardship made their need more obvious and their undisturbed enjoyment even more precious to me. But whoever has a genuine zeal for religion and shows a noble attitude toward life will find friends and support also in this country. . . ."

However, who on the other hand (we should like to add) complains in his Fatherland about adversity, envy, lack of appreciation, dependence upon consistories and doctrines, infringements upon freedom of thought and injustice from superiors, will find even more substance and nourishment for his discontent in a foreign hemisphere; and who simply will not be happy among acquaintances is in great danger of being infinitely less happy among strangers.

We have just received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Storch of Baltimore dated July the sixteenth. Besides confirming the news already given to our readers our wanderer extols the great love and friendship with which a young German physician, Dr. Hinze, a native of Halberstadt, sought him out at an inn upon his arrival at Baltimore, and entertained him with food and lodging in his own house until the ship departed for Charleston, while at the same time he gave him valuable medical aid without cost.

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The following books intended for pastor's libraries have been sent with the copies of our Reports for the Second Number, to Rev. Storch, and paid from our fund:

Resewitz'—*Education for Citizenship*.

(by Ungen) Rist's—*Suggestions for School Teachers of the Lower Grades*.

Wiedeburg's *Fundamental Principles, Plan, Discipline and Teaching-Methods for the Ducal Institute of Pedagogy at Helmstaedt*.

The copy of the *Messiah* mentioned in the Second Number, for the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann.

Dapp's—*Book of Sermons for Christian Peasants*, written by Ungen.

Henke's—*Church History, Part I.*, for the Rev. Mr. Storch.

*Sermons*, by the same Rev. Henke, Vol. II.

The 72 copies of the *Second Catechism*, for poor children already enumerated in the Second Number.

Further, likewise from the fund; 100 copies of the *Second Catechism*, as a gift to Rev. Storch's congregation.

Since June 9th, inst, sent to Bremen, to be divided between the Rev. Nicolai, Pastor of the Cathedral, and the Rev. Mr. Roschen:

For Pastors' libraries (gifts from the editor),

Griesbach's—*Greek New Testament*.

Griesbach's—*Popular Dogmatics*, 2 copies.

*Christian Religious Instruction in Conversations*, for the Protestant youth, (a gift from Col. Bode of Brunswick).

From the fund:

The *Liturgy*, edited by the Evangel. Consistory of Vienna.

Seller's *General Collection of Liturgic Formulary*.

(Both bound and gifts, the former for Mr. Storch's charge and the latter for Mr. Roschen's charge.)

100 copies of our *Large Catechism*. (Gifts to be divided equally between the above named charges.)

20 copies of the *Second Catechism*, for the poor children of Mr. Roschen's charge, and an equal number of copies, for pastors' libraries.

(From the Fund)

Rev. Meyer's *Songs*, for the Teaching of the Gospels and the Epistles.

The 50 copies of the [New] Brunswick Hymnal, already listed in the Reports for the Second Number, for Mr. Storch's charge.

Dr. Gerling also sent the Hamburg supply to Bremen for this shipment, among which were the following:

Two copies of his own Sermons, in Excerpts, (1778-87),

Two copies of the *New Hamburg Church Ritual* (one copy intended for Mr. Nüssmann's charge, and the second for those charges which will give us satisfactory assurance of the support for the third pastor, whose transportation to America is provided for by our fund.

Two copies of the new *Hamburg Hymnal*, likewise Protjens *Liturgical Archive*, the first four divisions.

The following are still stored with us :

Sextros' *Fragments for the Industrial Training of the Youth*.

Campe's, *Elementary Psychology for Children*.

Furthermore, Mr. Bandelin in Luebeck sent 25 copies of his *Religious Hymns* to the Rev. Mr. Nicolai in Bremen.

Helmstaedt, Sep. 25, 1788.

J. C. Velthusen. H. P. C. Henke.

L. Crell. P. J. Bruns.



# Text Books

For the Youth  
in North Carolina.

Outlined by  
A Society  
of  
Helmstaedt Professors.

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Fourth and Last Number:

Book of

Practical Information  
Based on Reason.

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Leipzig,  
Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius,  
1789.



**Third Continuation of the Reports of the Undertaking  
of Several Helmstaedt Professors for  
North Carolina.**

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Promoters, Subscribers and  
Those Paying in Advance.

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*Goettingen*

Prof. Kulencamp.

*Hameln*

Mr. Lueders, Mayor, 2 copies and, 5 Rthlr., for copies of the *Second Catechism*, [intended] for poor Children in North Carolina.

*Helmstaedt*

Mr. Oeltze, Privy Councillor, and Councillor of Justice.

*Petersburg*

The Rev. Mr. Lampe, Pastor of St. Peter's Church.

*Virginia*

Mr. Hartman, traveling companion of our Mr. Storch as far as Baltimore, has contributed to our fund 7 Rthlr., advanced for freight and customs from Brunswick to Bremen.<sup>1</sup>

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Our last news concerning the Rev. Mr. Storch is the announcement received by us last autumn from Mr. Faber of Charleston, that in the last named city his safe arrival in Baltimore was already at that time generally known. [It further stated] that his early arrival was expected in Charleston, where everything for his generous reception was in readiness.

The manner in which Mr. Faber emphatically assures our traveller, even in advance, of his friendly hospitality, is an earnest for the many good things which may be expected for the future progress of the cause.

While we are engaged in the preparation of this preliminary report for the last number of our text books, the pastor of the Cathedral Church, Mr. Nicolai, in Bremen, sends us the glad news that also our Rev. Mr. Roschen landed safely in Charleston, Nov. 29th, of last year.

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<sup>1</sup> We are glad on this occasion to note that meanwhile in Fridrickstown they have begun to print *German Catechisms* and other text books.

Consequently we owe it to the favorable dispensations of a kind Providence and the specific support of our many altruistic friends, that since Oct. 14, 1786, there has actually much more been accomplished, with Germany as a base of operations, than could reasonably have been expected. All this was done, as it were, in answer to the fervent wishes of our German brethren, now cut off from their native land by the ocean and living on the most distant border of the civilized world. Two well prepared and courageous ministers have reached the shore. For a third prospective minister the money is even now in readiness and will be available as soon as we have the assurance of those conditions, which we, for the sake of him, personally and individually, have stipulated should be met both there and here. Besides, the fountain is now opened,—and it certainly will not dry out completely during this next summer. This will enable us to render further assistance, especially by means of practical books.

According to our promise we now hereby give a public account of the final status of the North Carolina Fund, as far as it was placed under our corporate management. We gladly give this to the magnanimous public which has entrusted us with its generous contributions. The result is as follows:

1. Total sum of all expenditures to date, 1386 Rthlr. 10 ggr. 8 pf.
2. Surplus money, which (with the exception of the costs for printing and mailing this last Report) remains an integral part of the North Carolina Fund, 390 Rthlr. 20 ggr.
3. Money for subscriptions still in arrears, which the promoters of our enterprise are kindly asked to send in to Mr. Leuckart, printer in Helmstaedt,<sup>2</sup> about 200 Rthlr.

Approximate stock of copies of our "Text Books," possession of which we hereby assign to the North Carolina Fund, inclusive of that which after the first settlement, presumably made in Leipzig, must be taken into account. From this, however, there must be deducted the substitute copies for the Sixth Book, which will be enumerated below:

1. Of the North Carolina Catechism, about 1050 copies.
2. Of the Question Book, belonging to the same, about 150 copies.
3. Of the Biblical Handbook, about 350 copies.
4. Of the Biblical Narratives, about 320 copies.
5. Of the History of Religion, about 330 copies.
6. Of the Geographical Handbook, about 350 copies.
7. Of the Practical Information, etc., about 350 copies.
8. Of the First Catechism, about 190 copies.
9. Of the Second Catechism, about 250 copies.
10. Of the Index of Bible Verses (for the Larger Catechism,) about 550 copies.

<sup>2</sup> By means of this source perhaps a fourth minister might be transported (or at least a part of his transportation might be supplied). But since the necessary amount for such transport will not be provided at the time of the final closing of this account, we will designate the rest of the money for the purchase of books, for the binding, in cloth or in pamphlet form, of donated documents, and for the transportation of the same as far as Charleston, or some neighboring port.

Herewith we also append the supplemented list of donated books. Since Sept. 25, of last year the following were received:

Intended as a gift,—purchased from our fund to increase the desire for reading and independent self-help, to be presented partly to church and school libraries, and partly to industrious children:

*Campe's "Robinson the Younger."* 25 bd. copies.

For Pastor's libraries (as a gift of the Publisher, Mr. Crusius, in Leipzig) *The Children's Friend*, 2nd Ed. 24 parts.

Beyer's *Handbook to Luther's Catechism*, for children and teachers of children, Vols. 1. and 2.

Beyer's *Appendix to this Handbook*.

Beyer's *Extract of this Handbook*.

Beyer's *Sermons on the Exposition of Popular Religion*. 2 vols.

Herme's Fischer's and Salzmann's *Contributions towards the Improvement of the Christian Public Worship*. 2 vols.

Hay's—*Religion of the Philosopher*.

Priestley's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism*. (Gifts of the translator, Mr. Eschenburg, Privy Councillor.)

Eschenburg's—*Archaeology of Literature and Art*. (Gift of the Author.)

Eschenburg's—*Fundamental Principles of the History of the Greek and Roman Fables* ..... (Gift of the Author.)

Seiler's *Larger Book of Biblical Devotions, Psalms, Pts. 1. & 2., 4 cops.*

Seiler's *Biblical Religion and Doctrine of Salvation*. (Gift of the Author.)

Wiedeburg's *Humanistic Magazine*, 1788, *St. John's Number*. (Gift of Editor.)

J. C. Huth's *The Most Necessary Information for the Establishing, Estimating, and Calculating of Water Mills*. Especially for grinding mills, oil mills and saw mills, for amateurs and connoisseurs of the art of mill building. (Gift of the Author.)

Further (from our fund) were purchased, and as far as the numbers were already published, added to our packages for Charleston, of which subscription is to continue:

*Annales Literarii Helmstaedt*, 1787; '88; '89. 1 copy, and in similar manner to follow: *Rintels' Annals of the Latest Theology, Literature and Church history*. 1789, 2 copies, (One for Charleston and the other for circulation among the pastors in North Carolina.) Further (likewise from the Fund)

Suckow's *Industrial and Technical Chemistry*,

Gmelins *Technical Chemistry*,

Beckmann's *Technology*,

V. Lamprecht's *Technology*,

Fuchs' *Outlines of a General Guide to Health*.

Scherff's *List of First Aid Helps for those seemingly dead or whose life is suddenly endangered*. 6 pamphlet copies of each.

} 1 bd. copy of each.

Provision will also be made later for a number of Bibles for poor children in North Carolina by means of the remaining surplus in our Fund, as soon as the other and more immediately urgent objectives of the Institute have been obtained. At first however we must provide for the most urgent needs of those regions far removed from all sources of Literature.

(Furthermore) there were sent on Oct. 13, 1788, in one package to Mr. Faber in Charleston the following: The two books, enumerated as being in stock, at the end of our last Report, p. 32, for the kind supervision of the Rev. Mr. Mutzenbecher in Amsterdam through the good offices of Mr. Jacobi, student of Amsterdam.

In the middle of November, 1788, through the kind assistance of the Rev. Mr. Nicolai in Bremen, to Mr. Faber in Charleston, in two packages: (for pastors' libraries)

Wiedeburg's *Humanistic Magazine*, 1788, New Year and Easter numbers. 50 bound, and 50 unbound copies of the third number of our textbooks, as continuation of the first number, of which, at the time of the first issue 100 copies were sent.

(Mr. Faber and the pastors Nüssmann, Storch and Roschen are at liberty, according to existing conditions, either to sell these copies for the North Carolina Fund, or to dispose of them gratis in our name. Furthermore we shall not demand of these men any accurate and detailed account since they, more than anyone else, are personally interested in this cause, and since we know from our own experience how impossible such a report would be.

50 copies each, in pamphlet form, of three of our textbooks, viz: *The History of Religion*, *The Geographical Handbook* and the *North Carolina Catechism*. (These shall subsequently be deducted from the 370 Rthlr., Church funds of the Buffaloe Creek congregation, which were deposited on interest in Hanover, of which there is mention made in our Report for the third number pp. 6 and 7.)

In the near future there shall be sent, in addition to the 50 bound and the 50 unbound copies of this fourth number, as continuation of the 100 copies of the three first issues, for the fund in two special packages, prepaid as far as Bremen, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Nicolai, for his convenient forwarding to Mr. Faber, the following:

All the books designated as gifts above. Likewise (to be deducted from the Buffaloe Creek Church fund of 370 Rthlr.) 50 pamphlet copies of our fifth publication — Kluegel's Practical Information, (Logic).

Furthermore there were sent to Dr. Gerling in Hanover (as a gift of Supt. Lueder of Dannenberg for the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann):

Resewitz's *Sermon Outlines* of 1768 and '69.

Lueder's *Letters on Vegetable Gardens*, 3 Parts.

Lueder's *Foundations for Christian Ethics*, 25 copies.

Finally we are in hopes of obtaining, a copy (complete if possible) of the *Goettingen Scholarly Recorder*, as a gift for the North Carolina Church Library, through a distinguished patron of our Institute whose warm and specific recommendations from the very beginning have contributed much to the successful progress of our enterprise.

In a measure, then, we might really feel ourselves free from all worry over the conscientious fulfillment of our promise, especially since the causes for the resulting delays were beyond our control. In another matter however we are exceedingly anxious to request the indulgence of a kind public, since after all a part of our intended plans can not be carried out, and we are therefore not in a position completely to fulfill our promises. It had been our intention to furnish further a *Handbook of Civic Knowledge* in which an application of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics was to be made for the arts, industry and agriculture. It was hoped that thereby might not only result a general dissemination of useful information, but that especially in regions in which there is still much to be wished for in the utilization of natural products and in the furthering of skilled industry, this might prove a helpful stimulus for original invention (or ingenuity). There certainly was no lack of effort on our part in collecting, arranging and assorting the necessary material, so that it was rather the great abundance of material that proved the greatest obstacle in the execution of the plan, which we had repeatedly announced, both orally and in writing.<sup>3</sup>

Beckmann's—*Technology*; v. Lamprechts' *Technology*; Gmelin's *Technical Chemistry*; Suckow's *Industrial and Technical Chemistry*.

However we have not completely abandoned the hope that two of our friends, whose zeal for human welfare knows no rest, will each in his special field, in some way produce, or at least direct the production of, a publication suitable to our needs. (Perhaps the publisher, if only his attention is directed to it, will gladly have several dozen of extra copies printed gratis.) Because we should also have been glad to supply a work on Didactics, as well as for the sake of our fellow countrymen far removed from all connections with German literature, we will furthermore add and recommend the following list of books which are very important for the common welfare of mankind, because they contain valuable directions for the maintenance of life and health:

Fuchs'—*Outlines of General Hygiene*, and  
Scherff's—*List of Foods*, for those apparently dead, or in danger of immediate death.

If in the future, in connection with the annual bookfairs or through the kindness of bookdealers, gift copies of the above list, or of similar books for the pastors' libraries of North Carolina, should be forwarded without transportation charges to me, addressed to Rev. Velthusen, High Consistory of Rostock, I hereby promise to forward them to their destination if at all possible. It is then very probable that copies of various

<sup>3</sup> As we know from previous experience one cannot in 12 to 16 quires, to which we would have been restricted, accomplish anything complete and satisfactory with so many objects, especially since for this purpose a clear explanation of details is necessary. Furthermore one can find the most complete application of mathematical, physical, and chemical information to the arts, industry and agriculture in the following works, which we here enumerate for the benefit of our friends in North Carolina.

useful books will be assigned from there on various routes. In my preface to the *Biblical Handbook* I had already mentioned that our North Carolina friends in such matters would do best to apply to Mr. Bohn, Bookdealer in Hamburg, of whose sympathetic interest in this cause our *Reports* have already given the most unmistakable proof.

Finally in order not to exhaust the patience of our kind subscribers, we found ourselves obligated to assign this work, which to be sure must be very welcome to all Germans both here and beyond the sea, to some other author who was not restricted to a certain fixed number of pages, and who could also append the illustrative copper engravings, almost indispensable for such a book.<sup>4</sup>

But even thus we would not have justified ourselves fully in the eyes of our magnanimous promoters. To be sure in the case of most of these it is obvious that they did not contribute for the sake of the possession of just seven books or of any particular publication, but rather for the support of our plan, which in the main issues has been fully executed. Those who have advanced half a louisdor on the complete set will be given allowance for the greater part of the six books actually delivered. Among the others who paid or subscribed a half Rententhaler for the still incompleting sixth publication, there are presumably very few who would not gladly permit us to send them, instead of the desired book, some other book of equal value; for instance, a copy of our 4th, *Biblical Narratives and History of Religion*, or of the 5th, *Logic*, or of the 7th book, *Geographical Handbook*, or if these should be exhausted, of the 3rd book, *Biblical Handbook*. Meanwhile, however, we acknowledge our obligation to give anyone, who demands it, and before St. Michael's day of the current year, explains the situation in detail to one of our society, the just reimbursement which he may demand of us.

This would then, in a certain measure, almost automatically bring to a conclusion our corporate connection, which, according to our specific explanation at the end of our announcement of Nov. 28, 1786, was not to extend beyond the execution of our plan as it had been agreed upon. But in order that the public as well as my North Carolina friends might be fully assured of their property in North Carolina which was designated in our final Report (likewise of the 370 Rthlr. deposited on interest in Hanover as church money for the Buffalo Creek congregation) I, Abbot Velthusen, may add that I at my new location will give a faithful account of all things entrusted to me, to my two friends and future official assistants of that place, Prof. Priess and the Privy Counciller, Mr. Roennberg. (These men as well as Prof. Wehnert in Parchim are ready to offer me their hand in fraternal coöperation in the further discharge of official duties, for which the flourishing commerce and the extensive navigation offer considerable assistance.) After a sojourn of thirty years Providence has decreed that I in a few weeks shall follow the

<sup>4</sup> In order, in a measure at least, to compensate our brethren in North Carolina for their loss, we have secured from our fund a number of copies of *Camp's Robinson Crusoe*.

call of my beloved country and conclude the remainder of my pilgrimage as Councillor of the High Consistory and Professor in Rostock.<sup>5</sup> May Almighty God compensate with his best, fatherly blessings, the friends and co-workers from whom now fate separates me; the good country which I with heavy heart leave behind me; and the excellent ruling house, whose favor through eleven years instilled in me courage for every bitter task,—for the kind assistances by which one or the other undertaking, whenever official duties or an inner impulse furnished the stimulus, was promoted.

Thus far we had described the successful progress of our undertaking, when (on the 4th of this month) the letter of Mr. Faber in Charleston, dated Sept. 5th of last year, was received: The Rev. Mr. Storch found also in Charleston, where a respected merchant, Mr. Gaebel, offered him a friendly reception in his home, all the love which we had any right to expect or wish for here. His sermon won for him approval, respect, confidence and friends. After twelve days he left the good congregation which procured for him a horse and such other things as were necessary for his journey. The money for this was secured by means of new contributions and also at our request, partly from the subscriptions of that place which had already been guaranteed before.

He entered upon his overland journey with the escort of an experienced farmer-preacher of North Carolina, who solemnly promised to look after his interests with the greatest of care.

Helmstaedt and Halle, March 6, 1789.

J. C. Velthusen. H. P. C. Henke.

L. Crell. G. S. Kluegel. P. J. Bruns.

#### *Postscript*

Rev. Storch's own letter from Charleston, of Aug. 15th and 20th of last year, received here on the 7th of this month, confirms the above report concerning the unusually friendly reception which he found there. The Messrs. Faber, Gaebel, and Schutt, as well as several others showed him in a very practical way that affection which in his circumstances has a threefold value. His letters express a courage with a Christian foundation. Likewise the friends in Baltimore in every possible way made easier for him his journey from there to Charleston. They supplied him abundantly with food and refreshments. One of them bought so many books from him that he had sufficient money for this part of his journey.

Helmstaedt, March 9, 1789.

Velthusen.

<sup>5</sup> In some sort of current magazine (f. i. the *Monthly Magazine*, by and for Mecklenburg, or the *Political Journal*, or the *Pastor's Journal* of Halle) I will announce publicly the last final balance of my account, (likewise anything else that the public might be entitled or anxious to know.) V.

## (Advertisements.)

The following are on sale by S. L. Cruisius in Liepzig:

- J. C. Velthusen's *North Carolina* (Helmstaedt) *Catechism*, or *Christian Religious Instruction*, Based on Holy Scriptures.  
 2nd. Ed. (9 Reems) 5 ggr.
- Ibid.* *Question Book for Parents and Teachers*, or Outlines for Questions and Conversations about the Catechism, taking into account the variation in ability and age of the young people. (13 Reems) 12 ggr.
- Ibid.* *Index of Bible Verses* for the Larger Catechism. (1½ reems) 1 ggr.
- Ibid.* *First Catechism* with the Five Chapters. (1½ reems) 1 ggr.
- Ibid.* *Second Catechism*, with Questions, the Five Chapters together with Luther's Explanations, also several prayers for children. (4 Reems) 2 ggr.
- Ibid.* *Biblical Handbook for Independent Readers*, with an Appendix for Bible Reading, with Selections. (20 Reems) 16 ggr.
- H. P. C. Henke's *Selection of Biblical Narratives*, for the early youth.  
 (7 Reems) 6 ggr.
- Ibid.* *History of the Jewish and Christian Religion, for First Instruction.*  
 (10 Reems) 8 ggr.

## APPENDIX

Reports concerning the Evangelical Church organization in North Carolina; especially concerning the endeavors and experiences of the Reverend Adolph Nussmann, who was sent to that State in the year 1773, by order of the King of Great Britain, and at the instigation of the Consistory of Hanover; together with recommendations as to how in the best possible way we Germans, without any great expense, might be able to help our scattered brethren in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

In order to give a full account of the missionary work in North Carolina, which is supported by Hanover and London, I do not now have the necessary papers, which I, in July 1773, when I resigned as Courtpastor at London, left with the German government office of that city, from which place essential matters can readily be supplied or corrected if necessary. At the time of my departure the Consistory of Hanover, by order of the King, had granted the request presented by two delegates from a German Evangelical congregation in North Carolina, that they might receive for their church a resident pastor from the British province in Germany. Simultaneously with him there had been sent a sexton, who had been prepared for his work at the splendidly equipped Teacher's Seminary of Hanover, and a considerable number of Bibles, hymnals, catechisms and other books. The funds for the transportation of these persons and supplies were raised by generous gifts in Germany, by royal munificence, and a collection taken at the Court Chapel. Part of this money was conveyed to me in person by the late Counsellor to the Consistory of Hanover, Goetten. After defraying these expenses there was a surplus which I, with the advice of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cornwallis, deposited with the *Society for the Propagating of the Gospel in Foreign Countries*, because this organization had offered its help and services in case there should be established a permanent pastor's charge in North Carolina. The reason for this temporary deposit was to urge the congregation, before receiving these donations intended expressly to increase the funds for a permanent pastor's salary, to furnish a legally valid document concerning the considerations offered orally by the two delegates to the pastor (and also the sexton, or school teacher). As a matter of fact everything was still so uncertain for the pastor that the King and Queen, in order to protect him against the exigencies arising from his first arrival in America, provided a

special gift, which they conveyed to him through me, with the specific declaration that this gift was intended for him personally, and not for the congregation.

The Consistory believed, and later results have also, contrary to my original hesitations, confirmed, that there was perhaps no one better suited for this newly established charge than Mr. Adolph Nüssmann, a former Franciscan, who, through the study of philosophy (especially the Wolffian System) and through a more intimate acquaintance with our Evangelical Church organization, was led to serious reflection. Even as a Catholic preacher, he had gained the reputation of being no strict papist, and later he became more and more confirmed, at the University of Goettingen and also in his work at the Teacher's Seminary in Hanover, in the doctrines and convictions of the Evangelical Religion. The late Mr. Goetten, who had devoted himself to this whole cause with a paternal, almost apostolic enthusiasm, provided his protegee with advice and instructions, which, as far as information could be had, were perfectly adapted to the best interests of a spiritual advisor for the people of North Carolina. The enlightened members of the German Court Chapel in London became very fond of him when he preached at that place, to the general satisfaction of all. Their confidence in him was further strengthened when, since no ship sailed for Charleston within three months, they, in order to reduce the drain on their collection funds, gave him his meals at their own tables. And I had further opportunity to convince myself of his sincerity and integrity, inasmuch as I, during this same period of time, lived in the same house with him.

For almost fourteen years his friends (in Germany) received no communication from him directly, and the only news concerning him was that he was experiencing some hardships caused by some of his disloyal brethren who instilled in his congregation a suspicion that he was secretly still an adherent of the Papacy. These rumors furnished no information about his personal welfare, nor about the progress of the Evangelical Churches in North Carolina in general. Only recently, however, I was pleasantly surprised to receive a letter from Mr. Nüssmann, dated May 11, 1786. Its contents will be welcome news, not only to those who fourteen years ago gave their active support to this missionary enterprise, but also to all those who are able to discern anything significant for the future in the situation in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which is so favorable for the dissemination of enlightenment and culture through religion, art, and science. There are, however, too many of my interested friends in England and Germany, who would be willing to support my wishes,—with which I, however, do not now wish to embarrass them,—too many Christians and good people in general, who have a sympathetic feeling for German children living on the borders of the civilized world,—too many, that I could give a personal written report to all, who at the present time would be glad to share my joys and my concern for the future. I have therefore resorted to the means of a printed announcement. I beg, however, most urgently that everyone, who cherishes any good-will or affection for me, consider my appeal on this occasion as if, in my extreme dilemma, I were approaching him specifically, as a last resort. It is no fanaticism if I believe that we here have a situation in which we, without any great expense, may be able to instill in the children of our

fellow-countrymen, an affection for Germany and England, which may bring about new trade relations and at the same time may produce a feeling of human sympathy among our brethren still living in a state of primitive nature, and in the end result in temporal blessings and prosperity to our descendants.

From the enclosed copy of a letter by the Rev. Mr. Nüssmann to the late Mr. Goetten, of May 4, 1784, I see that the congregation on *Second Creek Rowan County*, which has built a church about twelve miles from Salisbury, and otherwise gained some prominence through its good organization, had for some time entertained some misgivings toward their pastor, Mr. Nüssmann, and had appointed as his successor their school teacher, Gottfried Ahrnd (I think that was also the name of the Sexton mentioned above.) They had had this man ordained on the Saludi River in South Carolina by a certain Mr. Buelow (a former clerk in a store, who had done some preaching. Later, however, when Mr. Ahrnd accepted a call from the congregation across the Catawba, they joined Mr. Nüssmann's charge again and lived in peace and harmony with him. Disregarding the closing of the school, this arrangement, as long as there was such a shortage of educated ministers, was considered after all a step of progress for the cause of Christianity there in general, since there were so many congregations scattered about in the country who were really longing for the Word of God, and since the requests of so many poor people could not be declined.

The strongest and most prominent of these congregations is the one on *Buffaloe-Creek*, Mecklenburg County, from which also the second letter was sent. It had consented to the delegation to Germany, not because of its share in the collection, but from a genuine desire for the Word of God; it received Mr. Nüssmann at once in the most friendly manner, and consists of none but members of the Evangelical faith. During the years 1771 and 1772 it built a church twenty miles south of Salisbury (eight miles from the church on *Second-Creek*), a frame building, quite presentable in appearance according to local standards, and decorated in the interior with rather fine cabinet work. During the most strenuous period of the war, when it was dangerous to ride through the woods every week, meetings were held here only every two weeks. Throughout the winter the children, and until far into the summer occasionally the adults, were given religious instruction in the school.

During the period of his misunderstanding, Mr. Nüssmann also served, at first a congregation with an admixture of members of the Reformed Church (whose church was located six miles southwest of that on *Buffaloe-Creek*); later an Evangelical Congregation near *Peintchurch* (three miles southeast of Salisbury); but always in such a way that his main attention was focused upon *Buffaloe-Creek*. He writes as follows: "Thus I made my living during this time, although sometimes rather meagerly, with much and hard work. To be sure several opportunities were offered, which would have improved my temporal conditions, but I considered it my duty to remain at my post, and not for temporal advantages to forsake a congregation that was indeed poor, but nevertheless was very anxious to have the Word of God proclaimed in their midst."

The congregation has its church discipline, and its elders and stewards who meet every four weeks. The main school, near the church, consisted

in the winter of 1783 of seventy-two children, continued throughout the year, and has a man from Hanover (George Friesland) as teacher. There are two second rate schools, one with thirty-six, and the other with twenty children. These hundred and twenty-eight children, however, do not constitute even half of the number of young people. The church owns one hundred acres of land, all timber, and had at the last balance a surplus of 12L 10S from the regular Sunday collections. The preacher's salary is raised by voluntary contributions.

Incidentally he mentioned that during his misunderstanding he did not wish to become involved in the cashing of the check sent by the Privy Councillor von Hinueber in London to a merchant, Mr. Alexander Gillon, since he was of the opinion that under the uncertain circumstances it would be better to leave this money where it was, until one could see what the outcome would be.

In his own words, quoting from a letter of last May, I will give you a description of the condition of the Evangelical church in these three Southern States at that time: "For want of instructors and school-teachers they are in utter confusion, and if help does not come soon they will fall back completely into paganism. Thousands of families, with numerous children, scattered at wide intervals, are forgetting Christianity; their children know even less of it, and their grandchildren are becoming genuine heathen. There are no teachers capable of giving the proper instruction, and those that are there, tear down more than they build up. I have labored as faithfully as I could with my inadequate capacity, and as much as the Lord gave me strength, but one arm is insufficient. With grief I observe every day that there is something lacking, now here, now there, now everywhere. My efforts have always been directed upon the welfare of the whole, rather than on any particular part, however, in such a manner that my chief concern was always *Buffaloe-Creek* which received the Word of God from the very beginning. One must here still take the place of an apostle, rather than that of the advisor of a congregation. If one were to restrict his activities to a single congregation one could indeed do it a great deal of good, but the injury to the whole would be all the greater." And later he adds: "In the most outlying places, where blindness, ignorance, superstition and fanatic enthusiasm rage, the teachers are separated from each other by seventy, eighty, a hundred, and even two hundred miles."

However, because it is impossible to give help as specifically from the distance as in close proximity, and since I furthermore can not endure, on the one hand, to stimulate an adventurous spirit of wandering among my fellow countrymen, nor on the other hand, to arouse an enthusiastic spirit of proselyting among our young theologians and future school teachers, I would prefer to keep these sad pictures to myself, and implore God in solitude for help, rather than make an ostentatious plea before the eyes of all Germany for pity in behalf of our scattered brethren, if our friend had contented himself with mere complaint, and had not actually made every possible effort to avoid becoming a heavy burden upon us, and to be permitted merely to receive from us such assistance as we can readily give him from the distance, which we certainly, even as fellow human beings, owe to one another.

He has entered into a more intimate friendship with the Rev. Frederick Daser, Evangelical minister of Charleston, in order, as he says, to bring about a closer union between the rapidly progressing states of Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina. Since the Assembly of North Carolina has appointed him, because he is a German, third commissioner for the building of the first academy in Salisbury, he is also planning a more permanent provision for the essential needs of the future. For the present, however, he appeals to me, by all that is irresistible to my conscience, to grant him three requests, which, if I only receive some help, I could never deny him. First of all he wants two additional preachers, for whose maintenance they promise to make every possible effort, as soon as the young men have arrived at Charleston.

I suppose that among the young men, whose character and ability I have opportunity to observe here daily, there could easily be found one, or perhaps several, into whom one could, as Mr. Nüssmann expresses it, instill the heart, courage, and the proper apostolic zeal to spread the gospel, even midst great hardships, in those rapidly developing states. However, until the congregation definitely offers, with legal obligations, what it will be able to do for the support of a preacher, I will not accept anyone, even though some candidate should offer himself, and still less will I persuade anyone. On this point I hope, however, in due time to receive the fullest assurance, since I already know how I can provide for the transportation to Charleston.

Rich people, who often are not able to help all those suffering in their immediate vicinity, I should not like to approach for a gift, even though I know a number of altruistic people who would cheerfully, and without persuasion, give a contribution, and thus obligate me to sincerest gratitude. But fortunately there is in sight still another source, which would not call for very much assistance, and consequently would to most people be no cause for embarrassment. I would be willing for this purpose to offer a supply of my publications, still held in stock, at reduced prices, and dispose of them as follows:

"Sermons and Homilies"—at 1 Rthlr.: a publication for the training of future rural preachers, and for the solution of doubts concerning the first two chapters of Matthew, under the title of:

"Sophienruhe," at 6 groschen: A treatise confirming the proofs for my translation\* of the Song of Songs, and containing the historic elements of that book, under the title:

"Der Amethyst," at 6 groschen.

For the first apply to the Academic Publishing House in Leipzig and Dessau; for the second to the Bohemian Publishing House in Hamburg and Kiel; and for the third to the Publishing House of the Royal Orphanage at Brunswick. The names of those who, for the promotion of the North Carolina missionary project, have, through the purchase of a part of these publications, supported an undertaking which lies heavy on my conscience, shall be printed in the preface of a catechism to be described later. In case they object to the full name, at least their initial letters, or any other signs which they themselves may designate, will be printed. Likewise, I hope among my local friends, known to the public here, and with several who have already expressed their willingness, to come to an agreement upon

\*Possibly "interpretation." Translator's note.

a definite plan as to what we here, on our part, can do. This company, thus closely associated with me, will, for the present, assume the responsibility that all the money, coming in from any of these sources, will actually be applied to the above mentioned purpose.

Mr. Nüssmann's second, and most urgent request, which I cannot ignore, is for an entirely new catechism for the young people of North Carolina, which is adapted to their local needs. He expressly demands that I undertake the preparation of this work, and has for this purpose outlined a plan which coincides almost exactly with a textbook that I had some time ago intended for the children of our faith scattered about on the prairies of Lueneburg. It will contain only a few explanatory notes, consist mostly of quotable Bible verses, and be provided with a complete code of morals. I shall have it printed by private subscription, as soon as sufficient subscribers are found to defray the first expenses. Subscribers will please send their names to the three publishing houses mentioned above. I should also like to ask all bookdealers and post offices for the same favor. Since I am unable in advance to determine the size (number of pages) of the catechism, I shall for the present fix the price at eight pfennigs per (printer's) sheet. The surplus, after deducting the costs, will revert to the missionary fund.

Since there is a desire for additional textbooks, for example, a more suitable collection of Biblical stories, a history of religion, a guide to information about civic life in general, I have already secured from some of my local friends, who are specialists in their fields, the promise to undertake similar tasks, as far as their urgent duties permit.

The third request of our Mr. Nüssmann is to send him books suitable for the establishment of a church and school library. Everything that is sent to me postpaid, for this purpose, I shall receive with the knowledge of the missionary society affiliated with me, shall forward that which seems suitable for this purpose, shall sell the remainder, including duplicate copies, and add the proceeds to the missionary fund.

Helmstaedt, 1786.

Johann Casper Velthusen,  
Doctor of Divinity, and duly appointed teacher,  
chief pastor, and general superintendent, also  
Abbot of Marienthal.

## HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by D. L. CORBITT

The notes in this issue consist of a short sketch of the Williams portrait of George Washington written by Samuel A. Ashe; an article on the postman's horse; and obituary notices.

### THE WILLIAMS PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON<sup>1</sup>

By SAMUEL A. ASHE

The art preservative is one of the most interesting of the accomplishments of man. By the daguerreotype the features and expression of a person are identically reproduced, although varying conditions sometimes produce varying results. In handicraft there is a more uncertain element. The artist invests his subject with a halo embodying an ideal of his character and imparts a distinctive feature to the performance. An illustration of this may be found in the difference between Stuart's portrait of Washington, from which is derived our idea of "The Father of our Country," and the statue by Canova. Certainly it is well that patriots dear to posterity for their lofty virtues and services to mankind should be represented to the mental vision so attractively as to remind one of Shakespeare's expression: "Where every God did seem to set his seal to give the world assurance of a man,"—and yet accuracy has its advantages.

Somewhat in conformity with Canova's statue is Peele's painting, representing Washington at the age of forty years. That has a pleasing face—long, somewhat oval, with a narrow chin. This is said to be "an original portrait then in the possession of G. W. P. Custis at Arlington House."<sup>2</sup>

There is reproduced in the 1st volume of Irving's *Life of the General* another "original picture in possession of Charles Aug. Davis, New York." This likewise has a long face with a very long and large nose.

Also, there is the bust made by Houdon, from which bronze statues have been cast. The profile of this bust as it appears in Sparks's *Life of Washington*—and the bronze statues, one of them being on Capitol square at Raleigh, indicate similar features.

Among the several presentations of Washington that have come down to us, the statue made by Canova is particularly worthy of interest.

<sup>1</sup> This sketch was written and submitted by Samuel A. Ashe. The editor has used it just as submitted.

<sup>2</sup> Irving, *Washington, Life of George Washington*, Vol. II, frontispiece; Sparks, Jared, *The Life of George Washington*, frontispiece.

When North Carolina ordered a statue to be made, Senator Macon at once wrote to Mr. Jefferson, who was conversant with such matters, asking suggestions.

Jefferson recommended that Canova should be the sculptor, and that the bust made by Ciracchi should be used as a model for the head. He declared—and others doubtless agreed with him—that it “was universally considered that Ciracchi’s was the best effigy of Washington ever executed.”<sup>3</sup> Our consul at Leghorn, Mr. Appleton, delivered this bust to Canova—so we have Canova’s reproduction of Ciracchi’s bust, extolled by Jefferson,—an intimate friend of Washington—and much in line with Houdon’s bust—and some of the portraits,—all agreeing especially in the long face and the long nose—the pronounced features of the portrait painted by William Williams and reproduced in this article.

These characteristics are common to the busts, statues, and portraits mentioned above—but they are not discerned in Stuart’s painting where the face is rather square, notably so at the chin.—And this is the more remarkable for Stuart has been quoted as saying that “Washington’s nose was broader at the eyes than that of any other person he ever saw.” Likewise there is in the Boston Athenaeum another portrait of Washington, which while similar to Stuart’s is not so square—the face being more oval.

While the general characteristics of the Williams picture are calmness, thoughtfulness—perhaps resolution, yet it lacks something of the fine intelligence, the apparent wisdom, the noble heroism indicated by Stuart in his portrait—calm, thoughtful, majestic. But at this period, it is to be remembered that Washington was showing his age and the effects of the anxieties that beset him. He was careworn, and quiet—and although entering into entertaining conversation with ladies, he was merely receptive among men.

Now I turn to the artist who painted the portrait reproduced in this article and the circumstances under which it was painted.

The artist, Mr. William Williams, was in after life a resident of New Bern, and his descendants have since been among us—esteemed citizens of North Carolina—and this invests the Williams portrait with particular interest.

His father of Welsh descent was a portrait painter in London where it is stated he was a friend and associate of the great painter Benjamin West. Later he settled in New York City, following his vocation: and there on November 17, 1759, the son William Williams was born. After being educated, doubtless at Columbia College, the son pursued the same vocation as his father. Among the portraits he then painted are those of four members of the well-known Huggeford

<sup>3</sup> Washington, H. A. (ed) *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (edition of 1854) Vol. VI. pp. 535.

family, resident in Westchester County, N. York. These bear date 1783, are well preserved and are highly valued.<sup>4</sup>

While on the formation of the Union, the President was inaugurated in New York City, a year later the seat of the new government was established at Philadelphia, and William Williams, possibly thinking that Philadelphia would be the best residence for a portrait painter, removed there; and in 1792 he married Jane Stuart<sup>5</sup>—perhaps of kin to Stuart, like himself a portrait painter and possibly an associate.

Washington was a member of the Lodge of Masons at Alexandria—and had been their Master Mason. His fellow-Masons, friends and neighbors, knew him well and were proud that their Master Mason should be the first President of their country. And they desired to have his portrait to adorn the walls of their Lodge.

So in 1793 they appointed a committee to go to Philadelphia and obtain a portrait of Washington, painted with his regalia on.

Washington having assented, the Committee selected William Williams “now famous as a pastel painter”<sup>6</sup> to be the artist. Williams was introduced to the President by Light-Horse Harry Lee, (the father of Gen. Robert E. Lee)—the representative in Congress from the Alexandria District—who later on the death of Washington in his famous oration proclaimed him:—“First in War, First in Peace—and First in the hearts of his Countrymen.”

Washington accorded to Williams thirteen sittings, and months passed before the portrait was finally completed. Then it was approved by Washington—and his family; and by the Committee. When framed, and carried to the Lodge at Alexandria, it was accepted by the Members—and paid for,—the cost being \$300. It is a flesh colored pastel—. With pride and gratification, the Lodge hung it on their walls as a worthy memorial of their Master-Mason!—Now full of honors—and generally esteemed to be the most illustrious man of all the ages—but careworn with the anxieties that had beset him.

For a time the artist continued to reside in Philadelphia—but his wife dying there in 1797, and preparations being in progress to remove the Capitol to the District of Columbia where a new city was to be built on the banks of the Potomac near Georgetown—Williams established himself at Georgetown.

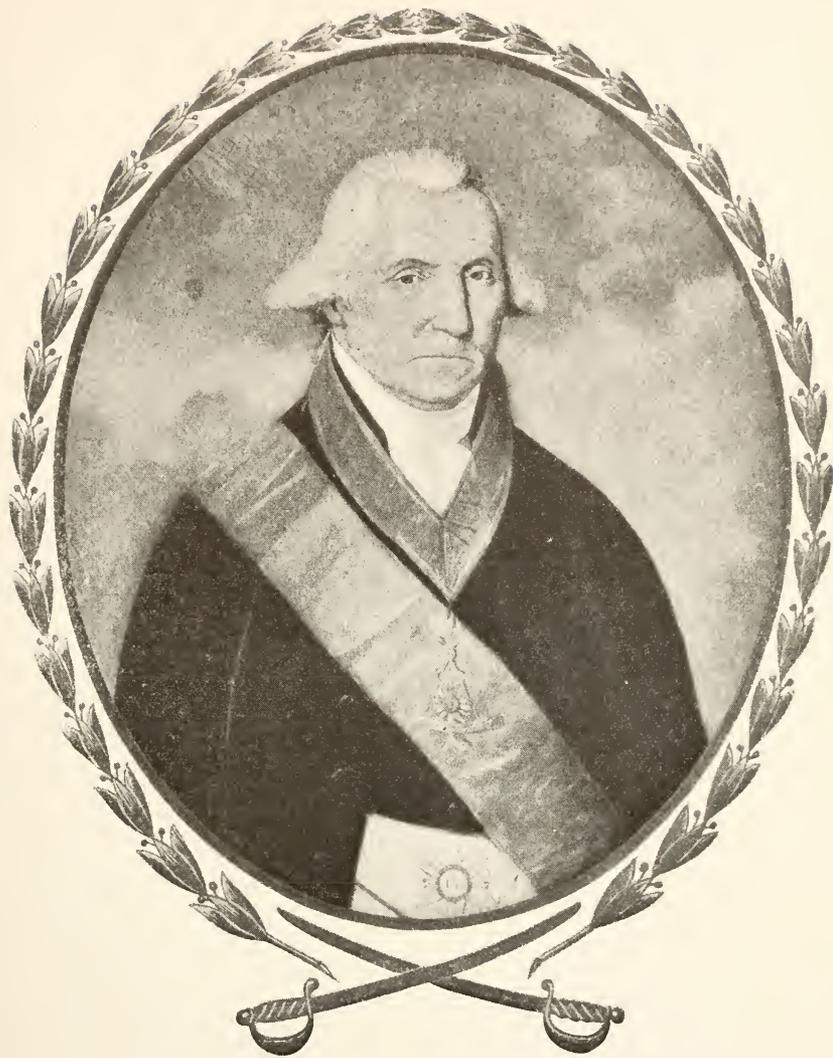
He now married Catharine Simpson to whom was born at Georgetown in 1799 Helen—the only child of that union to attain majority.—There were no children by the first marriage.

In 1803, Mr. Williams was at Georgetown, South Carolina—and at Charleston, where in that year Carolina Catharine was born—but the mother unhappily died.

<sup>4</sup> Statement of Robert McCord: Peekskill, N. Y., possessor of the Huggeford portraits.

<sup>5</sup> Her tomb in Catholic Cemetery, Philadelphia.

<sup>6</sup> Letters of Chas. H. Callahan of Alexandria, Va. Chairman of the *Washington Memorial Committee*.



THE WILLIAMS PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

This portrait is owned and copyrighted by the Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22,  
A. F. & A. M., Alexandria, Va., by whose courtesy it is here reproduced.



The next year, Mr. Williams married a third wife—Isabella Moore<sup>7</sup>—and now he located at New Bern—where a daughter—Ann Catharine was born. However, two or three years later, he removed to New York—becoming, it is said, a Professor in Columbia College. But by 1817 he had returned to New Bern where his sons John and Joseph Williams were born; and there on November 30, 1823 at the age sixty-four, he passed away.<sup>8</sup>

Not concerned with public matters but devoted to his art, there is slight record of his character and attainments: but the librarian of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania has written<sup>9</sup>—that “he was a man of high character, and broad culture, as well as a true patriot.” And it appears that he was religious. Although originally of the Church of England, after his third marriage, he joined his wife in her devotions and became a Catholic.

His children felt forced to leave their homes at New Bern when the Federal army entered in 1862—and his two grandsons Chas. A. Williams and John F. Williams of Charlotte—have manifested their admiration and filial appreciation of his excellence—his personal characteristics and work in life—by gratefully erecting an appropriate monument over his grave in the Catholic Cemetery at New Bern.

#### THE POSTMAN'S HORSE<sup>10</sup>

MR. PRINTERS,

I am the poor honest drudge, who carry the postman and his mail; and whether the news be good, or bad, true, or false, it is equally burthensome to me; through all the inclemencies of weather, and with many a hungry belly, am I obliged to trudge up and down the country, to satisfy the curiosity of your customers. We brutes, though we often observe the actions of men, are generally ignorant of their motives and the disposition from whence they proceed. For my part, from a long acquaintance with mankind, and the sagacity they have shewn in subduing us to their yoke, I should expect to find in them all the social virtues, in a degree of perfection proportionate to their superior wisdom. Among us, it is an invariable maxim, that every act of kindness deserves a return; and in conformity to this rule, we all serve the master faithfully who feeds us well; in man, so far surpassing us in other respects, I should expect to see the same principle rising to a divine and heavenly perfection. But, Sir, in going the continual round of duty in

<sup>7</sup> “It is hereby certified to all concerned that Mr. Wm. Williams & Miss Isabella Moore, both at present of the City of Charleston, South Carolina were duly & solemnly joined together in the sacred bonds of marriage on the fourteenth day of May in the Year of our Lord eighteen hundred and four by me—Isaac Stockton Ruth one of the Pastors of the Independent or Congregational Church in the City of Charleston S. Carolina.”

<sup>8</sup> Family Records.

<sup>9</sup> Statement of Chas. H. Callahan, Alexandria, Va.

<sup>10</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1778, p. 2, c. 2.

my present department, I have frequently the mortification to observe a set of penurious wretches of the human race, who pay nothing either to the post or printer, as officious in opening the newspapers, and appropriating them to their own purposes, and with as little compunction of mind; as those who have generously contributed to the support of both. These are acts that would disgrace an order of beings much inferior to men, as they have a tendency to destroy the bulwark of American liberty, and often disappoint men, whose zeal and public virtue prompt them to consult the interest of their country. Nor is it with less pity and contempt, that I observe in another set of the same class, within the circle of my immediate acquaintance, the mean spirited poverty of soul which has confined their contributions to the small sum of five shillings among fourteen men, who all receive the benefit of the news-papers from one subscription.—Though it is, indeed laughable, to see this notable group climbing on the shoulders of each other, to hear the first reading of a fresh paper; and had I been blessed with the gift of speech on these occasions, I should have cried out, O! for the pencil of an Hogarth, that I might do justice to so excellent an original. Pray, Mr. printer, admonish these ungenerous eve-droppers of the news, tho, wanting a spirit to come honestly by it, should at least be contented with receiving it in verbal detail from those who do. My master, who has been kind and indulgent on all other occasions, says he will no longer burthen me with the papers of those who do not subscribe to the post; and you, Mr. printer, who cannot but feel the injury done to yourself, by those who open papers they do not pay for, will, I hope fall on some method to correct so scandalous an abuse.

I am, Your's, &c. the postman's horse.

D E R R I C K.

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#### OBITUARIES PRIOR TO 1800

These obituary notices will be inserted from time to time covering the period prior to and including the year 1800. They will be taken from the North Carolina newspapers now on file in the North Carolina Historical Commission.

#### *JAMES INNES DEAD*<sup>11</sup>

DIED.) At Philadelphia, on the 3d instant, Col. JAMES INNES; American Commissioner under the British treaty, for the settlement of the claims of British subjects against the American citizens.

<sup>11</sup> *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, August 30, 1798, p. 3, c. 1.

*MATTHEW PRIDGEON, JOHN SYKES, AND THOMAS  
DEVANE DEAD*<sup>12</sup>

WILMINGTON, March 29.

Died on the 1st inst at his plantation on South-River Mr. Matthew Pridgeon, aged 105 years.

— Some time ago, Mr. John Sykes, aged 95; and Mr. Thomas Devane, aged 110. There are several persons now living on said River upwards of 100 years of age, and many from 70 to 90.

*DANIEL MORGAN DEAD*<sup>13</sup>

D I E D ,

At his seat in Frederick county, Virginia, immediately after his return from Congress, Major-General Daniel Morgan.

*PHILIP SPAULDING DEAD*<sup>14</sup>

Died—On Thursday last, at Fort-Johnston, Mr. PHILIP SPAULDING, of this place. [Wilmington]

*BENJAMIN M'CULLOCH DEAD*<sup>15</sup>

On Friday night departed this life, after a short illness, much lamented, BENJAMIN M'CULLOCH, Esq.

'A little onward in the path of life,  
'And all must stretch in death their mortal frame;  
'A few short struggles end the weary strife,  
'And blot the frail memorial of our name:  
'Torn from the Promontory's lofty brow,  
'In time, the rooted Oak itself lies low.'

*MARY BAKER DEAD*<sup>16</sup>

DIED) At Tarborough, after a short, but painful illness, which she bore with Christian fortitude and resignation, Mrs. MARY BAKER, consort of BLAKE BAKER, Esq.—By this melancholy event, her

<sup>12</sup> *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, March 29, 1798, p. 2, c. 4.

<sup>13</sup> *The Wilmington Gazette*, April 19, 1799, p. 3, c. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *The Wilmington Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1799, p. 2, c. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Nov. 28, 1792, p. 3, c. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Dec. 12, 1795, p. 3, c. 1.

family and a wide circle of acquaintance have sustained an irreparable loss—As a loving and affectionate wife, an obliging neighbour, and an indulgent mistress, she was equalled by few, and excelled by none.

“Sweet peace and heavenly hope and humble joy,  
 “Divinely beam’d on her exalted soul;  
 “Destruction gild and crown her for the skies,  
 “With uncommunicable lustre bright.

*RICHARD CARNEY AND THOMAS HALL DEAD*<sup>17</sup>

DIED.) On the 28th ult. RICHARD CARNEY, Esq. a gentleman of the most unblemished character, and whose death is regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

On the 29th ult. near Tarborough, THOMAS HALL, Esq. Attorney at Law. The author of several poetical compositions abounding with wit and satire.

<sup>17</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Jan. 9, 1793, p. 2, c. 3.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ANDREW JOHNSON: A Study in Courage. By Lloyd Paul Stryker. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 881. \$6.00.)

The author has set himself a stupendous task, that of vindicating Andrew Johnson in every public act. So far as we know, no one has heretofore undertaken this job. Dunning, for example, and Fleming, Rhodes and Schouler condemn Johnson for not yielding something in 1865-66, thereby saving the South from the fearful reconstruction legislation that followed.

But not so Stryker. He lets us know, right off the bat, what he proposes to prove, and that is that Johnson "was well fitted for the delicate task of reconstruction." In a word he swallows Johnson hook, bait and sinker. In this task the learned author employs the arts of the skillful lawyer, abuses the witnesses, quotes only so much as suits his purpose, and fails to see hurtful facts. For example, he nowhere alludes to Johnson's efforts to repudiate the debt of Tennessee or of the United States. Though he quotes some of Johnson's messages, in which repudiation is suggested, he leaves out the unfortunate passages.

Again—The impression is early (p. 8) created that Johnson opposed slavery. On the contrary, he was strong for slavery, Wigfall and Toombs not more so. Johnson voted, as Congressman, to annex Texas with slavery; voted against California, as a Free State; opposed the right of petition and finally declared that if slaves were set free on the South to overrun her, they would be killed and he would be a leader in the killing.

Mr. Stryker, in the idealization of Johnson, asserts that his campaigns went along "with laughter and joke" (p. 12). The contrary, unfortunately, is the case. So rough and savage and serious was Johnson every opponent of his grew to hate him. Gentry, Henry, Brownlow, Temple and Aiken (called "Asken" in the book) all spoke in severe terms of Johnson, whose solemn manner and lack of humor were grievous faults. Other omissions are equally noteworthy. Thus Governor Johnson's ridiculous message, known as the "Jacob's Ladder message," is not mentioned. In this the impractical Johnson visioned the day when Democracy and Theocracy would join hands and the Millenium dawn break.

In Congress for ten years Johnson cut a small figure, never rising to a real chairmanship. Except for his advocacy of the homestead, his life in Congress was futile. He wasted his time by enraging the rich and appealing to the poor. He offered a resolution to abolish the Smithsonian Institution, opposed improvements to the Patent Office, fought the measure to pay the hotel bill of Kossuth, America's guest, and put a rider on a bill to increase the pay of House clerks, by adding the names of the laborers around the capitol. In a word, till the Civil War Johnson was considered by many a demagogue and a cheap-John politician.

His relations with Jefferson Davis were bitter in the extreme. Johnson once denounced Davis as "a scrub aristocrat," and in 1864 and 1865 said he was a traitor and should be hung; as President he offered a reward of one hundred thousand dollars for Davis's arrest. Mrs. Davis, in the life of her husband, refers to all this and to the dislike of the two men for each other. Mr. Stryker, however, omits these details and creates just the opposite impression, quoting an interview given out by Dr. Craven, in which Davis highly eulogizes Johnson!

Thus, by a system of inclusion and exclusion, an ideally perfect hero is created. How out of proportion, for example, is the estimate of Johnson's 1875 speech in the Senate attacking President Grant. This performance was in bad taste, made no impression at the time, and was an anti-climax. Yet Mr. Stryker says of this speech "it shook the deeper consciousness of the North, and the South took hope, like a desponding army that hears the rumble of artillery-supports, long, long awaited."

Like a skillful advocate, Mr. Stryker assimilates Johnson to Lincoln, makes Lincoln's fight Johnson's, and Lincoln's enemies Johnson's. This is only a half truth. Many of Lincoln's friends became Johnson's antagonists—Fessenden, for example, as pure a statesman as we have had, and also Lyman Trumbull, Grimes, Grant, Garfield, Blaine, Sherman, and Henderson. So also Speed, Harlan and Denison, Lincoln's friends and of his cabinet resigned in 1866 and turned against Johnson. Yet with great skill Mr. Stryker selects four Radicals, Stevens, Butler, Wade, and Sumner, despicable fellows, as Johnson's real persecutors. In truth, by the year 1867, Johnson had

practically no support in the Republican party, either among radicals or conservatives. Johnson, to the end of his life, called Secessionists "hell born and hell bound," and yet the impression is created that Johnson was intimate with Mrs. George E. Pickett and Mrs. C. C. Clay and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. The last speech Johnson made was one denouncing Grant for appointing the "rebel" Beauregard to high office. So again Stryker gives only one side of the Philadelphia Peace Convention of 1866. He fails to present the view of men like Lowell who insisted that Van Landingham and the Copperheads had control. Nowhere is Van Landingham and the Copperheads mentioned by Stryker. Thus the impression is made that Thad Stevens and Butler, Wade and Sumner were the only Devils that oppressed the South, whereas the most conservative northern Republicans in 1867 were against Johnson and coöperating with Stevens.

Men like Fessenden and Trumbull insisted that the affairs of the nation, after the Civil War, should be managed by the Republican party, which won the war, and not by the Southerners and northern Copperheads. If Johnson had accepted the Freedmen's Bureau bill, it is possible that southern representatives in 1865 would have been admitted; if he had endorsed the Fourteenth Amendment, it is possible no more reconstruction legislation would have been enacted.

With great power and fine feeling, Mr. Stryker paints the horrors of reconstruction and speaks in thunder tones for the oppressed South. No part of his book is finer than this or truer. But impartial men must ask, did not Johnson's zeal for the South and his servile adherence to Lincoln's ideas bring the mischief to pass? Lincoln said he was wedded to no one plan, he would do what was best to re-admit the Southern states at once. Johnson *had* a plan and would not change a line of it. Was he right in this? Historians say he was wrong. Mr. Stryker is sure he was right.

Andrew Johnson was courageous, honest, and the greatest phenomenon in American politics. He literally rose from the tailor's bench to the White House. But his fame rests on a few issues. He revered the Constitution, advocated the rights of labor, was the Father of the Homestead and the doughty champion of the American Union. Glory enough for any one man. To claim that he was fitted for the delicate work of reconstruction is to claim too much. Such a

man must have been a compromiser, like Lincoln. Johnson was no compromiser, and often boasted that he was not.

The horrible days of reconstruction, depicted by Stryker, might have been avoided had the great-hearted, great-souled Lincoln lived. Yet even this is debatable, and Mr. Stryker does not debate the question.

R. W. WINSTON.

RALEIGH, N. C.

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LIFE AND LABOR IN THE OLD SOUTH. By Ulrich B. Phillips. (Little, Brown and Company, Boston. 1929. Pp. 375. \$4.00.)

The appearance of a book dealing with the theme of Southern history from the practiced hand of Professor Phillips is always an arresting event for students of American history. Particular interest attaches to the present volume in that it won a prize of \$2,500 awarded by Little, Brown and Company for the best unpublished work on American history in 1928, and in that it is announced as the first volume of a series which when completed will constitute a well-rounded history of the South.

*Life and Labor in the Old South*, written in a terse, vigorous, and polished style, portrays so accurately and engagingly social and economic conditions in the Old South as to cause it to be of compelling interest, not only to the trained historian, but to all those who cherish the recorded achievements of the people of the colonial and ante-bellum South. The content of the book is derived in some degree from monographic material; but, in the main, the author has relied on his own painstaking research and measured interpretation in reconstructing the picture of Southern life in the period when it was judged to be distinctive. A considerable body of new material has been uncovered, analyzed, and presented here for the first time in skillful integration with the better known facts of Southern history. In fact, the reviewer is not aware of any book which is so copiously documented with plantation records, private letters, diaries, et cetera.

With singular detachment from romance and tradition, the author, by adhering strictly to the records, has placed in broad and pleasing perspective the actual conditions in which the people of the Old South "lived and moved and had their being." The method employed

is that of presenting a series of pictures, some elaborate and others (by reason of limitations as to space) sketchy, which reveal the distinctive features of the Southern scene. The first five chapters survey rather rapidly the climate, topography, products, and the progress of expansion and settlement in the older states of the South. With Chapter VI on "The Cotton Belt," Professor Phillips begins to unfold the interesting and complex drama of Southern civilization. Due emphasis is placed on the processes of cultivating and harvesting the staples, transportation facilities, the domestic slave trade, and "life in thralldom." The plantation is aptly described as a home, a factory, a school, a parish, a matrimonial bureau, and a pageant. As a home, it focused the activities of a social group; as a factory, the plantation was a business concern operated for a profit; as a school, it provided instruction in the industrial arts; as a parish, it supplied religious instruction; as a matrimonial bureau, it facilitated and safeguarded the matings of slaves; and, as a pageant, it presented the slaves in their lighter moods indulging their propensity for singing and dancing, and in their more serious and spiritual moods shouting and praying with the utmost abandon.

Some interesting observations are made in connection with the account of the process of assimilation of raw negroes from Africa. The author estimates that not half the negroes who left the African shores survived the overseas voyage and the two or three years of seasoning in the new world. He also points out that the second or third generation of negroes in America had transmitted to them no distinct impressions of life in Africa. So complete was the process of assimilation that very few African terms survived, and then only in regions where there was a great concentration of negroes. In their new surroundings the negroes acquired rapidly new habits, new viewpoints, and of necessity a new language, and became gentle or belligerent, courteous or crude, to a degree corresponding largely to the behavior of the master. It appears that methods of control, which in broad outline approached standardization, in detail varied with the individual caprices and tastes of the proprietors. The proper management of slaves ever remained a prolific source of speculation; but, due to the human factor involved, no satisfactory scheme universally applicable could be evolved. One gathers, however, from a perusal of

Professor Phillips' chapters on regional types of plantations, that the Virginia masters were somewhat more considerate of their slaves than were the masters of South Carolina and the lower South. Doubtless, the greater concentration of slaves in the lower South, a condition which served to focus attention on the more strictly commercial aspects of the plantation regime, together with the prevalence of proprietary absenteeism, accounts in large measure for the apparent discrepancy in disciplinary practices in the two regions.

The "grand style" of living was affected by the Carters of Virginia and the Butlers of South Carolina. The Carters in particular dissipated their means in eating, drinking, gambling, and horseracing. In winter they frequented the Richmond theatre and in the spring and summer made visits to the springs for the cure. Such elegant and prodigal living was not so much in evidence in the lower South, where the newness of the country rendered the problem of adaptation acute. Frequent changes of overseers, a high death rate necessitating frequent replacement of workers, expansion based on the hope of large profits, broken fortunes and hopes deferred rendered the fortunes of the planter in the lower South somewhat more precarious. Despite reverses, there was, as the author points out, a disposition on the part of planters, particularly of the lower South, to expand the scale of operations. Enlargement of the scale of operations, from the economic standpoint, was, the author thinks, the worst feature of the slave regime. Planters were the victims of the short-sighted policy of buying "more slaves to make more cotton for the continued purpose of buying more slaves to make more cotton." When times were hard there was little surplus for diversified investment, and when times were flush the temptation to expand the unit of production was overwhelming. On p. 137 the author very properly points out that slave labor did not involve as an incident exhaustive tillage. Proof of this assertion was supplied by the planters of Virginia and Maryland, who in the 'fifties employed their slaves advantageously in the reclamation of old fields by means of soiling crops and fertilizers.

In Chapter XVI the author gives an excellent account of Southern fashions in architecture, describing, with an uncommon range of architectural terminology and with an appreciation of detail, Southern homesteads from the humble log cabin of the slave to the colon-

naded brick mansion of the Virginia planter. Here and there one encounters descriptive passages of unusual excellence. The description of life on a Mississippi steamboat (p. 149) and the account of the intimate routine and diversions in and around the planter's home (pp. 336-337) are executed with rare skill. Indeed, one would have to go far to find in brief compass so accurate and vivid a picture of plantation home life in its more mellow and sensuous colors.

The last two chapters are the least satisfactory. As regards "The Plain People," Professor Phillips rightly complains of a dearth of records. What is written is well-written; but there are some aspects of the life of the plain people, such as their amusements, educational advantages, and their relations to the gentry, which deserve fuller treatment. Lack of space and not a lack of records probably accounts for the rather sketchy chapter on "The Gentry." The book contains good description of life in Charleston and New Orleans, rather unique urban centers, but practically nothing as regards life and labor in typical Southern towns and villages. Of life and labor on the Southern plantation, the author has written with an unsurpassed degree of finality; but the "short and simple annals" of the plain people in the country and the towns have yet to be assembled and digested.

While the author has been cautious in generalization, one or two statements of minor significance may with propriety be questioned. For example, it seems hard to believe that the negroes brought back by the early Portuguese navigators from Africa proved to be "exemplary servants" (p. 160). Again, (p. 126) the author appears to agree with the statement of a "Virginian sage" that "tobacco cannot be profitably grown in large quantities." Reference, of course, is to the growing of tobacco with slave labor. The reason assigned by the author for the unprofitable culture of tobacco on a large scale was the absence of machine processes and the need of care and skill in the handling of the crop. While this was a factor not to be ignored, the fact remains that slave labor was employed advantageously in the large-scale cultivation of tobacco, and it may well be that the low price of the weed rather than the absence of machine processes and skilled labor was chiefly responsible for the financial plight of the tobacco planters.

The value and attractiveness of the book is further enhanced by the inclusion of numerous photographic reproductions of types of Southern homes, maps of the layout of plantations, scale of slave prices, a fair index, and a valuable economic map of the South in 1860. The public will await with interest the appearance of other volumes in the series.

R. H. TAYLOR.

FURMAN UNIVERSITY.

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THE ROAD TO OREGON: A CHRONICLE OF THE GREAT EMIGRANT TRAIL. By W. J. Ghent. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 274. \$5.00.)

In 1848 Francis Parkman published his well known work, *The Oregon and California Trail*. Since that time there have been numerous historical essays and monographs treating of special phases of the great trek to the Far West. There had been, however, no extended history of the trail until W. J. Ghent gave to the reading public what he calls the first "comprehensive historical treatment of the Oregon Trail." The subject is one of general interest dealing as it does with a remarkable episode in our great westward movement which is rich in both romantic figures and heroic deeds.

The author takes advantage of the glamor of the subject and the heroism of the actors to tell a story of the rise and decline of the emigrant trail which will hold the interest of both the trained historian and the general reader. The style is simple and pleasing, though at times it grows somewhat tiresome with the minuteness of detail and the repetition of events made necessary by the plan of the book. Mr. Ghent says in the preface that "It is sometimes asserted that the main business of a historical writer is interpretation. In the view of the author the main business is accuracy." To the reviewer it does not seem that there is necessarily a conflict in these two views as implied in Mr. Ghent's statement. Mr. Ghent, nevertheless, chooses exactness rather than interpretation.

The rise and decline of the Oregon Trail as traced by the author may be briefly outlined. He shows how the Oregon Road was formed by the joining together of the network of trails made by the wild animals of the plains, the warring Indians and the fur trappers.

Along the road thus marked came the missionaries who were the pioneers in planting American colonies in Oregon. Following the missionaries came the caravans of settlers which traversed the plains and dispelled the myth of the "Great American Desert." The great migration of 1843 made necessary some form of governmental control, and the settlers organized their local government and petitioned the national government for aid and recognition. The political and diplomatic issues of 1844, in so far as they are related to the settlement of Oregon, are noted. The Mormon hegira of 1847 and the Gold Rush of 1849 are treated in the traditional way. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that dealing "With the Wagons to the Pacific," in which the hardships and life of the people on the road are ably treated. "The Factious Fifties" dealing with slavery, the Kansas-Nebraska affair, the surveys of the Pacific Railroad routes, and other sectional controversies, give additional evidence of the way in which the sectional conflict shaped our history. The building of the stage-coach lines with the romantic life of the drivers and the galloping messengers of the Pony Express is stirringly told. The building of the Pacific Railroad which brought about the rapid decline of the Trail fittingly brings the story to a close.

In treating these varied matters the author seems familiar with the sources and goes out of his way to criticise other writers, especially Parkman, but his footnotes and bibliography indicate that he has relied pretty largely upon secondary studies. Mr. Ghent does not write with the dogmatism of some historians but recognizes that historical investigators may differ in their interpretation of established facts. For instance he takes a much more sympathetic view of the "Whitman Myth" than some writers, and believes that Whitman's "main thought was the Americanization of Oregon," and that while "the missionaries failed in their appointed task, they planted the first American settlements in the Pacific Northwest" and thus aided in wresting the territory from England.

The value and attractiveness of the volume is enhanced by an appendix which summarizes the work done in marking the trail and by thirty-two illustrations and reproductions of rare prints.

F. M. GREEN.

WELFARE WORK IN MILL VILLAGES: The Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina. By Harriet L. Herring. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1929. Pp. xi, 406. \$5.00.)

"It is, then, not sufficient to look upon the village and the system as the 'mill baron' might, and call it good; or as a 'social reformer' might, and pronounce anathemas upon it. We have done that long enough. If there are any economic, social, political, or community problems in the mill village system in North Carolina and the South—and it is to be suspected that there are—they will hardly be solved by propaganda or denunciation. If these were efficacious, the system would long ago have been perfect. Recent developments in the new social studies—the tendency to analyze social phenomena, to inquire into the historical reasons for their being, to try to isolate the germ of disease or to cherish the embryo of health—should proffer help more scientific than has heretofore been applied to these perennially changing problems."

This quotation from Miss Herring's book indicates the spirit in which it was written.

Thus, after heat comes light. The book does not attempt to illuminate the whole mill situation. Its scope is limited to welfare work, which covers everything from "drinking cups to community recreation programs, from kindergartens to death benefits." It does not deal with the worker at work in the mill, his wages, hours of labor or anything within the scope of his employment; it is concerned only with his extra-mill activities, such as churches, schools, recreation, health, the appearance and policy of the mill villages and their relations with the surrounding communities.

The book is the result of a personal first hand investigation by the author of 322 mills out of the approximate 500 in the State. It is that rare thing, an unbiased book on a hotly controversial subject. It presents facts instead of propaganda, statistics instead of criticism, problems rather than solutions. The author is as careful not to express an opinion as is a good superior court judge in a charge to the jury. There are few generalizations, and these are hedged about with warnings that generalizations are misleading, — that is, in general.

From these few, it may be interesting to learn that the State's policy of consolidating the schools tends to break down the isolation

of the mill workers, whereas in religion the tendency is the reverse, none of the mill churches or Sunday schools uniting with those outside the mill villages. No opinion is expressed as to whether the church might take a lesson from the school in Christianity.

The reluctance of the author to express her own opinions does not extend to publishing the opinions of others. The book contains several interesting chapters of opinions of foreigners, mill owners, managers, employees, and citizens of communities adjoining the mills. An Australian is impressed by the control that the owner has over his laborers, a German by the possibility of a worker rising to an executive position, an English woman by the fact that the workers have their homes for practically nothing. But the people who live in the nearby communities seem most impressed by the ugliness, monotony and isolation of the mill villages.

In considering *The Darker Phases of The South*, Mr. Frank Tannenbaum charged the mill village with being "generously fruitful" in immorality and social degradation, in addition to being marvelously deficient in furnishing leaders to its state and county. The reason he assigned was the housing policy of the mills. The mill owner furnishes his workers with houses at little or no rent; each house must furnish its quota of cheap labor to make up for its low rent; the worker's wife, together with his children, as they become of legal working age, must go into the mill or the family must move out of the house; consequently, the mill workers lose that contact with the outside world which would result from diversity of employment, and the mill villager may say to the house in which he lives, "You made me what I am today." Thus Mr. Tannenbaum.

Miss Herring's book is not concerned with Mr. Tannenbaum's theory. It simply gives the facts on the housing situation. It shows how the custom of furnishing houses to the workers grew out of the necessity for doing so in mills located in rural communities, as most of those in North Carolina were. The mills now house about seventy per cent of their workers; the mill owners' annual subsidy is from fifty dollars to two hundred and fifty dollars per house; the owners therefore expect to get about two-thirds of a worker per room to offset their losses on their houses.

Obviously the first step in the solution of any social problem or the settlement of any controversy should be a finding of facts. But in

practice, this is often the last step, taken, if at all, some generations later by the historian after much waste of person and property. The South has had proof enough of this. Miss Herring's book, being a fact-finder, presents a method of approach worthy of more extensive use. It is doubtless customary for a State to call out the militia rather than dig out the facts, to use bayonets rather than statistics, to put its trust in generals rather than sociologists for the solution of its more acute social and economic problems, but that is not saying that it is the way of wisdom.

WILLIAM POLK.

WARRENTON, N. C.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The Tragic Era: The Revolution after Lincoln.* By Claude G. Bowers. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xxii, 567. \$5.00.)

*The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860.* By Merle Eugene Curti. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1929. Pp. viii, 250. \$3.50.)

*A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600-1800) in the City of New York.* By Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xxv, 357. \$7.50.)

*Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800.* By Lewis Preston Summers. (Abingdon: Lewis Preston Summers. 1929. Pp. ix, 1757.)

*Europe: A History of Ten Years.* By Raymond Leslie Buell. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. New edition revised. Pp. vii, 452. \$2.00.)

*George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois, 1763-1787.* By Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jennison Pease. (Springfield: The Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois State Historical Society. 1929. Pp. 96.)

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates of any of these publications is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, Secretary of The North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

*The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 1, 1929, published by the East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, has made its appearance. Its contents are: "Carolina Traders Among the Overhill Cherokees, 1690-1760," by Mary U. Rothrock; "The Oldest College West of the Alleghanies," by Robert Stanly Rankin; "Life in East Tennessee near the End of Eighteenth Century," by William Flinn Rogers; "First Administration of Gov. Andrew Johnson," by W. M. Caskey; "John Chisholm, Soldier of Fortune," by Kate White; "The Tipton Family of Tennessee," by Selden Nelson; "George Farragut," by Samuel C. Williams; and "Executive Journal of Gov. John Sevier," edited by Samuel C. Williams. The price of the first number is \$2.00. Judge Samuel C. Williams, who is president of the Society, is managing editor of the *Publications*. He is assisted by a board of editors: Harriet Greve, Laura Luttrell, P. M. Hamer, Mary U. Rothrock, and Kate White.

The twenty-ninth session of the State Literary and Historical Association and the eighteenth session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society were held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Thursday and Friday, October 31 and November 1, 1929.

On Thursday evening, Prof. H. M. Wagstaff, president of the Literary and Historical Association, delivered the presidential address, "Reflections on Anglo-American Relations." A reception was then held in the Virginia Dare Ballroom.

At the session on Friday morning, November 1st, the following papers were read: "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," by Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem; "Bibliography of North Carolina History and Literature in 1929," by Lois V. Rumph, Raleigh; "Further Reflections on Reconstruction," by B. B. Kendrick, Greensboro; and "The Status of Women in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," by Guion Griffis Johnson, Chapel Hill. At the business meeting of the Association, S. A. Ashe, Raleigh, was elected honorary president for life. Active officers for 1929-30 were elected as follows: president, Horace Kephart, Bryson City, author of *Our Southern Highlanders*, which won the Patterson Memorial Cup in 1913; first vice president, Edgar W. Knight, Chapel Hill; second vice president, Mrs. C. F. Harvey, Kinston; third vice president, J. C. Leonard, Lexington; secretary, A. R. Newsome, Raleigh. The Association directed the president to appoint a committee to report on the advisability of establishing an annual award for the best published literary or historical work of a resident North Carolinian.

The program of the Association was brought to a close Friday evening, in the auditorium of the Hugh Morson High School, by an address, "Representative Government—Past and Present," by William Starr Myers, professor of politics in Princeton University.

The program of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, Friday afternoon, consisted of the presidential address by Mrs. S. Westray Battle, Asheville; a lecture, "Ballads and Other Songs of the Kentucky Mountains," by Gilbert Reynolds Combs, Charlotte; a paper, "Treasure-Hunting in North Carolina," by Frank C. Brown, Durham; a paper, "Folk-Customs," by L. W. Anderson, Halifax, Va., and a business meeting. Officers for 1929-30 were chosen as follows: president, Mrs. S. Westray Battle, Asheville; first vice president, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Raleigh; second vice president, Mrs. Maude Minish Sutton, Forest City; third vice president, Thomas P. Harrison, Raleigh; and secretary-treasurer, Frank C. Brown, Durham.

Six bronze tablets on the outer walls of the Henderson County court house, depicting in relief the outstanding deeds of the Transylvania Company in the settlement of Kentucky and in the founding of the town of Henderson in 1797, were unveiled in Henderson, Ky., on October 11-12, 1929, under the auspices of the Henderson County Historical Society. Judge Robert W. Bingham and Dr. Archibald Henderson, descendants respectively of James Hogg and Col. Richard Henderson of the Transylvania Company, delivered the principal addresses. Dr. Henderson's address, "The Transylvania Company and the Founding of Henderson, Kentucky," has been published by the Society.

The site of the first telephone exchange in North Carolina, on West Martin Street, Raleigh, was marked by a bronze tablet, unveiled on October 29th, under the auspices of the J. Epps Brown Chapter No. 35 of the Telephone Pioneers of America.

Mr. Clarence Griffin, county historian of Rutherford County, has published a fifteen-page pamphlet, *The Bechtlers and Bechtler Coinage and Gold Mining in North Carolina, 1814-1830*. It is the most complete account of the subject in print.

On October 5, 1929, twelve bronze tablets marking historic sites on the battlefield of Germantown, Pa., were dedicated by local organizations. One of the tablets marks the site where on October 4, 1777, General Francis Nash of North Carolina was mortally wounded. He died three days later and was buried at Towamencin Mennonite Church, near Kulpsville.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, with introduction and notes by William K. Boyd, professor of history, Duke University. *The Secret History of the Line*, hitherto unpublished, is presented in parallel with the well-known published *History of the Dividing Line*. *The Secret History* is so different from the long-published account as to compel a revision of judgment concerning the survey.

A massive bronze tablet commemorating General Nathanael Greene's crossing of the Yadkin River at Trading Ford, February 2-3, 1781, in his masterly retreat from the British under Lord Cornwallis, was unveiled and presented to the North Carolina Historical Commission on October 19th, near State Highway No. 10, one-half mile from Trading Ford. The tablet is attached to a granite monolith ten feet high and six feet wide, within a walled and turfed plot ten feet square. Two steps projecting from the monolith are surmounted with cannon balls and a boxwood stands in front of the monolith beneath the tablet. The Tallassee Power Company donated a triangular plot containing one and one-tenth acres, with five hundred forty-two foot frontage along the highway. The memorial was erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and citizens of Davidson County. Mr. J. R. McCrary, of Lexington, who presided at the exercises, was chiefly responsible for the project. Addresses were made by Judge John J. Parker of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, Rev. Tom A. Sykes of High Point, and Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

A joint dinner for the history faculties of the University, Duke University, Wake Forest, State College, North Carolina College for Women, and Meredith College, was held at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill, November 23rd.

The following newspaper articles of historical interest have recently appeared: Mary Johnston Avery, "Dr. Cyrus Lee Hunter, Leading Scientist of Western North Carolina," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 27; Maude Minish Sutton, "Chasing Vanishing Folk-Songs through Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina," *The News and Observer*, October 27; O. M. Brown and J. P. Nissen, "Waughtown Rose and Declined with the Reign of Wagons," *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, September 29; Col. William A. Blair, "Legion of Winston-Salem Writers is Steadily Growing," *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, September 29; and Dr. A. R. Newsome, "North Carolina—Mother of States," "Non-Resident North Carolinians in the Congress of the United States," and "Thomas H. Benton and William R. King," *The News and Observer*, September 8, October 13, and October 13, respectively.

A memorial tablet to Charles Brantley Aycock was unveiled on November 1st in the Wayne County Memorial Community Building in Goldsboro. The principal address was by Judge Frank A. Daniels. The tablet by Gutzon Borglum was presented to the people of Wayne County by the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Committee.

A bronze tablet to Brigadier General Junius Daniel, C. S. A., who was mortally wounded at Spottsylvania Court House, was unveiled November 15th, on the court house square at Halifax. The tablet, attached to a massive boulder, was erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the Halifax Chapter, U. D. C. Mrs. Edward Travis, Jr., presided at the exercises. Mr. R. Hunt Parker delivered an address on General Daniel, Miss Nannie Gary presented the marker to the Historical Commission, and Secretary A. R. Newsome accepted it on behalf of the Commission.

"North Carolina Home-Coming Week," officially designated by the legislature of 1929 for the week of October 14-19, was observed by the State and numerous counties with appropriate exercises. A special committee sought to induce the return to the State of many non-resident North Carolinians. During the same week, the State Fair at Raleigh and the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Edison's invention of the electric light were held. Rev. George W. Truett, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, and Joseph M. Dixon, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, were the principal speakers at the home-coming exercises in Raleigh. On the evening of October 15th, the Carolina Power and Light Company presented to the State a flood-lighting system for the Capitol.

The first regional meeting of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in which fourteen states participated, was held at Pinehurst, November 1-2. Many prominent state and national officials were in attendance.

The new \$625,000 library of the University of North Carolina was dedicated on October 19. The dedication address was delivered by Andrew Keogh, president of the American Library Association. The library was presented by Governor O. Max Gardner and accepted

by John Sprunt Hill, Chairman of the Building Committee of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Louis R. Wilson, of whose work as librarian since 1901 the new building is a culmination, announced many gifts of collections, endowment funds, manuscripts and papers.

The twenty-third annual convention of the North Carolina division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, was held in Statesville, October 9-11. The program consisted of a pageant, reports, awards of prizes, and other business. Mrs. E. L. McKee of Sylva and Mrs. W. S. Bernard of Chapel Hill were re-elected president and historian, respectively. Plans were made for the extensive planting of crepe myrtles along the North Carolina link (State Highways 75 and 50) of the Jefferson Davis National Highway, under the supervision of Mrs. J. H. Anderson of Chapel Hill, state director. Another project being sponsored by the U. D. C. is the erection of an elaborate stone memorial pavilion, copied from the eastern portico of the State Capitol, at the Confederate Cemetery in Raleigh. Mrs. Alfred Williams, president of the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter at Raleigh, is chairman of the committee which has the project in charge.

A portrait of the late State Treasurer Benjamin Rice Lacy by a French artist, Yves Muller d'Escars, was presented to the State on November 12th and hung in the Treasurer's office. State Treasurer Nathan O'Berry presided at the exercises in the Hall of the House of Representatives; Angus W. McLean, former governor, delivered the presentation address; and Tyre C. Taylor, private secretary of Governor O. Max Gardner, accepted the portrait on behalf of the State.

Professor R. D. W. Connor, head of the history department at the University, delivered the principal address at the dedication of an ornamental iron fence around the small cemetery two miles west of Kinston in which is the grave of Richard Caswell, first constitutional governor of the State of North Carolina. The local chapter of the D. A. R. at Kinston secured a deed to the cemetery and erected the fence. Others participating in the program were: Mrs. W. D. Laroque, Mrs. Jack F. Parrott, John G. Dawson, Mrs. Charles R. Whitaker, and Dr. Abram E. Cory.

The Southern Christian Convention dedicated a memorial on the Elon College campus, October 17, to Rev. James O'Kelley, founder of the Christian denomination. Leading men in the denomination, as well as representatives of other denominations, participated in the exercises.

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: Elizabeth Skite, *Early Phases of the History of Independence in the British Colonies of North America* (Calcutta Review, April, 1929); Lieutenant R. R. Raymond, Jr., *Fort Sumter* (Coast Artillery Journal, August); Major F. B. Jordan, *From the Rapidan to the James: the Wilderness* (Infantry Journal, June); J. E. Winston and R. W. Colomb, *How the Louisiana Purchase was Financed* (The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, April); Sceva B. Laughlin, *Missouri Politics during the Civil War* (The Missouri Historical Review, October); Ruth Y. Johnston, *American Privateers in French Ports, 1776-1778* (The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, October); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *A Kentucky Pioneer Tells her Story of Early Boonesborough and Harrodsburg* (The History Quarterly of the Filson Club, October); Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Founding of Lexington, Kentucky* (*ibid.*); Otto A. Rothert, *Henderson, Kentucky, and the Story of the Transylvanians* (*ibid.*); Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Founding of Harrodsburg* (The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, September); Willard Rouse Jillson, *Old Fort Harrod* (*ibid.*); T. D. Clark, *Live Stock Trade between Kentucky and the South, 1840-1860* (*ibid.*); G. K. Eggleston, *The Work of the Relief Societies during the Civil War* (The Journal of Negro History, July); James A. Padgett, *The Status of Slaves in Colonial North Carolina* (*ibid.*); Broadus Mitchell *Why Cheap Labor Down South* (The Virginia Quarterly Review, October); J. N. Aiken, *The South's Lost Leadership* (*ibid.*); James Southall Wilson, *Leaders in the Desert* (*ibid.*).

The chief accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the months of September-November were 252 pages of transcripts of North Carolina material from the British Public Record Office; 46 issues of the *North Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser* (Rutherfordton), 1830, 1831; a bound

volume of *State School Facts* (Raleigh), 1924-1929; and photostats of North Carolina newspaper files in the Library of Congress, which are not available in North Carolina, as follows: *Miners' and Farmers' Journal* (Charlotte), 1832, one issue; *Catawba Journal* (Charlotte), 1824, 1827, fourteen issues; *Albemarle Sentinel* (Edenton), 1839, one issue; *Carolina Miscellany* (Edenton), 1832, one issue; *Edenton Gazette*, 1827, 1830, 1831, fourteen issues; *North Carolina Advocate* (Elizabeth City), 1833, one issue; *The Elizabeth City Star*, 1823-1824, 1829-1830, 1832, ten issues; *Carolina Observer* (Fayetteville), 1824, one issue; *Fayetteville Observer*, 1833, one issue; *North Carolina Journal* (Fayetteville), 1826-1827, 1829-1830, 1834, 1838, fourteen issues; *The American* (Fayetteville), 1817, one issue; *Halifax Minerva*, 1829-1830, three issues; *Roanoke Advocate* (Halifax), 1830-1832, fourteen issues; *The North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), 1807, one issue; *Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advocate*, 1824, 1828, four issues; *Milton Spectator*, 1832, one issue; *Carolina Centinel* (New Bern), 1818-1828, two hundred eighty-five issues; *North Carolina Sentinel* (New Bern), 1828-1830, 1836, eighty-four issues; *Newbern Sentinel*, 1837, thirty-five issues; *Newbern Spectator*, 1830-1832, seven issues; *The Carolina Federal Republican* (New Bern), 1812-1813, one hundred six issues; *The Morning Herald* (New Bern), 1807, two issues; *The Newbern Gazette and Political and Miscellaneous Register*, 1801, one issue; *Star and North Carolina State Gazette* (Raleigh), 1816, 1828-1830, twenty-one issues; *Minerva* (Raleigh), 1803-1804, 1815-1817, sixty issues; *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), 1833, one issue; *The Journal* (Salisbury), 1834, two issues; *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), 1825-1826, one hundred issues; *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* (Salisbury), 1830, 1833, seven issues; *American Recorder* (Washington), 1815-1819, 1821-1824, forty-two issues.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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