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A Confederate Trade Center under Federal Occupation: Memphis, 1862 to 1865

BY JOSEPH H. PARKS

"Memphis has been of more value to the Southern Confederacy since it fell into Federal hands than Nassau," declared General Cadwallader C. Washburn on May 10, 1864.¹ This statement is so paradoxical as to surprise the general reader of Civil War history, and the conditions which prompted it are worthy of more detailed study.

At the beginning of the war the Union government, in deference to the position in which the states of the upper Mississippi Valley found themselves, took no steps to interrupt trade with the Confederacy. Immediate severance of ante-bellum trade connections between that section and the Lower South, it was feared, might result in secession of the border states. The Confederacy, likewise, was cognizant of the importance of the commercial ties with the upper valley, and sought to safeguard and strengthen them by exempting from duty practically everything produced in that section. The dual motive of fostering friendship and guaranteeing an adequate supply of foodstuff for the Cotton Kingdom prompted this liberal policy.

The great demand for cotton in the North and the liberal trade policy of the Confederacy resulted in large shipments of the staple up the Mississippi and thence to eastern manufacturing centers. While the specie and military supplies which could be secured in exchange

¹ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, 22 (cited hereafter as *Official Records*); Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record*, 11 vols. (New York, 1861-1868), XI, 481.

were badly needed in the South, Confederate leaders soon realized that to permit cotton to fall into the hands of the Union was to furnish the very means for waging successful war on the South. By acts of May 21 and August 2, 1861, the Confederate Congress took steps to deprive the enemy of essential supplies by forbidding the exportation of cotton, naval stores, sugar, molasses, sirup, tobacco, and rice except through southern ports.²

It was not until August 16 that President Lincoln, acting under authority vested in him by an act of Congress, issued his proclamation prohibiting all trade with the Confederacy except under individual permits issued through the Secretary of the Treasury.³ This permit system was in force when Memphis fell into Federal hands the following June.

At the beginning of the war, Memphis was one of the important trade centers of the Confederacy. Owing to its position on the Mississippi and its railroad connections, this city ranked sixth in size among those of the South and was frequently alluded to as the "Charleston of the West." But those who prospered through trade were doomed to adversity when an embargo was placed on upriver traffic in cotton, and the presence of Federal boats on the lower Mississippi prevented shipment abroad. In Liverpool cotton was selling at twenty-eight cents, but in Memphis there were no buyers for the thousands of bales which farmers brought in and stored on the bluff overlooking the river. Molasses by the thousands of barrels and sugar by the tens of thousands of pounds shipped up the river to this northern terminus of trade found places beside the cotton bales. Early in 1862 a business depression was in evidence throughout the city. Places of business closed their

² *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 341-42, 529. For general discussion of trade between the Union and the Confederacy, see E. Merton Coulter, "Effects of Secession upon the Commerce of the Mississippi Valley," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), III (1917), 275-300; *id.*, "Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley, 1861-1865," *ibid.*, V (1919), 378-95; A. Sellew Roberts, "The Federal Government and Confederate Cotton," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XXXII (1927), 262-75.

³ James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, 10 vols. (Washington, 1896-1899), VI, 37-38.

doors in midafternoon for want of customers. Luxuries, so plentiful the year before, could no longer be had, and prices would have soared above all reason had they not been regulated by military order.⁴ Many lukewarm supporters of the Confederacy, especially within the commercial group, who had remained behind when their more loyal neighbors joined the army, complained loudly of the sacrifices which they were forced to make.

During the first year of the war, Memphis was not seriously threatened by Union forces. But the Confederate defeat at Shiloh on April 7, 1862, left West Tennessee open to attack, and when Corinth was evacuated late in May the principal garrison was withdrawn from Memphis. By order of General P. G. T. Beauregard business houses were "swept of their contents,"⁵ and supplies which could not be removed from the city were ordered destroyed. The heads were knocked from the thousands of barrels of molasses and the lazy fluid ran down the bluff "like lava from a volcano." Probably three hundred thousand bales of cotton were consumed by blazes which made the night "as lurid as flames could make it, and the day as hazy with the clouds of smoke as a fog on the river."⁶ To residents who gathered to witness the destruction, "everything had the appearance of a Sahara of misery for the people . . . and the future looked as dark as the smoke that ascended from the consuming flames."⁷

The smoke of burning cotton was soon to mingle with that of Federal gunboats slowly approaching the city from the north. The Confederate fleet proved no match for Colonel Charles R. Ellet's rams, and Memphis fell into Federal hands on June 6, 1862. From that date until the close of the war the city was under military rule although the civil government was allowed to exist during most of the period. Federal

⁴ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 11, 1862.

⁵ John M. Keating and O. F. Vedder, *History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee*, 2 vols. (Syracuse, 1888), I, 513.

⁶ John Hallum, *The Diary of an Old Lawyer* (Nashville, 1895), 186; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 3, 1862.

⁷ Hallum, *Diary*, 187. Hallum estimated that had these goods been spared and sold at prices which prevailed following Federal occupation, they would have brought \$129,000,000 to the stricken city. *Ibid.*, 186.

occupation was undoubtedly welcomed by a few merchants and traders who placed prosperity above loyalty to any cause. To this group should be added a number of working-class people who had felt the pinch of hunger. But even Union men admitted that the better element of the populace remained loyal to the Confederate cause.⁸

The commercial importance of Memphis was well known to northern speculators, and according to the President's proclamation of August 16, 1861, any section occupied and controlled by Federal troops was open to Union traders. In expectation of an early capture of the city, "a fleet of trading boats were anchored behind the ironclad flotilla weeks before the fall of Memphis, and they tied up at the landing before the emblem of National authority, the flag, reached the shore."⁹ With these newcomers as well as with local merchants the early military commanders in the city were quite lenient. On the day following the surrender persons who had fled from the city were requested to return to their homes, and all merchants "except those dealing in intoxicating liquors" were urged to reopen their places of business and replenish their depleted stocks of goods.¹⁰ Treasury officials were appointed and trade permits were issued to applicants who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Residents of Memphis and vicinity were urged to come to market and purchase necessary supplies.¹¹

This liberal trade policy was designed to foster the development of loyal sentiment. Under the Confederacy the city had been reduced to chaos and want and then abandoned to the enemy. If under Federal control trade could be restored and necessities of life be made available, many would probably renew their allegiance to the Union. This line of reasoning, however, failed to take into consideration the fact that occupied Memphis was the commercial gateway for a vast hinterland controlled by Confederate troops and bands of guerrillas. Persons within

⁸ Thomas W. Knox, *Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field: Southern Adventure in Time of War* (New York, 1865), 182; Cairo (Ill.) *Gazette*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 16, 1862.

⁹ Hallum, *Diary*, 306.

¹⁰ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. I, 912.

¹¹ *Memphis Daily Avalanche*, June 24, 1862.

the city purchased freely of the newly arrived supplies and immediately smuggled them to friends and relatives in the Confederate service.

Down the river from Cincinnati and other midwestern cities came flour, coffee, meat, and salt in large quantities. The *Autocrat* alone, which arrived on June 18, 1862, brought 1,500 barrels of flour, 100 bags of coffee, 500 barrels of pork, and 800 barrels of salt.¹² Landings which had been quiet for months became scenes of bustling activity in less than two weeks as more than two hundred newly arrived merchants, the majority of whom were Jews, spread out their "immense cargoes" for display.¹³ "The Israelites have come down upon the city like locusts," wrote a correspondent of the *Chicago Times*. "Anything in the line of trade, up to a box of cigars, or a dozen papers of needles, may be obtained of these eager gentlemen at ruinous prices, for the purchaser."¹⁴ The requirement that all merchants take the oath of allegiance proved to be no barrier. The loyalty of the newcomers was a foregone conclusion, and old merchants who desired to reopen their stores might either take the oath or buy one from corrupt Treasury officials at prices ranging from \$500 downward.¹⁵ Many undoubtedly took the oath with the sole purpose of violating it by becoming the medium through which essential supplies could be transferred to the Confederate forces.

When General Ulysses S. Grant took command of Memphis late in June he found "great disloyalty manifested by citizens of this place."¹⁶ In an attempt to break up the constant communication between residents of the city and their friends and relatives with the Confederate armies, he ordered the families of all persons in anyway connected with the Confederacy to leave the city within five days.¹⁷ The early termination of his command in the city, however, left to his successors, chiefly

¹² *Memphis Daily Avalanche*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 21, 1862.

¹³ *Memphis Argus*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 18, 1862.

¹⁴ *Chicago Times*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 11, 1862.

¹⁵ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 158; Hallum, *Diary*, 281-84; Keating and Vedder, *History of the City of Memphis*, I, 517.

¹⁶ Ulysses S. Grant to Henry W. Halleck, June 27, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 41.

¹⁷ *Memphis Bulletin*, July 11, 1862.

General William T. Sherman, the responsibility of correcting the trade abuses which had made their appearance.

Sherman took command of the city on July 21, 1862. Three days later he issued an order granting freedom of passage between Memphis and the surrounding country, subject only to the right of examination of those cargoes thought to contain contraband of war. Persons found to be engaged in illegal trade were to forfeit their vehicles and cargoes and be sent to prison. Travel, however, was limited to five designated roads and to daylight hours except in the case of market carts which might enter the city one hour before dawn.¹⁸ Thus was trade thrown open to all regardless of loyalty or intentions. A well-placed bribe could cause almost any military guard to be unsuspecting when carts loaded with contraband rumbled past the point of inspection. "Both civilians and a few army officers were equally devoted to patriotism and commerce."¹⁹

Cotton, the one southern commodity in great demand in the North, became the main article of speculation. The few thousand bales which had been saved from the destructive flames were gradually brought from their hiding places as the price rose to around thirty cents. When the *Glendale* left the landing on June 18, it carried 63 bales, and by July 3 no fewer than 8,227 bales had been purchased for shipment up the river.²⁰ But this was dull business for the Memphis levee. Many farmers who possessed cotton were still too loyal to the Confederacy, even in the face of adversity, to do business with Yankee traders. Others who had no scruples on the subject experienced much difficulty in getting by the "Rebel" raiders who were still determined to destroy all cotton in danger of falling into Federal hands.²¹ Those who were successful in getting their cotton into the city demanded payment in gold or silver rather than in United States Treasury notes. Obliging

¹⁸ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 117-18.

¹⁹ Hallum, *Diary*, 307.

²⁰ *Memphis Avalanche*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 21, 1862; *Memphis Bulletin*, July 3, 1862.

²¹ The *Memphis Bulletin*, July 30, 1862, carried notice of the burning of 60 bales seized on the way to the Memphis market.

speculators poured specie into the city in large amounts and equally obliging "go-betweens" passed it on into the hands of the Confederates who used it for the purchase of war supplies in northern cities and abroad.

When news of this condition reached General Grant, he took steps to check those "speculators whose love of gain is greater than their love of country." By exchanging gold and silver for cotton, he declared, such persons were "indirectly affording aid and comfort to the enemy." Accordingly, on July 25 he ordered that after August 1, 1862, the use of gold or silver in the purchase of Confederate products would not be permitted within the department under his command. Since Treasury notes had been made legal tender, refusal to accept them in payment for products offered for sale would result in the arrest of the farmer and confiscation of his crops over and above the amount needed for the subsistence of his family and livestock. Speculators found violating the order would be arrested and their purchases confiscated for government use.²²

In Memphis, General Sherman did not wait for August 1, but immediately prohibited the use of gold or silver. Since he had acted not only without orders but also in violation of the established policies of the War and Treasury departments, he took care to defend his action in a long report to General Grant. "I found so many Jews and speculators here trading in cotton, and secessionists had become so open in refusing anything but gold, that I have felt myself bound to stop it. This gold has but one use—the purchase of arms and ammunition, which can always be had for gold, at Nassau, New Providence, or Cincinnati; all the guards we may establish cannot stop it." He had also found that cotton was being exchanged for salt which was badly needed by the Confederacy in the curing of bacon. "Salt is as much contraband of war as powder . . . If we permit money and salt to go into the interior it will not take long for Bragg and Van Dorn to supply their armies." Without sound money they would be unable to procure

²² *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 123.

arms and ammunition from the English colonies, and without salt, pork and beef could not be preserved. "We cannot carry on war and trade with a people at the same time."²³

Sherman's order created consternation in many quarters. Speculators envisioning ruin for their lucrative trade began to devise means for violating it. Southern sympathizers saw in it the destruction of their only means of securing sound money. General Henry W. Halleck and Secretary Edwin M. Stanton, fearing interruption of the flow of much-needed cotton to the North, hastened to instruct Grant to have Sherman withdraw his order.²⁴

Sherman was very much concerned over the apparent inability of his superiors to understand the gravity of the situation, and entered upon an extensive correspondence with the War and Treasury officials at Washington. Gold, he insisted, was contraband of war for it was convertible into arms and ammunition. Since those who had money could buy anything offered for sale in St. Louis or Cincinnati, it was impossible to prevent salt, powder, and lead from reaching the Confederacy. Gold was the only kind of money that could be used in the purchase of guns and ammunition in the Bahamas, and he estimated that one out of every three vessels engaged in this trade was successful in running the blockade. All available cotton in the Memphis region, he argued, could be purchased with Tennessee and other southern bank notes which were acceptable in local trade but could not be converted into arms and ammunition. With salt selling at \$100 per barrel in the region south of Memphis, the reopening of trade would cause the city to be "better to our enemy than before it was taken."²⁵

If the government's need for cotton was so urgent, Sherman favored an order to seize the required amount, but under no conditions could the spending of sound money for "Rebel" cotton be justified. "This cotton order," he insisted, "is worse to us than a defeat. The country

²³ William T. Sherman to Grant, July 30, 1862, *ibid.*, 140-41.

²⁴ Halleck to *id.*, August 2, 1862, *ibid.*, 150; *id.* to Sherman, August 25, 1862, *ibid.*, 186.

²⁵ Sherman to Salmon P. Chase, August 11, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. III, Vol. II, 349; *id.* to Adjutant General of the Army, August 11, 1862, *ibid.*, 350.

will swarm with dishonest Jews who will smuggle powder, pistols, percussion-caps, &c., in spite of all the guards and precautions we can give."²⁶

Despite its merits from a military point of view, Sherman's argument made little impression upon Washington authorities. General Halleck explained that the policy had already been determined upon before he arrived in Washington. Without attempting to pass upon the wisdom of the policy, he pointed out that since it was in force in occupied New Orleans he thought it should be made uniform. He had been informed that even tents could not be provided for recruits until more cotton was procured, therefore every effort must be made to encourage the trade. But Halleck demonstrated a lack of understanding of the important point involved when he added: "Money is of no more value to rebels than cotton, for they can purchase military munitions with the latter as well as the former."²⁷ He failed to take into consideration the greater ease with which gold could be taken through the blockade.

Having lost his fight against reopening Memphis trade, Sherman centered his attention upon its regulation. All the people around Memphis were guerrillas, and had a "perfect understanding," he wrote to Grant on August 17.²⁸ The importation of contraband into the city must therefore be strictly regulated. He gave new life to the recently created Board of Trade for Memphis, composed of Benjamin D. Nabers, Reuel Hough, and Garland P. Ware, the first two of whom had taken the oath of allegiance and become editors of the *Bulletin*. On August 28, 1862, this paper carried official notice of the new trade regulations. The importation and sale of arms and ammunition were absolutely forbidden. Salt and salt meat were to be imported on permit only, and each merchant must render account of the amount bought and sold and the names of all purchasers. Drugs and medicines were to be sold in strictly limited quantities.

The control of river traffic was an even greater problem. The lack

²⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, August 11, 1862, *ibid.*, 350.

²⁷ Halleck to Sherman, August 25, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 186.

²⁸ Sherman to Grant, August 17, 1862, *ibid.*, 178.

of an adequate river patrol left the military commander powerless to regulate trade except at the Memphis landings, and high prices offered for goods along the river proved too tempting for many a boat captain. Traffic between Memphis and Helena, Arkansas, became heavy as planters, real and fictitious, ordered excessive amounts of supplies from their Memphis merchants and passed them on to Confederate forces. This condition brought forth Sherman's special order of September 8, 1862. All trade was prohibited between Memphis and Helena as well as intermediary points except under permits issued by the Board of Trade. Those plantation owners down the river who would appear before the Board and make affidavit that they had not supported the Confederacy and would not do so in the future might purchase limited quantities of supplies for their families and plantations. All such supplies, however, must be carried by a single boat bonded not to deliver any package at any other destination.²⁹

Almost daily accounts of the arrest of smugglers and the confiscation of their vehicles and cargoes attested some effort to enforce trade regulations. One issue of the *Bulletin* alone carried notice of five arrests and confiscations.³⁰ On the charge of sending contraband articles through the lines, the proprietors of the drug firms of S. Mansfield and Company and Ward and McClelland were sent to prison and the \$65,000 stock of the latter was confiscated. The proprietors of this firm had taken the oath of allegiance and then violated it by doing an estimated \$60,000 contraband business.³¹ Hesitancy on the part of soldiers to search women made them especially effective as smugglers. "The ladies in this neighborhood take extensive advantage of the extensive domain of crinoline to do an extensive smuggling business," complained the official press. One lady attempting to pass the lines was asked to alight from her carriage. The difficulty with which she complied aroused suspicion. A search revealed that beneath a huge girdle she had tied twelve pairs of boots each containing whiskey, military lace, and other supplies

²⁹ *Memphis Bulletin*, September 10, 1862.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1862.

³¹ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, October 3, 1862; *Memphis Bulletin*, October 2, 1862.

greatly in demand in the Confederacy. A Negro woman was caught with a five-gallon demijohn of brandy underneath a loose-fitting calico dress and suspended from a girdle at the waist.³² Dead animals, their bellies filled with packages of quinine and other contraband goods, were dragged by smugglers past the guards to the boneyards outside the city. On at least one occasion the hearse of a funeral procession bore a coffin filled with medicine for General Earl Van Dorn's army.³³ How many smugglers escaped detection can only be estimated in the light of later restrictions, but Sherman was speaking with profound truth when he stated that if trade were reopened there would be smuggling "in spite of all the guards and precautions we can give."

By mid-October Sherman had become more optimistic but still had not departed from his former views on the prohibition of trade. In his reports to Grant he estimated that small farmers had brought in over a thousand bales of cotton. In their interest he had slightly relaxed the rules of trade, and those who gave assurance that they would fight against seizure by guerrillas were allowed to take necessary clothing and groceries to their families. He realized that some of these goods would fall into enemy hands but figured that guerrillas were injuring the Confederate cause more than the Federal. Farmers, he believed, were growing tired of being plundered.³⁴ There was some justification for this opinion, but there is also evidence that the stern General was being duped by wild stories of how farmers fought to get their cotton to market and again fought to get their supplies home. Confederate sympathizers were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity to practice deception.

In spite of his sympathy for those who battled against guerrillas, Sherman had experienced no real change of opinion on the question of trade with "Rebels." He still favored absolute prohibition on trade with all districts where the "rebellion" had not been suppressed. No

³² *Memphis Bulletin*, October 20, 1862.

³³ Hallum, *Diary*, 307; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, 2 vols. (New York, 1889), I, 313.

³⁴ Sherman to Grant, October 9, 29, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 274, 855.

amount of restraint upon persons employed in river or overland traffic could prevent them from smuggling as long as profits were so great. "The great profit now made is converting everybody into rascals . . . Still, as the Treasury authorities think it proper to allow trade and encourage the buying of cotton it is my duty not to interpose any obstacle."³⁵

Thanks to Sherman's leniency, purchasers from the country thronged the streets and stores of Memphis and carried away large amounts of dry goods and groceries. Business "was never better," declared the Union press. Cotton was still "king" as the price rose as high as sixty cents.³⁶ Sherman was pleased with the farmers' reception of his liberality and began contemplating means of developing further both trade and loyalty. "I deem it good policy now," he wrote Grant, "to encourage the non-combatant population to trade with Memphis their cotton and corn for such articles of groceries and clothing as they need." He would like to have Grant's opinion on such a policy.³⁷

Sherman's satisfaction over developments was further increased when he learned that farmers in marketing their cotton preferred Tennessee notes to those issued by the United States Treasury. Some strict Union men viewed this with alarm and considered it an insult to the Union, but Sherman assured them that it simply meant that cotton growers could use Tennessee notes to better advantage in their home communities. He was pleased to observe that money was wanted for local use rather than for the buying of ammunition abroad.³⁸ The burning of cotton by troops and guerrillas, he believed, had reacted unfavorably to the Confederacy. Opinion was rapidly changing and he was endeavoring to encourage the change.³⁹

The request for Grant's opinion on a more liberal policy was made on November 8, 1862. Grant either did not share Sherman's optimism

³⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, October 9, 1862, *ibid.*, 272-74.

³⁶ *Memphis Bulletin*, October 10, 1862.

³⁷ Sherman to Grant, November 8, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 861.

³⁸ *Id.* to F. G. Pratt, November 17, 1862, *ibid.*, 868.

³⁹ *Id.* to Grant, November 8, 1862, *ibid.*, 861.

or feared that the new commander who was soon to take charge in Memphis would be unable to handle the situation if too much leniency were allowed. This new commander, General Stephen A. Hurlbut, did not take over until November 26, but by an order of General Grant dated November 18, Sherman's liberal trade policy had been considerably modified. Farmers were no longer to enjoy the high prices resulting from the lively competition among cotton buyers which had not only existed within the city but had extended beyond the lines into the country. Henceforth, purchasers of cotton must have special permits from both the Treasury Department and the Provost Marshal, and all purchases must be made within the city; going beyond the lines to purchase cotton was to be treated as disloyalty. Merchants were permitted to sell only to those persons who would take an oath that the articles were for their own use.⁴⁰ Business immediately registered a great decline as purchasers interpreted the order to mean "a permit every time they bought a peck of potatoes, take an oath over every beef stake [*sic*], and swear frantically . . . every time they took tea or a toddy." The excitement in trading circles was somewhat relieved, however, when the Provost Marshal construed the order as not applicable to persons living within the city limits.⁴¹ Apparently Sherman's optimism over the development of loyal sentiment among the cotton farmers was not well founded.

⁴⁰ *Memphis Bulletin*, November 29, 1862.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, November 30, 1862. "We met an old friend . . . yesterday," remarked the editor of the *Bulletin* on December 9, 1862. "He held a bundle of papers in his hand, and was travelling at railroad speed . . . 'Don't stop me I am tending to circumlocution Business . . . of our house.' We couldn't persuade him to say another word . . . he was so deeply absorbed in examining the papers . . . [and] reading aloud to himself . . . 'Mrs. B. T. Jones bought of us 1/2 peck of salt, 10 pounds of flour, 5 mackerel, 2 doz. red herring, 3 lbs. coffee, 1 1/2 lbs. of cheese, 1/4 lb. Y. H. tea,' . . . and so on until he got through the whole of them . . . 'You see, we have just got hold of five customers from the country, and we must tend to them. Here I have their oaths of allegiance, and now we only need to leave a duplicate bill of each of them at the Board of Trade, where the bills are to be approved in one office; we then get five permits in another office, where we deposit our duplicate bills; then the permits have to be signed by the Chief of the last Bureau; all regular as clock works. When we have got these permits in order, the only thing left is to go to the office of the Provost Marshal, show him the documents, which he is most likely to approve, when he satisfies himself the purchasers are loyal and the quantities not too large for family use; after approval we step into another office to get permission for our customers to go home.' . . . We entered the office of the

On December 1 the clamps on contraband trade were further tightened with an order requiring all persons doing business in Memphis or beyond the lines to have a special permit from the Board of Trade. Goods taken beyond the lines were to be in small quantities, and each shipment was to be approved by the Provost Marshal.⁴² Since Jewish traders were "violating every regulation of trade established," Grant ordered all post commanders within his department to expel them. But for some reason this order was rescinded after three weeks.⁴³

Ingenious smugglers and traders required but a short time in which to devise methods of eliminating new barriers. These new trade restrictions brought into existence a large group of contact men working on a commission basis who became known as "runners and drummers." Approaching country people just arrived in the city, these agents would offer to procure for them the required permits and direct them to the best place to make purchases. The commission of course was added to the price paid by the customer. At least a few of these contact men worked in close connection with "go-betweens" or corrupt Treasury and military officials. One John Hallum, a lawyer of some prominence, who had been discharged from the Confederate army on account of illness and had bought an oath of allegiance for \$500, seems to have been the intermediary between crooked Union officials and equally crooked speculators and smugglers. According to his own statement he figured he could be of more service to the Confederacy by buying an oath of allegiance and remaining in Memphis than by going South. "And here let me say that I did more for the Southern people in an almost incredible short space of time than any thousand soldiers of the rank and file the South ever put in the field." Persons in key positions "offered themselves for sale" and he bought them for the Confederacy.

Board of Trade . . . After about an hour and a half our turn for admission arrived, and in about half an hour more we had successfully gone through the whole performance. Off we sped to the Provost Marshal. It didn't take us long to get through here, for there were only sixty or seventy applicants ahead of us. At length we got through. The bills were approved, the passports made out; but the sun had set. 'By thunder it is too late for our customers to get home tonight.' "

⁴² *Ibid.*, December 3, 1862.

⁴³ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, 424, 544.

Operating from his office on the south side of Court Square, he spent much time consulting with merchants and blockade-runners.⁴⁴

Bribery and negligence explained why the large body of troops stationed in Memphis were unable effectively to patrol the roads leading out of the city. Swarms of countrymen entered the city, made their purchases without the required oaths, and carried them away without permits. The amount of goods taken out remains a question, but no fewer than fifty wagons were seized by the lethargic guard within three weeks. So great was this illegal trade in provisions and cotton that traffic with the country was ordered suspended on December 23, but was resumed on January 7, 1863, under a new provision prohibiting all buying and selling outside the city. All purchases within the city were to be approved by the Provost Marshal before they could be taken out. All persons failing to observe the rules would be classed as smugglers, and anyone other than a purchaser who applied for a permit would be sent to prison.⁴⁵

A correspondent of the *New York World* saw Memphis in January, 1863, as a place where cotton speculators squandered money, and living expenses were as high as "at one of the fashionable watering places." Mingled with its cosmopolitan population was "a class of ravenous wolves in sheep's clothing, whom no rebuff, no castigation, and no insult can restrain from the pestilence of 'fine catches.' These men have a monstrously keen eye on the purchase of cotton with gold in some cases, the sale of boots and quinine to well-known rebels, and generally all sorts of lawful and lawless extortionate trade."⁴⁶

Reporting to Secretary of War Stanton on January 21, 1863, Charles A. Dana declared:

The mania for sudden fortunes made in cotton, raging in a vast population of Jews and Yankees scattered throughout this whole country, and in this town [Memphis] almost exceeding the numbers of the regular residents, has to an alarming extent corrupted and demoralized the army. Every colonel, captain, or quartermaster is in secret partnership with some operator in cotton; every

⁴⁴ Hallum, *Diary*, 284-85.

⁴⁵ *Memphis Bulletin*, December 23, 1862; January 7, 1863.

⁴⁶ *New York World*, quoted in *Memphis Bulletin*, February 12, 1862.

soldier dreams of adding a bale of cotton to his monthly pay. I had no conception of the extent of this evil until I came and saw for myself.

To eliminate such conditions he advocated the prohibition of all private purchasing of cotton. Quartermasters should take it over at a set price of twenty to twenty-five cents and forward it to some designated place where it could be sold at auction.⁴⁷

After the greater portion of an estimated \$12,000,000 worth of imports had passed through Memphis to the Confederate armies within a period of eight months,⁴⁸ Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase decided to take a hand. The *Bulletin* of March 31, 1863, carried the startling news that by order of Secretary Chase all goods destined for Memphis had been stopped at Cairo. Closely following this order came a presidential proclamation which in effect classified Memphis as a city "in insurrection." By his proclamation of August 16, 1861, President Lincoln had permitted commercial intercourse with those parts of the Confederacy occupied and controlled by Federal forces. Thus had Memphis been open to trade since June 6, 1862. Lincoln's new proclamation, dated April 2, 1863, revoked all privileges previously granted and specified what regions should be open to trade. Memphis was not listed among the favored.⁴⁹

Much excitement was created in business circles. If Chase's order stood, there would be fortunes for those whose shelves were already well stocked and high prices and hard times for all others. Within a week prices on some articles almost doubled—flour rose from \$10 to \$16. The press began to wonder whether anything could be done to remedy the situation.⁵⁰ But no relief came until the latter part of April when the Treasury Department announced a new policy establishing a quota system based upon the census of 1860. The counties of Shelby, Fayette, and Tipton were to receive supplies through Memphis at a monthly rate of \$2.00 worth per person. This would give to Memphis

⁴⁷ Charles A. Dana to Edwin M. Stanton, January 21, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. LII, Pt. I, 331.

⁴⁸ New York *Herald*, quoted in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, March 31, 1863.

⁴⁹ Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 165-66.

⁵⁰ *Memphis Bulletin*, April 9, 1863.

monthly imports of about \$70,000 in value for the city or about \$200,000 for the whole area. A 5 per cent tax was to be paid on the gross amount of each invoice of goods received.⁵¹ It was a certainty that if excessive supplies were not received in Memphis they could not be passed on to the Confederacy.

But why had Memphis been classed as a city of insurrection and thus had its trade cut off, inquired the press. Had any Federal official or the flag of the United States been subjected to taunts, insults, or spittings? Did the people of Memphis "hoot, howl, and hiss" at everything Union as the people of New Orleans had done? Then why was Memphis punished but not New Orleans? Why did not the merchants of Memphis protest at Washington?⁵² It is evident that the editors were missing the principal point involved.

Aroused by the pinch of commercial stagnation, the Memphis merchants reorganized the Chamber of Commerce and through that body adopted a set of resolutions and appointed a committee to go to Washington and present their case to Treasury authorities. The President had by proclamation declared Memphis and West Tennessee "in a state of insurrection" and by so doing had brought about a rigid restriction of the city's trade which had subjected "the merchants . . . and through them the citizens, to all the deprivations and inconveniences incident to that position, depriving the merchant of the income on which he would pay a heavy tax to Government, and the citizen of the advantages of competition that prevents extortion." This step had been taken in spite of the fact that for twelve months the flag had "floated, honored and undisturbed over the city" and that within the past month eleven thousand persons had registered and taken the oath of allegiance. Trade restrictions which strictly limited monthly imports were pronounced oppressive. The loyal merchants protested against such treatment and made claim to "all the rights, privileges, and advantages" which a loyal city, situated as was Memphis, could "rightfully call her own."⁵³

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1863.

⁵² *Ibid.*, June 25, 1863.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1863.

One month later the committee which had been sent to Washington reported an unsatisfactory conference. Treasury officials had agreed to a slight increase in the monthly allowance but continued to insist that conditions in the surrounding country were such that Memphis could not be classed as loyal.⁵⁴

The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson early in July, 1863, removed the last Confederate barrier to Union control of the Mississippi. Memphis citizens had quietly submitted to ruinous restrictions, commented the *Bulletin*, but since the river had at last been cleared they had a right to expect a change. Certainly the mass of suffering citizens could not be blamed for so much smuggling.⁵⁵ Spurred by unofficial news that as soon as the city could be declared loyal all trade restrictions including the 5 per cent import tax would be removed, the press attempted to stir the merchants into supporting authorities in the catching of smugglers. General Hurlbut had blamed merchants for not immediately reporting persons suspected of smuggling.⁵⁶

The extent of the co-operation of the merchant class and its influence upon Treasury authorities cannot be ascertained, but on September 11 the limitation on imports was lifted. Henceforth, any person of established loyalty might secure permits and import goods in unlimited quantities. The same applied to persons desiring to purchase local country products for resale. No permits were to be required of purchasers unless the goods were to be taken out of the city. This new policy was "everything that could be desired" except for the fact that the 5 per cent tax on imports was retained.⁵⁷

A flood of goods immediately began to pour into Memphis and just as promptly large quantities poured out of the city into the waiting arms of Confederates and guerrillas. The military commander felt forced to take a hand. Since the people of West Tennessee had "shown no disposition and made no attempt to protect themselves from marauders and guerrilla bands" and had even "combined in many instances with

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1863.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1863.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1863.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1863.

the known enemies of the United States to procure from corrupt traders in the city of Memphis and elsewhere supplies for use of the public enemy," General Hurlbut felt it necessary to close his picket lines. Only firewood and provisions were to be allowed to pass through the lines, and these by special permission of an officer who would be held strictly responsible for the necessity of such permits. All persons offering goods for sale were to be "held responsible for knowledge of the residence of the parties" to whom they sold, and those making sales to persons beyond the picket lines were to be "punished with the highest rigor known to the laws of war."⁵⁸

To Colonel John C. Kelton, General Hurlbut explained that he had taken this step as a last resort:

A perpetual flood of fraud, false swearing, and contraband goods runs through the city, interfering with all proper military control and guided and managed by designing men for their own purposes . . . I am surrounded by hostile forces, regular and guerrilla, and they are fed and supplied from Memphis. Pickets, in whom the ultimate virtue of a line consists, are bribed and corrupted, and no vigilance that I can use can prevent it.

He expected a great clamor as a result of his order but hoped it would be understood at headquarters.⁵⁹

In accordance with instructions from General Sherman, Hurlbut announced that commercial intercourse on the river would be handled exclusively by agents of the Treasury Department.⁶⁰ Treasury officials, however, proved to be totally incapable of handling smuggling on the river. Cargoes left Memphis daily with clearance for any point they cared to visit, the only restriction being the requirement of a promise not to violate the law. These boats, heavily loaded with valuable merchandise, made contact with Confederate armies and guerrillas and by the use of small boats conveyed their cargoes to the shore. At times they were bold enough "to invite rebel officers and soldiers on board, and drink and hobnob together." Some of these large boats would be absent from Memphis for more than a month, steaming up and down

⁵⁸ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, Pt. III, 160.

⁵⁹ Stephen A. Hurlbut to John C. Kelton, November 17, 1863, *ibid.*, 180.

⁶⁰ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXII, Pt. II, 137.

the river and "replenishing their supplies" from smaller boats "running into every creek, bayou, and lagoon where Confederate trade can be carried on."⁶¹

This trade on the river was not limited to small receipts and sales. One Rufus Joiner, who was drowned while smuggling goods into Arkansas, had on his person an order for \$100,000 worth of supplies.⁶² Captain Joseph Dismukes from the headquarters of General Edmund Kirby-Smith appeared in Memphis and contacted the intermediary John Hallum. He brought from the General an order for five steamer loads of clothing and supplies which were to be delivered on Red River and paid for in cotton. The bearer of this order was authorized to give Hallum \$50,000 for his services if delivery were arranged. Hallum refused to accept money for services performed in the interest of the Confederacy, but since he was personally acquainted with many blockade-runners, he was sure that delivery could be arranged. Recently he and one of those speculators had been allowed a cavalry escort on a cotton-trading expedition thirty miles into the interior of West Tennessee. Accordingly, Hallum took the Kirby-Smith order and drove to Front Row between Jefferson and Adams streets, held a conference with two acquaintances, received a promise of \$50,000 from them for his services, and closed the deal.⁶³

This was the condition of trade when General Washburn succeeded Hurlbut late in April, 1864. The new commander exhibited a thorough understanding of the situation when he declared that by feeding, clothing, and arming the enemy "Memphis has been of more value to the Southern Confederacy since it fell into Federal hands than Nassau." Taking cotton to Nassau and exchanging it for supplies had grown increasingly difficult, but in Memphis it could easily be converted into money or supplies and these taken through the lines into the Confederacy. This system had strengthened the enemy and at the same time

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, 27-28.

⁶² *Memphis Bulletin*, June 3, 1863.

⁶³ Hallum, *Diary*, 325-29. Hallum later stated that although the contract was "honestly executed by both parties" he never collected his \$50,000, and that since the whole bargain was in violation of military and civil law he had no legal recourse. *Ibid.*, 329.

weakened and demoralized the Union army. It had made Memphis a convenient base of supply for forces which otherwise would have left the vicinity. It had done much to nullify the effects of the Union blockade of Confederate ports which had been maintained at the expense of millions of dollars. It had brought to the city numerous spies in the guise of innocent purchasers who had collected supplies and information and carried both away to the enemy. Washburn was convinced that the only remedy for this evil was "total prohibition of all commercial intercourse with the States in rebellion."⁶⁴

On May 10, 1864, he took steps to apply his proposed remedy. The lines at Memphis were ordered closed after May 15. No person was to be allowed to leave the city except by way of the river without a special permit from his office. Persons who desired to enter the city might do so but they were to be warned that they would not again be allowed to leave.⁶⁵ This order of course shut out the cotton grower and brought the cotton business to a complete standstill.⁶⁶

As for trade on the Mississippi, the General declared that the abuses of trading privileges made military intervention imperative. Henceforth, boats would be forbidden to land at any point between the White River and Cairo except those garrisoned by United States troops. The ram *Monarch* would proceed to seize all boats found trading between these points, and all men of conscription age found on board would be regarded as "Rebel" soldiers and brought to Memphis as prisoners of war.⁶⁷

Again Memphis found itself in the throes of a business depression. Business on the river was prostrate and boats could scarcely make expenses; there were few garrisoned points of trade between Cairo and White River. The only hope of real revival, exclaimed the *Bulletin*,

⁶⁴ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, 22-23; Moore (ed.), *Rebellion Record*, XI, 481.

⁶⁵ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, 22-23; Moore (ed.), *Rebellion Record*, XI, 481. The date of closing is erroneously given in Moore as March 15.

⁶⁶ This was slightly modified by a military order on July 26 which permitted cotton to be brought in and deposited with the government agent at Fawkes cotton shed. *Memphis Bulletin*, July 27, 1864.

⁶⁷ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II, 27-28.

was a complete Union victory. It sought to strike an optimistic note, however, by urging merchants to prepare for better days ahead. Stores should be refitted, new buildings constructed, and the city in general improved. When all restrictions should finally be removed, cotton exports would increase sevenfold within six months and give to the city a return trade of \$150,000,000. Within three years Memphis would rival St. Louis or any other western city in population and prosperity. What could the people of Memphis do to secure such prosperity? Cease expressing sympathy for guerrillas, take an active part in putting down bushwhacking, and furnish no aid or comfort for those in rebellion. "Sullen disloyalty, admitted sympathy with rebels, secret aid to guerrillas, denunciation of needful military rules . . . are not simply crimes. They are stupid blunders, as well as crimes."⁶⁸

By an act of July 2, 1864, the President's unlimited power to grant trade permits through the Treasury Department under the act of July 13, 1861, was withdrawn.⁶⁹ The permit system as a means of preventing supplies from falling into the hands of the Confederacy had been a failure from the beginning, and at no place was this fact more in evidence than in Memphis. The congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War estimated that between \$20,000,000 and \$30,000,000 worth of supplies had passed through this city into the hands of the Confederacy.⁷⁰ The prospects of huge profits through speculation, corruption, and bribery proved too great a temptation for many civil and military men in key positions. The patriotism of many a Yankee "succumbed to his cupidity and avarice." According to one Memphian who served as intermediary in many an illegal transaction, there was always a "Moses" to lead one out of the "wilderness" of his trade troubles.⁷¹ The number of truly loyal merchants in Memphis was limited. Old merchants who took or bought an oath usually did so for purely business reasons, and, believing it an unjust requirement, had no scruples

⁶⁸ *Memphis Bulletin*, June 16, 19, 22, 1864.

⁶⁹ *House Executive Document*, No. 3, 38 Cong., 2 Sess., 342-45; *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 256-57 (July 2, 1864).

⁷⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 3324 (July 28, 1864).

⁷¹ Hallum, *Diary*, 281-84.

against violating it when personal gain demanded. The new merchants came to Memphis with only one purpose in mind—to make money. If this could best be done by winking at trade regulations, trading with smugglers, or becoming smugglers themselves, many were prone to forget their avowed loyalty to the Union. If one were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of honest officials and be thrown into the Irving Block, the Bastille on Court Square, a little extra money well placed could usually secure his release or cause him to be included in a "prison break." A thousand dollars paid into the hands of one Lowenstein immediately brought from General Hurlbut's office a release of Messrs. Carr and Lissenberry who had been thrown into prison for complicity in supplying General Sterling Price with munitions of war. There is no proof that Hurlbut was a party to this corruption, but "presumption points with index finger."⁷²

By the abolition of the permit system Congress hoped to eliminate the private trader and thus cut off all smuggling into the Confederacy. The President was authorized to make such provisions as were necessary to supply "the necessities of loyal persons residing in insurrectionary States, within the lines of actual occupation by the military forces of the United States." The amount of supplies to be carried into such regions was to be determined monthly in advance by the commanding general. In accordance with these provisions, General Washburn authorized the opening of supply stores in Memphis for the distribution of goods and merchandise to loyal persons. These stores alone were to do business within the city and their imports were to be limited to \$2,000,000 monthly.

In the hope of excluding former smugglers, authorities required all applicants to operate such stores to take an oath that they had not violated trade regulations in the past and would strictly abide by those of the future, and that they would by conduct and conversation aid in "suppressing the rebellion and restoring obedience." In proof of past loyalty all applicants already in business were required to submit a

⁷² *Ibid.*, 287, 279, 319; *Memphis Bulletin*, May 5, 1863.

statement of their imports from November 1, 1863, to August 1, 1864.⁷³ There was quite a decrease in the number of stores in the city since many merchants had difficulty in establishing "a first rate character for loyalty."

The supply store plan was clearly not designed to encourage trade and restore prosperity to Memphis merchants and traders. Loyal people must be supplied but general trade prohibited. It was intended that only a minimum number of permits would be granted and that those thus favored would consider themselves as "instruments of the Government in carrying out the law, rather than as merchants engaged in the prosecution of ordinary lucrative and unrestricted business transactions."⁷⁴ Apparently as an afterthought rather than as a part of the original plan, local Treasury officials were later instructed to give preference to disabled Union soldiers when granting supply store permits.⁷⁵

Naturally, Memphis merchants were far from pleased with the supply store system. Sales could be made only to persons of proven loyalty, and they were without money to buy more than bare necessities. Cotton brought in and stored with the government agent released no money for local trade. Neither did a later order⁷⁶ permitting producers to make use of agents to sell their cotton in loyal states give the desired relief. No semblance of prosperity could be restored until merchants were allowed to buy cotton from those who desired to trade with them. Again protest meetings were held and petitions sent to Washington. But the press reminded the merchants that the government could not be expected to permit goods to be sent to points "from which they may be carried off next week and taken to feed and clothe the enemy." The only hope for Memphis trade, it insisted, was a co-operative effort on the part of all loyal persons to clear the surrounding country of "the little pestiferous bands of guerrillas and bandits, whose depredations close it against our commerce."⁷⁷

⁷³ *Memphis Bulletin*, August 19, 30, September 1, 1864.

⁷⁴ William P. Fessenden to W. P. Mellen, September 22, 1864, quoted in *Memphis Bulletin*, October 15, 1864.

⁷⁵ Mellen to Memphis Treasury Officials, October 5, 1864, quoted in *ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Memphis Bulletin*, September 25, 1864.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, September 26, 1864.

Under the act of July 2, 1864, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to designate places at which government agents might purchase products of states in insurrection at prices not to exceed three fourths of their New York value. The money available for such purposes, however, was limited to the amount received from the sale of abandoned property.⁷⁸ Secretary William P. Fessenden designated Memphis as one of the seven places where such purchases might be made. President Lincoln followed with an executive order by which all persons owning or having in their possession products within the rebellious states were authorized to bring them out and sell the same to government agents. Supplies not to exceed one third of the value of the products thus sold might be purchased from supply stores and carried away by the purchaser. Those engaged in such trade were to be given every protection by the military authorities.⁷⁹

Had it been strictly enforced this new policy would have done little to revive Memphis trade, but it did provide an entering wedge for the ingenious cotton speculator and smuggler of contraband. Impatient over the limited amount of cotton the government agents could offer for sale, speculators secured special permission to go into the country and bring in thousands of bales. Likewise some supply store operators were unable to resist the huge profits of contraband trade.⁸⁰ The enthusiasm of smugglers, however, never reached its former heights. As Confederate defeat began to appear inevitable, smugglers found their business more hazardous and less profitable. Aside from cotton speculation Memphis trade was dull during the spring of 1865, and news of the fall of Richmond increased the depression. Many had invested

⁷⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 256-57 (July 2, 1864). By an act of March 12, 1863, the Treasury Department had been authorized to collect abandoned property in regions "designated as in insurrection" and sell it to the highest bidder. Several thousand bales of abandoned cotton in the vicinity of Memphis had been brought in and sold in this manner. *Ibid.*, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Appendix, 237 (March 12, 1863); *Memphis Bulletin*, May 10, 19, 1863.

⁷⁹ Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 240-41.

⁸⁰ *Memphis Bulletin*, January 14, February 26, March 19, 1865. Charged with contraband dealings, two stores on Main Street and one on Second Street were closed and their stocks confiscated.

heavily in cotton and the rapid decline in the price of the staple reduced them to bankruptcy. Traders who had carried on a lucrative traffic with the Confederacy envisioned the end of their illegal business. General Washburn's order of April 15, 1865,⁸¹ removing military restrictions on trade in his district was evidence that contraband traders had done about all the damage to the Union cause that they could do.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1865.

The Political Significance of Slave Representation, 1787-1821

BY ALBERT F. SIMPSON

In the years which preceded the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787, the Negro slave in America was of importance primarily in the field of economics.¹ But when the convention decided that three fifths of the blacks held in bondage should be counted in the apportionment of representation to the lower house of Congress, the slave immediately became a significant element in the political affairs of the nation.² Indeed, it is doubtful whether any single factor was of greater significance in the field of politics, from 1787 through 1821, than was the three-fifths ratio with its strong influence in the formative stages of the struggle between the North and South for control of the several branches of the Federal government. It may with reason be maintained that in that thirty-four-year period of slowly but surely increasing sectionalism, slave representation was a powerful, if not actually the most powerful, force in the growth of a vigorous antisouthern and anti-slavery sentiment in the northern states.

The issue of slave representation was born in an atmosphere of sectionalism, in the midst of the first great North-South fight for the balance of power in the national government. Luther Martin of Maryland

¹ This paper is part of a larger study of the political and sectional implications of slave representation from 1787 to 1861.

² For the details of what transpired in the convention, see Jonathan Elliot (ed.), *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1888), V, 123-565; Max Farrand (ed.), *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1911-1937), I, II; Gaillard Hunt and James B. Scott (eds.), *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* (New York, 1920).

was led to say of the period when the matter of apportioning representation was under discussion that the convention was "on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair," and Rufus King and James Madison to declare that the states were divided in their interests not by their size but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves.³ The question of whether the slaves should be represented arose as soon as the convention had decided that the Federal legislature should be bicameral, although the matter had been discussed briefly while the original Virginia Plan was under consideration.⁴ In the bicameral system each state would have two representatives in the Senate, while in the House representation was to be proportional. The question was: what should be the basis upon which representation should be apportioned? When it was decided that numbers and not wealth would serve as the index, another problem arose: should the apportionment be based only upon the free inhabitants of each state, or should the slaves be counted?

The first of a series of motions which led to the adoption of the three-fifths compromise was presented to the delegates on July 11, when Hugh Williamson of North Carolina proposed that a permanent basis of representation be established by counting all free white inhabitants and three fifths of all others.⁵ The idea was evidently derived from the tax law of April 18, 1783, in which each slave was counted as three fifths of a freeman in the apportionment of taxes.⁶ As soon as Williamson proposed his measure the southern delegates, especially Pierce Butler and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, insisted that all Negroes be included equally with the whites.⁷ But Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, Rufus King of Massachusetts, and other north-

³ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, I, 358; V, 264; Charles R. King (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, 6 vols. (New York, 1894-1900), I, 241.

⁴ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 178-81; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 193, 197, 201; "Papers of William Paterson on the Federal Convention, 1787," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), IX (1904), 330-31.

⁵ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 294-95; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 575, 579.

⁶ Worthington C. Ford et al. (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 34 vols. (Washington, 1904-1937), XXIV, 258-61.

⁷ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 296-99; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 580.

ern delegates opposed the proposal. Morris said that "if slaves were to be considered as inhabitants, not as wealth, then the sd. Resolution could not be pursued: If as wealth, then why is no other wealth but slaves included?" Another objection, Morris said, "was that the people of Pena. would revolt at the idea of being put on a footing with slaves" and "would reject any plan that was to have such an effect."⁸ King declared that the admission of the blacks along with the whites "would excite great discontents among the States having no slaves."⁹ James Wilson of Pennsylvania demanded to know why no property but slaves was included.¹⁰ When the vote was taken, the Williamson motion was defeated.¹¹

On the following day Gouverneur Morris moved that taxation, of whatever kind, should be in proportion to representation. The southern delegates objected so sharply to the motion that Morris altered it to read that only direct taxes should be proportioned according to representation. The motion passed. But immediately William R. Davie of North Carolina announced that his state would never confederate unless at least three fifths of the blacks were included in the ratio of representation.¹² In making his statement, Davie could be sure that he would have the support of the South Carolina delegation and, in all probability, that of Georgia. Virginia might also be expected to refuse to confederate except on terms of political equality, for Madison had already insisted that the full population of each state ought to determine the number of representatives to the lower house, and George Mason had argued brilliantly that representation ought to be arranged according to population and wealth.¹³

⁸ Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 581-83, 585; Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 297-99.

⁹ Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 586; Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 300.

¹⁰ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 301; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 587.

¹¹ South Carolina voted with the North to exclude the three-fifths representation because it wished the whole number of Negroes to be counted.

¹² Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 302-303; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 591-93; George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1893), II, 83-84.

¹³ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 294, 299; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 585. Madison wrote Jefferson: "South Carolina and Georgia were inflexible on the point of the Slaves." *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 353.

Davie's blunt statement so jolted Dr. William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut that he declared in favor of including the slaves equally with the whites. Morris, however, asserted that the people of his state would "never agree to a representation of Negroes."¹⁴ In spite of the Pennsylvanian's declaration, Davie's ultimatum led directly to the three-fifths compromise, for the southern states had made it plain that they would not become members of the Union unless they could be assured an equality of power in the legislative department through the medium of slave representation.

Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut apparently complicated matters still further by moving that direct taxes should be apportioned to the number of free inhabitants and three fifths of the slaves. Actually, Ellsworth's motion was another step toward the final compromise, for Edmund Randolph of Virginia, not satisfied with the proposal, moved that representation should be based on the free inhabitants and three fifths of the slaves. In making his motion Randolph urged strenuously "that express security ought to be provided for including slaves in the ratio of Representation." Ellsworth now withdrew his own motion and seconded that of Randolph. And James Wilson added the finishing touch by suggesting that there would be less cause for offense if the slaves were admitted to the representation by the indirect method of apportioning representatives to direct taxes, the latter having been determined previously by adding three fifths of the blacks to the whole number of free inhabitants. Wilson's motion passed, six states to two, and slave representation became an integral part of the Constitution.¹⁵

The three-fifths compromise was, then, a "double" compromise. In the minor bargain representation and taxation offset each other. The major bargain was a "trade" between the North and the South; a trade brought into being in order to maintain a political balance between the two sections. The records of the convention afford ample proof that the North and the South each feared that the other would be able to acquire a position of political dominance to the detriment of the mi-

¹⁴ Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 593; Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 303.

¹⁵ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 303-306; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, I, 594-97.

nority section. The South demanded the counting of at least three fifths of its slaves in the apportionment of representation as its price for uniting with the North under a strong, centralized government. The North paid that price in order to obtain a government that would protect its commercial, financial, and industrial interests.

After the adoption of the compromise, and before the convention adjourned, slave representation was attacked by the northern delegates on several occasions.¹⁶ The sharpest attack developed during a debate over levying a tax on the importation of slaves. The northern delegates asserted that the three-fifths rule would encourage the slave trade, and a caustic debate was precipitated. But when the southern members strongly supported a declaration by John Rutledge of South Carolina that "the true question at present is, whether the Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union," and Roger Sherman of Connecticut advised the delegates that "it was better to let the Southern States import slaves than to part with them, if they made that a *sine qua non*," no further opposition to the three-fifths ratio was heard.¹⁷

In the ratifying conventions in the northern states the matter of slave representation was fully discussed. In Massachusetts and New York strong opposition to the ratio was in evidence, not only among the delegates to the conventions, but also in the press and the forum.¹⁸ A

¹⁶ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 377, 391-93, 457-61; Farrand (ed.), *Records*, II, 219, 221-23, 364; "Papers of Dr. James McHenry on the Federal Convention of 1787," in *American Historical Review*, XI (1906), 610; King (ed.), *Rufus King*, I, 248-50.

¹⁷ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, V, 457, 461. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts listed dislike of slave representation as one reason for his refusal to sign the Constitution. *Boston Independent Chronicle*, November 8, 1787.

¹⁸ For the opposition in Massachusetts, see Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, II, 39, 135; *Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, held in the Year 1788* (Boston, 1856), *passim*; Samuel B. Harding, *The Contest over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1896), *passim*; Theophilus Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons* (Boston, 1859), 91-92, 94; William Plumer, Jr., *Life of William Plumer* (Boston, 1857), 98-99; *Boston Independent Chronicle*, December 13, 1787; January 10, 24, 31, 1788; *Boston Gazette*, January 28, March 3, 1788; *Boston Massachusetts Centinel*, January 12, 1788.

For New York, see Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, II, 226-27, 237-38; Paul L. Ford (ed.), *Essays on the Constitution of the United States* (Brooklyn, 1892), 270-71; *id.* (ed.), *The Federalist* (New York, 1898), xxxvii, 306-66; Clarence E. Miner, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York* (New York, 1921), 77-78, 92-93;

majority of the North, however, confidently expected to secure a real advantage from that portion of the compromise which pertained to taxation.¹⁹ The seven northern states had been given thirty-five representatives in the House; the six southern states but thirty. Hence, the North felt that it had been given an economic and financial advantage without a corresponding loss of political strength. The northern attitude was probably expressed accurately by Judge Francis Dana of Massachusetts who said that "as a friend to equal taxation he rejoiced" in the mode of apportionment, and because of it considered the Constitution the "best that the wisdom of men could suggest."²⁰ The states of the North were willing, therefore, to accept the Constitution without demanding an abrogation of, or even a change in, the three-fifths bargain.

During the Federalist period slave representation was of relatively little political significance. The Federalists, an increasing majority of whom were Northerners, were in control of the national government, and, unable to foresee the rapid growth of slavery, felt little reason to be concerned over the operation of the three-fifths rule. Nevertheless, the opposition which had shown itself in the several conventions was not dead. In Congress, the discussion of measures of a sectional nature gave rise to some sharp criticisms of the ratio. Representative Elias Boudinot of New Jersey reminded his colleagues from the free states that under the permanent apportionment of 1790 the South would have twelve representatives for its slaves.²¹ Fisher Ames and Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts inveighed against the ratio, the former declaring

Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, II, 344; *New York Journal*, and *Weekly Register*, July 3, 1788.

Records for other northern states are fragmentary. But see John B. McMaster and Frederick D. Stone (eds.), *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (Lancaster, Pa., 1888), 599-600; Paul L. Ford (ed.), *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States* (Brooklyn, 1888), 39.

¹⁹ *Boston Independent Chronicle*, January 10, 1788; *Boston Gazette*, January 28, 1788; Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, II, 36-37, 42; Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 87, 91-94; Ford (ed.), *The Federalist*, 306-66.

²⁰ Elliot (ed.), *Debates*, II, 38.

²¹ *Annals of Congress*, 2 Cong., 1 Sess., 203 (November 21, 1791), 244 (December 12, 1791).

that the three-fifths rule "instead of apportioning, disproportions Representatives to numbers."²² While the debates over the Jay Treaty were in progress, in 1795, the northern public and press attacked slave representation.²³ In the same year, the Pennsylvania Senate denounced the ratio.²⁴ During the presidential campaign of 1796 the elder Oliver Wolcott, governor of Connecticut, wrote that "we shall not be satisfied" if Jefferson should be elected "by a negro representation only."²⁵

In 1796 and 1797 "Pelham" and "Gustavus," writing in the *Connecticut Courant*, caustically assailed the ratio, and suggested that slave representation "may be viewed as one forcible cause of a final separation of the United States."²⁶ Even Supreme Court Justice William Paterson declared that the compromise was "radically wrong," and demanded to know "why should slaves, who are a species of property, be represented more than any other property?"²⁷

After the election of Jefferson in 1801 the opposition of the North, and particularly of New England, to the ratio increased enormously, and slave representation became one of the principal elements in the contest between the North and South for the balance of power. At the same time it became a mighty force for the development of sectionalism.

The Federalist press asserted that slave representation had been responsible for Adams' defeat. The *Connecticut Courant*, the *Columbian Centinel*, and other papers declared that without the "somber votes" of the southern slaves, Adams would have been chosen by the margin of a single electoral vote. The *Centinel* said that the half million slaves in the southern states had no more voice in the election than the same number of New England horses, hogs, and oxen. "Yet those 500,000

²² *Ibid.*, 246 (December 12, 1791), 248 (December 13, 1791), 409-10 (February 16, 1792); Seth Ames (ed.), *Works of Fisher Ames*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1854), I, 128.

²³ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*, 8 vols. (New York, 1883-1913), II, 281-82.

²⁴ Philadelphia *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 11, 1796.

²⁵ George Gibbs (ed.), *Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams, Edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott*, 2 vols. (New York, 1846), I, 409.

²⁶ *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, November 21, December 12, 1796; September, 1797, *passim*.

²⁷ *Hylton v. United States*, 3 Dallas 177.

slaves (at least their masters for them) chose 15 Electors of President!"²⁸ The *Mercury and New-England Palladium* declared that Jefferson and Burr "ride into the TEMPLE OF LIBERTY, upon the *shoulders of slaves*."²⁹ The *Centinel* said that Virginia's large representation, "when added to the mass of representation for the blacks," virtually made the Old Dominion "mistress and arbitress of the Union."³⁰ And the *Courant*, denouncing the ratio, stated that it would "hazard the opinion that such practice will not be submitted to for a great length of time."³¹

When the Republican party in 1801 began to remove certain of the Federalist laws from the statute books, the North found a new basis from which to launch attacks on slave representation. In the debates over the bills to repeal the Judiciary Act, reduce government expenditures, abrogate the internal taxes, and alter the method by which the president and vice-president were chosen, Samuel W. Dana of Connecticut and other northern members of Congress denounced the ratio. The rule operated, they said, in such a way that it gave the slave states "an unjust advantage over other parts of the Union"; and William Plumer of New Hampshire and Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey hinted darkly that if the South should abuse the political power which it derived from its slaves, the North might find it necessary to consider a "revision" of the ratio "an act of right as well as duty."³² The Federalist press took up the cry that it was the slave representatives that gave the South its control over the House. It was the South's "wretched

²⁸ Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 24, 1800.

²⁹ Boston *Mercury and New-England Palladium*, January 20, 1801.

³⁰ Boston *Columbian Centinel*, February 28, 1801.

³¹ Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, February 9, 1801. For other contemporary statements criticizing the ratio and asserting that it had been responsible for the election of Jefferson, see *ibid.*, January 21, February 2, 1801; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 24, 27, 1800; January 3, 7, 31, February 25, March 4, 11, 1801.

³² *Annals of Congress*, 7 Cong., 1 Sess., 927-30 (March 1, 1802), 1073 (March 22, 1802), 1290 (May 1, 1802); 8 Cong., 1 Sess., 155 (December 2, 1803), 194 (December 3, 1803), 536, 538-39, 543 (October 28, 1803), 737 (December 8, 1803); McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 612-13; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 269-70; Everett S. Brown (ed.), *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807* (New York, 1923), 44, 56, 66-70.

negroes," said the *Connecticut Courant*, that made it possible for that section "to give law to the rest of the Union."³³

After 1801 the Federalist North continued to assert that the ratio gave the Republicans and the South that margin of political supremacy by means of which legislation unfavorable to the North and to the Federalist party was enacted. Actually, the accusation was unfounded. As far as it pertained to the Republican party it was incorrect because that party extended over the entire nation, and its strength came from all sections. The charge was equally fallacious as far as it concerned the South. At no time between 1789 and 1821 did the South, as a section, have a majority in the House of Representatives.³⁴ The North also claimed in the two decades after the election of Jefferson that the three-fifths rule played no small part in keeping a Virginian in the executive office. The charge was, of course, unfounded, with the possible exception of the election of 1800. Nevertheless, the free states repeatedly insisted that slave representation gave the South control over the House and the presidency;³⁵ and the charge aided materially in arousing

³³ Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, March 21, 1804. See also, *ibid.*, April 11, 1804; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 24, 1803; February 8, 1804.

³⁴ The total number of representatives from each of the two sections after each apportionment was as follows:

1789 (to 1792):	North, 35;	South, 30.
1792 (to 1802):	North, 57;	South, 49.
1802 (to 1811):	North, 78;	South, 64.
1811 (to 1822):	North, 107;	South, 79.

See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 39. Delaware has been considered a northern state after 1800.

³⁵ See, for example, *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 Sess., 155 (December 2, 1803); 14 Cong., 1 Sess., 901-902 (February 5, 1816); 16 Cong., 1 Sess., 1134 (February 5, 1820), 1438 (February 19, 1820); Boston *Repertory*, March 27, July 6, August 31, 1804; Boston *New-England Palladium*, May 8, 1804; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 24, 1803; February 8, May 5, June 13, 16, July 4, October 3, November 14, December 29, 1804; December 2, 1812; April 27, 1814; Salem (Mass.) *Gazette*, February 26, 1813; New York *Evening Post*, September 29, 1804; November 7, 1814; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, March 21, April 11, 1804; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, February 29, 1820; Windsor (Vt.) *Washingtonian*, January 2, 1815; Niles' *Weekly Register* (Philadelphia, 1811-1849), VII (1815), Supplement, 52; XVII (1820), 219; "Boreas" [Serenio E. Dwight], *Slave Representation* (n.p., 1812), *passim*; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 269-70, 315-16; Henry Cabot Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot* (Boston, 1877), 447-49; Worthington C. Ford (ed.), *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 7 vols. (New York, 1913-1917), III, 71; Eliakim P. Walton (ed.), *Records of the Council of Safety and*

in the North a more definite and widespread opposition to the ratio, and at the same time a stronger feeling of sectionalism.

The purchase of Louisiana greatly intensified the struggle between the North and South for the balance of power. The North believed that the consummation of the purchase by Congress would mean the future admission of southwestern slave states, each with its "black" representatives. During the debates on the Louisiana treaties, northern congressmen were careful not to attack slavery and slave representation, for they realized that they must have the support of strict-constructionist Southerners if the treaties were to be defeated. But outside legislative halls, slave representation came in for a full share of abuse. The *Connecticut Courant*, the *Columbian Centinel*, the *New York Evening Post*, and other papers declared that the purchase meant an increase in the number of slave representatives.³⁶ One writer asked: "Is there anything more scandalous . . . than this mockery of representation? Are the rotten boroughs of England more infamous than our negro boroughs?"³⁷ King and Ames used the occasion to damn the ratio, the latter asserting that Virginia had established a hegemony such as "Spartacus, and his gladiators and slaves, would have established" in Rome. "The government of the *three-fifths* of the ancient dominion, and the offscourings of Europe," he said, "has no more exact ancient parallel."³⁸

After the purchase had been completed, New England realized clearly that it had become a minority section and the Federalists a minority party.³⁹ No longer content with mere verbal opposition to the counting of slaves in the apportionment of representation, New England now

Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, 8 vols. (Montpelier, Vt., 1873-1880), V, Appendix A, 388. Cited hereafter as Walton (ed.), *Vermont Records*.

³⁶ See particularly, *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, August 17, September 7, October 12, 1803; May 23, 1804; *Boston Columbian Centinel*, August 17, 1803; *New York Evening Post*, September 23, 1804.

³⁷ *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, May 23, 1804.

³⁸ *Boston New-England Palladium*, April 17, 1804; King (ed.), *Rufus King*, IV, 324-25; *Works of Fisher Ames, Compiled by a Number of His Friends* (Boston, 1809), 273.

³⁹ See, for example, *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, April 18, August 20, 1804; *Boston Columbian Centinel*, June 20, 27, October 20, November 21, 1804; *Boston Repertory*, April 17, October 19, 1804; *New York Evening Post*, September 29, 1804.

sought ways and means of ridding itself of this obstacle to political supremacy.

Massachusetts made the first move to abrogate the ratio. In 1804 its legislature adopted the Ely amendment, which criticized the three-fifths compromise because no direct taxes were levied while the influence of slave representation in the political field was apparent,⁴⁰ and resolved that the Constitution ought to be amended so as to abolish the compromise. Josiah Quincy, always a bitter opponent of the ratio, and later destined to win fame as an extreme sectionalist, led the fight for the bill in the Massachusetts legislature.⁴¹ The people of the state gave the measure their sincere support, for they were convinced that the power of the South over the North was made possible only by the system of slave representation. The Federalist press threw its weight behind the proposed amendment, with the *Repertory* featuring in its columns a series of commendatory articles by John Quincy Adams.⁴² Governors John T. Gilman of New Hampshire and Isaac Tichenor of Vermont lauded the proposal, although neither was able to persuade his legislature to support the measure.⁴³

Timothy Pickering and John Quincy Adams, senators from Massachusetts, prepared long speeches in behalf of the first concerted effort of the North to abolish slave representation.⁴⁴ But neither man was

⁴⁰ The South had twelve slave representatives from 1792 to 1802, fifteen from 1802 to 1811, and eighteen from 1811 to 1822. *Compendium . . . of the Sixth Census*, 1840 (Washington, 1841), 366-67. During the same span of years direct taxes were levied only in 1798, 1813, 1815, and 1816. In each instance the taxes were small and were soon repealed. See 1 *United States Statutes at Large*, 597; 3 *ibid.*, 22, 53, 164, 255, 302; Albert S. Bolles, *The Financial History of the United States, from 1789 to 1860* (New York, 1885), 254, 259, 520.

⁴¹ Boston *New-England Palladium*, June 15, 19, 22, 1804; Boston *Repertory*, September 14-28, 1804; Walton (ed.), *Vermont Records*, V, Appendix B, 412-14.

⁴² Boston *Repertory*, October 26-November 6, 1804; Ford (ed.), *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, III, 46-51, 69-79. For other statements showing public and press support of the amendment, see Boston *Repertory*, June 15-October 2, 1804; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, June 16, July 7, 14, November 28, 1804; Boston *New-England Palladium*, August 31, November 23, 1804; Philadelphia *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, December 5, 1804; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 327; Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy* (Boston, 1867), 65-66.

⁴³ Boston *New-England Palladium*, November 30, December 7, 1804; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 8, 1804; Walton (ed.), *Vermont Records*, V, Appendix A, 388.

⁴⁴ Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, 4 vols.

accorded an opportunity to give expression to New England's opposition to the ratio, for the Republican-controlled Senate tabled the proposed amendment as soon as Pickering introduced it.

While Massachusetts was trying by constitutional means to end slave representation, and failing, Pickering, Roger Griswold of Connecticut, and other radical Federalists were laying plans for a secession of the northern states in order that the North might free itself from southern domination and the slave ratio.⁴⁵ As early as December, 1803, Pickering had written that there must be a separation, and, he said, "the white and black population will mark the boundary."⁴⁶ Two months later he wrote that "the Northern States have nothing to countervail the power and influence arising from the negro representation, nor will they ever receive an equivalent. This alone is an adequate ground to demand a separation."⁴⁷ Again, he wrote that if the southern states should refuse to give up slave representation "it would be a strong ground of separation."⁴⁸ William Plumer, who was privy to the scheme, asked if the New England congressmen ought not return to their homes and "be *separate from slaveholders*?"⁴⁹ Plumer later stated—as did John Quincy Adams, who knew of the scheme but opposed it—that the plan for a northern confederacy originated because a number of the New England congressmen felt "that the slave-holding states had acquired, by means of their slaves, a greater increase of Representatives in the House than was just and equal," and that with the addition of Louisiana, a region from which future slave representatives would come, the South and West "would soon annihilate the weight and influence of the Northern States in the government."⁵⁰

(Boston, 1867-1873), IV, 64-65; Ford (ed.), *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, III, 87-100.

⁴⁵ For the details of the plan, see Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 285-303; Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, 340, 438-49; King (ed.), *Rufus King*, IV, 364-66; Henry Adams (ed.), *Documents Relating to New England Federalism* (Boston, 1905), *passim*.

⁴⁶ Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, 441-42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 446; Adams (ed.), *New England Federalism*, 343-46.

⁴⁸ King (ed.), *Rufus King*, IV, 366.

⁴⁹ Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 286.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 290-91; Adams (ed.), *New England Federalism*, 144-45, 148-49.

Talk of secession was no new thing in 1804, for already it had been heard many times and in all parts of the nation. The plan of the radical Federalists for a northern confederacy, however, marked the first time that a concerted and active move had been made to carry secession into effect. The fact that a strong resentment of slave representation was the primary cause of the scheme demonstrates the political significance of the ratio and the role which it was playing in the growth of sectionalism.

Unfortunately for the secessionists, the success of their plan depended on the adherence of New York. To effectuate that adherence, Pickering, Plumer, and James Hillhouse of Connecticut conferred with Aaron Burr and agreed to support him in his coming gubernatorial campaign, believing (although without positive assurance from Burr) that if the Vice-President should be elected he would swing his state into the ranks of the secessionists.⁵¹ But Burr was defeated, largely because of the efforts of Hamilton, and the first secession movement collapsed.

After the failure of the Ely amendment and the plan to form a northern confederacy, there was a decline in expressed opposition to the ratio. The nation was prosperous, and a growing interest in economic and financial matters forced politics and sectionalism into the background. At the same time the Republican party penetrated deeply into the Federalist strongholds and captured large parts of the New England states. Political peace settled over the nation.

The North was not, however, in any sense reconciled to slave representation, and from time to time, in Congress, in the press, in pamphlets, and in private correspondence, its people gave voice to their antipathy. In 1805 the presentation in the Senate of a Quaker memorial to abolish the slave trade resulted in a three-hour attack on the ratio by Senators Adams, James A. Bayard, Sr., Hillhouse, George Logan, Samuel Maclay, Jesse Franklin, and Pickering. Slave representation "is a real

⁵¹ Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, 340, 448, 450; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 295, 298; Adams (ed.), *New England Federalism*, 354; *id.*, *History of the United States of America* [during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison], 9 vols. (New York, 1889-1891), II, 170-71.

grievance" to the North, they said.⁵² In the same year Daniel Webster, in a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Old Whigs of New Hampshire," declared that if the Jeffersonians continued to alter the Constitution there would be nothing left of the original document "except the solitary article, so full of consolation to New England, which provides for the Congressional Representation of three-fifths of the Southern Slaves!"⁵³ Soon after the appearance of Webster's pamphlet, Thomas Branagan, poet, essayist, and opponent of slavery, published *Serious Remonstrances*, a pamphlet which attacked the slave trade and the three-fifths ratio; and in 1807 he produced a second antislave representation pamphlet, *Political and Theological Disquisitions*. The ratio, Branagan declared, would soon destroy the rights of the North. The free states must fight against the "infamous inequality" of slave representation.⁵⁴

The embargo gave the North an excellent opportunity to display its hatred of the ratio.⁵⁵ Senator Hillhouse tried to destroy the influence of slave representation in presidential elections by proposing to amend the Constitution so that in the future the president would be chosen by lot from the Senate. The Republicans, of course, tabled the resolutions.⁵⁶ The Massachusetts legislature, in 1809, presented to the people of the state a declaration of the measures "by which alone the Union could be saved." The document, commonly known as the "Patriotic Proceedings," listed the abrogation of the three-fifths compromise as one of the measures most essential to the achievement of that end. "Experience

⁵² Brown (ed.), *Plumer's Memorandum*, 250-51; *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess., 39 (January 21, 1805); Charles F. Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), I, 336.

⁵³ *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (Boston, 1903), XV, 530.

⁵⁴ Thomas Branagan, *Serious Remonstrances, addressed to the Citizens of the Northern States, and their Representatives, on the recent revival of the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1805), *passim*; *id.*, *Political and Theological Disquisitions on the Signs of the Times* (Trenton, N. J., 1807), *passim*.

⁵⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 2 Sess., 919 (December 27, 1808); *Boston Repertory*, March 31, 1809; Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, I, 514-15; King (ed.), *Rufus King*, V, 87; Adams (ed.), *New England Federalism*, 194-95.

⁵⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 1 Sess., 332-58 (April 12, 1808).

proves the injustice, and time will increase the inequality" of slave representation, said the document.⁵⁷

When the Territory of Orleans applied for admission to statehood in 1811, New England found a new base from which to initiate its attacks on the ratio. Josiah Quincy, in his famous "secession speech" of January 14, excoriated slave representation. His remarks were reproduced in several northern newspapers and were widely applauded by the people of New England.⁵⁸ Quincy later declared that the North would have been justified in withdrawing from the Union when Jefferson bought Louisiana if it had foreseen that the purchase would mean the admission of new slave states, which, in turn, would mean an increase in value to the South of "that infamous and doubly deceptive principle, whereby *property*, under the mask of *persons*, is admitted to a representation." Slave representation, he asserted, "has been the *great misfortune* of this Union, and will be its destruction unless the Free States . . . take possession of the government."⁵⁹

After Louisiana was admitted the antipathy of the Northeast to the slave rule became deeper and stronger. The idea of a northern confederacy, which had been advanced several times after the failure of the plan of 1804, again reared its head in 1812. Gouverneur Morris was the principal instigator of the plan on this occasion. The only way, he wrote, to rescue the North "from her present miserable and ridiculous condition" would be to call a convention of delegates from all sections of the nation. When that body was convened, the northern members would "readily take the ground no longer to allow a representation of slaves," and the South would then be forced to submit "to what is just or break up the Union."⁶⁰ His plan never passed the discussion stage. Subsequently, however, Morris tried on several occasions to pro-

⁵⁷ *Boston Repertory*, March 14, 1809; *Boston Columbian Centinel*, March 22, 1809.

⁵⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 11 Cong., 3 Sess., 537 (January 14, 1811); *Boston Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1811; *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, February 6, 1811.

⁵⁹ Josiah Quincy, *Address illustrative of the Nature and Power of the Slave States* (Boston, 1856), 18-19, 31.

⁶⁰ Anne C. Morris (ed.), *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, 2 vols. (New York, 1888), II, 541.

mote schemes which would relieve the North of the encumbrance of slave representation.⁶¹

Within a week after the declaration of war against England in June, 1812, the Massachusetts legislature emitted a protest against the conflict, and included in it a sharp attack on the ratio. There could be no great and harmonious nation, said the document, while the system of slave representation was "unceasingly pursued" by the South in order "to create and secure a preponderance of weight and power over the Commercial States."⁶²

Shortly after the drafting of the Massachusetts protest, Sereno E. Dwight fired a heavy broadside into the ratio with two essays in the *Connecticut Journal*. Slave representation, he declared, "*is the rotten part of the Constitution, and must be amputated.*" Slave votes in the electoral college first gave Jefferson the presidency; slave votes in Congress "have turned the majority in favor of many of the worst measures." Dwight said that the people of the North must "unite as one man, and that a strong man armed," against slave representation, and destroy forever "this foul blot on the page of the Constitution."⁶³ The *New York Commercial Advertiser* and the *Salem Gazette* uttered a long and fervent "Amen" to Dwight's sentiments, and called on the people of the free states to "demand such an amendment of the Constitution as will secure to them an equitable and just influence in the National Government."⁶⁴

While the war went on, poorly administered and poorly fought, the Federalist press poured forth a flood of invective against slave representation. The *Columbian Centinel*, for example, said that the southern states had ruled the nation since 1801 "with the aid of their slaves," and that it was the three-fifths rule that had been responsible for the re-election of Madison in 1812. Slave representation, "the rotten part

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 543-45, 551-52, 557-58, 565, 576, 582.

⁶² *Address of the House of Representatives to the People of Massachusetts*, June 25, 1812 (n.p., 1812); *Boston Columbian Centinel*, July 1, 1812; *Niles' Weekly Register*, II (1812), 418.

⁶³ [Dwight], *Slave Representation*, *passim*. See particularly, 3-6, 21-22.

⁶⁴ *Salem Gazette*, January 1, 1813.

of our Constitution," had been responsible for all the North's ills, said the paper, and ought to be abolished.⁶⁵ The *Connecticut Courant* asserted that "by the combined means of *black representation* and multiplying new states," a perpetual yoke had been prepared for the North, but that "it cannot be borne long."⁶⁶ Numerous other papers joined in castigating the ratio.⁶⁷

The newspaper flood was swelled by pamphlets, speeches, and a new remonstrance from the Massachusetts legislature. *The New States*, a long pamphlet devoted almost wholly to a denunciation of the slave ratio, declared that the North was everywhere superior to the South except in political power where the South was "bloated with the representation of its slaves." Southern states, said the pamphlet, derived two-sevenths of their strength in the House of Representatives and the electoral college from slaves and would soon derive one half of it from that source. There were only two remedies for the situation: an end to slave representation, or the withdrawal of the northern states from the Union.⁶⁸

Quincy declared that the ratio could no longer be borne by freemen, and demanded an amendment to the Constitution.⁶⁹ In a series of debates over new war taxes and militia bills, northern congressmen furiously assailed the ratio.⁷⁰ The Massachusetts legislature in an "Address" to the Governor and the people of the state declared that the influence of the eastern states in the government had been lost because of the political strength which the South secured from slave repre-

⁶⁵ Boston *Columbian Centinel*, April 27, 1814.

⁶⁶ Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, February 9, 1813.

⁶⁷ Among the other papers which belabored the ratio in 1813 and 1814 were the Salem *Gazette*, the New Haven *Connecticut Journal*, the Elizabethtown (N. Y.) *Essex Patriot*, the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, the Washington *Commercial Advertiser*, the New York *Evening Post*, and the Windsor *Washingtonian*. See particularly, Boston *Columbian Centinel*, February 6, May 26, June 30, 1813; January 22, March 5, 1814; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, February 9, May 2, 1813; Salem *Gazette*, February 23, 26, April 2, 1813; Niles' *Weekly Register*, V (1814), 199; VI (1814), 307-308.

⁶⁸ "Massachusetts," *The New States* (Boston, 1813), *passim*; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, January 6, 16, 20, 1813.

⁶⁹ Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 308-16.

⁷⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 13 Cong., 3 Sess., 82-83 (November 16, 1814), 423-24 (October 21, 1814), 697 (November 29, 1814), 780-81 (December 8, 1814).

sentation. The legislature then drafted a memorial to Congress protesting against the admission of new slave states and against the three-fifths rule.⁷¹

In 1814 opposition to slave representation became, to a greater degree than at any time since 1803, a matter of concern to the general public in New England. The result was the Hartford Convention, called as the consequence of a number of town meetings held in Massachusetts during the winter and spring of 1814. These meetings sent memorials to the General Court asking that the legislature take steps to remedy certain defects in the Federal Constitution which operated to the disadvantage of New England. The principal defect was slave representation, and until it should be abrogated the northern states could not hope to regain their rightful place in the nation.⁷² As a result of these petitions a special session of the legislature was called. That body resolved to issue a call for a convention which would meet to deliberate upon the "public grievances and concerns" of the eastern states, and arrange for a convention of delegates from all the United States "to revise the constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of *all* the people by placing *all* upon the basis of fair representation."⁷³ This was the resolution that called the Hartford Convention. It asked that the convention take steps to revise the Constitution, but it specifically named for revision only one item: slave representation.

There is much additional evidence to show that the desire of New England to rid itself of the slave ratio was the principal reason for the calling of the convention. Many letters written to members of the convention in November and December, 1814, and several articles which appeared in newspapers during the same months, stressed the necessity

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1 Sess., 338-39 (June 29, 1813); *Salem Gazette*, June 8, 1813.

⁷² Samuel G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime*, 2 vols. (New York, 1856), II, 18-23; [William Sullivan], *Familiar Letters on Public Characters, and Public Events; from the Peace of 1783, to the Peace of 1815* (Boston, 1834), 275; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 411.

⁷³ *Hartford Connecticut Courant*, October 18, 1814; *Niles' Weekly Register*, VII (1815), 149-51.

of taking steps to end slave representation.⁷⁴ Josiah Quincy, at the request of George Cabot (subsequently president of the convention), wrote for the delegates an analysis of the ratio's effect upon presidential elections and upon the principal measures passed by Congress since 1797.⁷⁵ Mathew Carey, well-known writer and publisher, fearing that the convention might advocate secession as a means of ridding the North of the three-fifths rule, wrote a pamphlet in defense of slave representation.⁷⁶ The Federalist papers unmercifully ridiculed Carey's effort.

After the convention assembled, the New England press continued to denounce the ratio.⁷⁷ "Epaminondas," writing in the *Columbian Centinel*, said to the delegates: "Long enough have we been the submissive slaves of the senseless representatives of the equally senseless natives of Africa . . . Deliverance we deliberately, solemnly, and irrevocably decree to be our right. AND WE WILL OBTAIN IT."⁷⁸

The final report of the Hartford Convention did not advocate an immediate secession of the eastern states, although it looked toward that end. Hence, its only truly important work consisted of the amendments to the Constitution which it demanded. All the amendments were designed to curtail the political power of the South. Slave representation was placed first on the list.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ See Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, 543, 550; Adams (ed.), *New England Federalism*, 407-408; Samuel E. Morison, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, 1765-1848*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1913), II, 186-87, 192; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, November 16, 1814; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, November 15, 1814; New York *Evening Post*, November 7, 1814; Boston *New-England Palladium*, November 8, 1814.

⁷⁵ Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 358.

⁷⁶ [Mathew Carey], *A Calm Address to the People of the Eastern States, on the Subject of the Representation of Slaves* (Philadelphia, 1814), *passim*.

⁷⁷ Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, December 20, 1814; Worcester *Massachusetts Spy*, December 21, 28, 1814; New York *Evening Post*, December 20, 1814; Boston *New-England Palladium*, December 27, 1814.

⁷⁸ Boston *Columbian Centinel*, December 24, 1814.

⁷⁹ Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, January 4, 1815; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, January 11, 1815; Worcester *Massachusetts Spy*, January 11, 1815; Niles' *Weekly Register*, VII (1815), 306-13; Theodore Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention* (New York, 1833), 389-99. See also, Otis' *Letters in Defence of the Hartford Convention, and the People of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1824), 52-53; William E. Buckley, *The Hartford Convention* (New Haven, 1934), *passim*.

In spite of the fact that the Federalists unanimously approved of the report, the convention accomplished nothing of positive value, for the delegates which Massachusetts and Connecticut sent to Washington to present the report to Congress arrived simultaneously with the news of the Treaty of Ghent and Jackson's victory at New Orleans and were laughed out of town. On the negative side, however, this second great concerted effort to abolish slave representation could lay claim to a major accomplishment: it virtually destroyed the Federalist party.

From 1815 to 1819 the issue of slave representation was relatively unimportant. But when Missouri applied for admission to statehood the ratio leaped into the forefront of the issues in this first great struggle between the sections for control of the territories beyond the Mississippi.

The Missouri controversy was precipitated on February 13, 1819, when Representative James Tallmadge, Jr., of New York moved so to amend the bill to admit Missouri as to exclude the further introduction of slaves into the state and gradually to emancipate those already there.⁸⁰ Tallmadge's motion revived and intensified the old sectional animosities which had been so happily quiet since the arrival of the news of the Treaty of Ghent. It made slavery restriction in the territories a national problem, not alone in the period of the Missouri controversy, but in the four decades which followed it when the North and the South were at each other's throats over the annexation of Texas, the admission of California, the Wilmot Proviso, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the establishment of a state government in Kansas. It made the question of sectional political power the paramount American issue, without regard to party. It pointed toward—indeed it was the last political step that led to—the abolition crusade. It demonstrated the vast advantages which might be derived from a union of the moral with the political, and marked the first combining of the two by the North in its fight against the slave power. It showed the possibilities of a new organization of political parties in the North, and thereby

⁸⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., 1166 (February 13, 1819), 1170 (February 15, 1819).

materially contributed to the formation of the Republican party (a wholly sectional political combination at the time of its inception), to the election of Lincoln, to the secession of the southern states, to the Civil War, to Reconstruction, and to the economic pattern which has featured the past seventy-five years of American history. It is doubtful if any motion in all the long chronicles of Congress had such far-reaching and such tragic results as did the one which precipitated the Missouri controversy.

The events from the introduction of the Tallmadge motion to the final admission of Missouri to statehood—February, 1819, to August, 1821—disclose the fact that back of the North's fight against slavery in Missouri lay the old opposition to slave representation.

Tallmadge, defending his motion against a bitter attack from southern congressmen, admitted that he was fighting the extension of slavery for political as well as moral reasons. The three-fifths ratio, he declared, was "an important benefit yielded to the slaveholding States," and one which could not be permitted to apply to states formed out of the Louisiana Purchase. "That portion of the country has no claims to such an unequal representation, unjust in its results upon the other States." Aside from the moral effects of slavery, said Tallmadge, "its political consequences in the representation . . . demonstrate the importance of the proposed amendment."⁸¹

Rufus King, who led the northern forces in the Senate, made it clear in his speeches that his principal reason for opposing slavery in Missouri was that any increase of the South's "peculiar institution" would increase the unfair operation of the three-fifths ratio. He said:

If three-fifths of the slaves are virtually represented, or if their owners obtain a disproportionate power in legislation, and the appointment of the President of the United States, why should not other property be virtually represented, and its owners obtain a like power . . . Property is not confined to slaves, but exists in houses, stores, ships, capital in trade and manufactures. To secure to the owner of property in slaves greater political power than is allowed to the owners of other and equivalent property, seems to be contrary to our theory of the equality of personal rights, inasmuch as the citizens of some states thereby

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1213 (February 16, 1819).

become entitled to other and greater political power than citizens of other states.⁸²

By the operation of the slave ratio, King declared, five southern whites "have as much power in the choice of representatives . . . and . . . presidential electors, as seven free persons" in the nonslaveholding states, and, moreover, there were no direct taxes levied by which the North could receive an equivalent. The three-fifths rule had given the slave states political control over the free states, he added, and any "extension of this disproportionate power to the new states would be unjust and odious."⁸³

King wrote to his son, John A. King, that his sole object was "to oppose the extension of slavery" and to protect "the rights of freemen against further abridgement by the virtual representation of slaves."⁸⁴ William Tudor, a distinguished Massachusetts writer, said that "when not only the Senate is gone, but in the House there shall be sixty members, the representatives of slaves, sent by the masters of slaves—What an odor will arise from such an assembly."⁸⁵ Daniel Webster wrote to Henry Baldwin, a Pennsylvania representative, that the Missouri question was regarded by the northern people as one relating to political power and slave representation.⁸⁶

The second session of the Fifteenth Congress adjourned without settling the question of admitting Missouri. Between its adjournment and the convening of the Sixteenth Congress on December 6, 1819, the northern people, press, and state legislatures, without regard to party lines, joined the northern congressmen in the fight against the extension of slave representation.

Citizens of Trenton, New Jersey, Worcester, Massachusetts, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, Hartford, Connecticut, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, and New York City held meetings and adopted resolu-

⁸² King (ed.), *Rufus King*, VI, 697-99; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 218-19; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, January 22, 1820.

⁸³ King (ed.), *Rufus King*, VI, 699-700; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 219.

⁸⁴ King (ed.), *Rufus King*, VI, 282.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁸⁶ *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, XVI, 55-56; Claude H. Van Tyne (ed.), *The Letters of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1902), 84.

tions against the extension of the slave ratio.⁸⁷ The people of Boston adopted a memorial drawn up by Webster, Quincy, and others, which declared that to permit slavery in any new state "necessarily draws after it an extension of that inequality of representation, which already exists in regard to the original states." The free states could not look upon such an extension as politically just, said the report.⁸⁸

State legislatures likewise took positive stands against the extension of the ratio. The General Assembly of Vermont, and the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, sent memorials to Congress protesting against the admission of Missouri as a slave state and inveighing against slave representation.⁸⁹ The sentiments expressed in these memorials were succinctly stated by Representative Irving of the New York legislature when he said that the North "knew by experience how seriously the extension of slavery must affect our proper weight in the Union," as long as "the three-fifths principle of representation was also observed."⁹⁰

Northern newspapers were in the thick of the fight. The Trenton, New Jersey, *True American*, the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, the *Columbian Centinel*, the New York *Daily Advertiser*, the Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, the *Connecticut Courant*, the Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, the Edwardsville, Illinois, *Spectator*, and other papers attacked the ratio. The *Spectator*, for example, declared that the southern states had an "irresistible control" over the free states "because they

⁸⁷ Trenton (N. J.) *True American*, November 1, 1819; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, November 10, 1819; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, November 20, December 17, 1819; Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, December 25, 1819; Albany (N. Y.) *Argus*, December 28, 1819; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, November 23, 1819; Philadelphia *Union*, November 19, 1819; Niles' *Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 189, 200, 241. Originals of many of the resolutions and memorials sent to Congress during the Missouri controversy are in The National Archives (Senate 16A-G13).

⁸⁸ *A Memorial to the Congress of the United States, on the Subject of Restraining the Increase of Slavery in New States* (Boston, 1819), 19; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1819.

⁸⁹ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., 70-72 (January 5, 1820), 234 (January 24, 1820); Boston *Columbian Centinel*, February 26, 1820; Trenton *True American*, January 24, 1820; Niles' *Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 296-97; Walton (ed.), *Vermont Records*, VI, Appendix F, 541.

⁹⁰ Albany *Argus*, January 21, 1820.

hold in subjugation, as property, some of the tarnished and ill-fated sons of Africa."⁹¹ The Boston *Daily Advertiser* warned that unless the spread of slavery were stopped "the future weight and influence of the free states" would be "lost forever."⁹²

From December 8, 1819, to March 3, 1820, Congress argued over the question of admitting Missouri, and finally settled the knotty problem by adopting the so-called Missouri Compromise. The three months of debate were the stormiest that Congress had ever known. Invectives, threats, and sectionalism ran riot for weeks on end as the solons discussed from every possible angle the legal, constitutional, economic, moral, and political aspects of slavery extension and slavery restriction. No one of the phases received as much consideration as did the political, for in the final analysis the fight over Missouri was primarily a contest between the North and the South for control of the Federal government. Naturally, therefore, the three-fifths bargain was in the very front of the battle. Tallmadge and King had admitted in the first Missouri debates that the fight to interdict slavery in Missouri was due first of all to the desire of the North to limit slave representation. The speeches of the northern congressmen in the second debates furnish additional evidence of that fact—an evidence amply supported by newspaper articles and editorials, pamphlets, and expressions from private citizens.

Senators Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania, David L. Morrill of New Hampshire, Prentiss Mellen of Massachusetts, James Burrill, Jr., of Rhode Island, and Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts, and Representatives John W. Taylor of New York, John Sergeant and Joseph Hemphill of Pennsylvania, Daniel P. Cook of Illinois, Joshua Cushman and Timothy Fuller of Massachusetts, and William Plumer, Jr., of New Hampshire led the northern forces against the ratio.⁹³ Taylor and Cush-

⁹¹ Trenton *True American*, October 25, 1819.

⁹² Boston *Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1819.

⁹³ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., 119, 123-24, 153 (January 17, 1820), 179, 184 (January 19, 1820), 210, 217 (January 20, 1820), 247 (January 25, 1820), 337 (February 1, 1820), 952, 964-65 (January 27, 1820), 1111 (February 4, 1820), 1134 (February 5, 1820), 1192-93, 1205 (February 9, 1820), 1299-1300 (February 14, 1820), 1438 (February 21, 1820), 1471 (February 24, 1820).

man were especially vitriolic. The former charged that the South would soon demand Cuba and the other islands in the Gulf of Mexico—a charge that would be repeated forty-one years later by Abraham Lincoln when he rejected the Crittenden Compromise. Taylor asked: "Are the freemen of the old States to become the slaves of the representatives of foreign slaves?" And then he warned the South: "The majority may be in your hands. You may have the power to pass such laws, but beware how you use it."⁹⁴ Cushman said that "when gain is concerned, the black slave is considered as property; but, when power is in question, he is dignified with three-fifths the attributes of a man."⁹⁵

While the admission of Missouri was being debated in Congress, the press and public of the North were giving able support to the legislators who fought against slave representation. The columns of the leading papers in the free states carried articles and editorials assailing the ratio.⁹⁶ William Hillhouse wrote two pamphlets, *Pocahontas* and *The Crisis*, which excoriated slavery and slave representation. Hillhouse concluded that within seventy-five years slaves would make up five eighths of the population of the United States and that "this would completely give the slave representation the ascendancy."⁹⁷

When the Missouri Compromise was adopted, King wrote that the slave states had "subdued" the free states. The increase of slave representatives from the lands beyond the Mississippi, he said, would augment "the already disproportionate power of the slave owners."⁹⁸ John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary that the slave bargain was grossly unequal and impolitic. The result, he declared, had been that

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 952, 964-66 (January 27, 1820).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1300 (February 14, 1820).

⁹⁶ See, for example, Keene *New Hampshire Sentinel*, January 1, 1820; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, January 7-March 10, 1820; New York *Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1820; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, February 2, March 11, 1820; Hartford *Connecticut Courant*, February 8, 1820; Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 4, 1820. See also, Niles' *Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 363; *North American Review* (Boston, 1815-), X (1820), 159-60; King (ed.), *Rufus King*, VI, 294, 324-25; Plumer, *Life of William Plumer*, 509-10.

⁹⁷ William Hillhouse, *Pocahontas* (n.p., n.d.), 5, 10; [*id.*], *The Crisis*, No. 2, or *Thoughts on Slavery occasioned by the Missouri Question* (New Haven, 1820), *passim*.

⁹⁸ King (ed.), *Rufus King*, VI, 289-90.

the slave representation had governed the nation. "Benjamin portioned above his brethren has ravined as a wolf." Perhaps, Adams mused, it might have been better not to have compromised over Missouri but to have carried on the fight for slavery restriction until "it should have terminated in a convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution."⁹⁹

The Missouri Compromise did not, as everyone had supposed, settle the Missouri question. Missouri's state constitution, adopted July 19, 1820, contained a clause which forbade the legislature to interfere with slavery, and ordered that body to frame laws which would prevent free blacks from settling in the state. The free-soilers promptly reopened the fight to keep Missouri out of the Union, and when the Sixteenth Congress assembled for its second session it found itself confronted with the Missouri question for the third time.

Fortunately for the nation's peace of mind, the third Missouri debates were neither so long nor so violent as the second. Nor was the ratio assailed as vigorously as it had been in the first two debates. The legislatures of New Hampshire and Vermont declaimed to Congress against the extension of slave representation.¹⁰⁰ Cushman of Massachusetts attacked the rule, and Sergeant of Pennsylvania denounced it in language reminiscent of the Hartford Convention, but the remarks of the two northern congressmen added nothing new to the arguments against slave representation advanced in the earlier debates.¹⁰¹ The Missouri Compromise had settled as intelligently as was humanly possible the issues and points about which the controversy had raged, and both sections seemed to realize the fact. Consequently they were willing to accept a new compromise, to which Missouri gave assent, and on August 10, 1821, the controversy officially came to an end when President Monroe proclaimed the admission of the state.

An interesting feature of the Missouri controversy was the fact that the South for the first time defended slave representation against the

⁹⁹ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V, 4, 11, 12.

¹⁰⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 Sess., 78-79 (December 9, 1820); *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVII (1820), 339; Walton (ed.), *Vermont Records*, VI, Appendix F, 542-43.

¹⁰¹ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 2 Sess., 1019, 1022-24 (February 2, 1821).

attacks delivered upon it by the North.¹⁰² For almost thirty years the northern congressmen, press, public, and pamphleteers had consistently, and often viciously, denounced the ratio. With equal consistency the South had ignored the attacks. Three things were responsible for this passive attitude toward a subject which was not only of great interest to the South but was also highly controversial and inflammable. One was that by the time the attacks became regular and vigorous the Republican party was in control of the government and the South saw no reason to be concerned over the possibility that the free states might be able to abolish the ratio. In the second place, the South was standing firmly on the Constitution; the three-fifths rule being a part of that document, her congressmen and leaders felt that it was not necessary to defend it. Finally, southern leaders were not as hotheaded as they have commonly been pictured. Southern congressmen usually displayed a calm and dispassionate temper in the face of many provocative denunciations and attacks.¹⁰³

The Missouri controversy marked the peak of northern opposition to slave representation. It also marked the highest point reached by the slave ratio bargain as an element in the politico-sectional struggles between the North and South in the seven and a half decades from the creation of the Federal Constitution to the outbreak of the Civil War. After 1830 the North clothed its fight for political power in the shining robes of morality, and the ratio declined somewhat in relative importance. It must not be assumed, however, that slave representation lost its political significance after 1821. The issue was a fundamental part of the North-South conflict for control of the Federal government; hence, whenever the two sections came to grips over the matter of the balance of power the three-fifths bargain came in for a full share of

¹⁰² For the principal speeches in defense of slave representation, see *ibid.*, 1 Sess., 229 (January 20, 1820), 266 (January 26, 1820), 331, 356-57 (February 1, 1820), 383 (February 14, 1820), 995 (January 28, 1820), 1089 (February 4, 1820), 1231-32 (February 10, 1820), 1263 (February 11, 1820), 1311-15 (February 14, 1820); 2 Sess., 1103-1104, 1106 (February 12, 1821).

¹⁰³ The conclusion is based on a careful examination of speeches, letters, and other utterances by southern congressmen and other leaders.

attention from both sides. Basically, the importance of slave representation was no less after 1821 than it had been before that date, nor was the North's opposition to it in any sense decreased. But the antagonism was carefully held in leash so that harsh and jarring objections to the ratio might be brought into harmony with the steadier and more appealing dual symphony of abolitionism and the antislavery principle of the total exclusion of slavery from all territories.

George Frederick Holmes and Southern Periodical Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

BY HARVEY WISH

Time has dealt ruthlessly with the once-brilliant reputation of George Frederick Holmes of Virginia. His genius was expressed but too frequently in letters writ in sand, lost in the oblivion attendant upon the struggling southern magazines of the ante-bellum and Reconstruction eras. The South, overawed by the cultural achievements of Western Europe and the North, neglected its creative minds and offered its patronage instead to writers whose merits had been certified by such arbiters of literature as *Blackwood's* or the *North American Review*. No literary monument remained posthumously of this man whom William E. Gladstone praised as possessing one of the most remarkable minds he had ever known.¹

Holmes was born on August 21, 1820, at Straebrook, Demerara, among the coastal rice and cotton plantations of British Guiana where a small English colony existed precariously amid rebellious African slaves. His talented father, Joseph Henry Hendon Holmes, was the author of several treatises on foreign exchange, and had risen from a humble position as midshipman on the British warship *Impregnable* to the rank of proctor of vice-admiralty and judge advocate to the forces of Demerara and Essequibo. The family returned to England in August, 1825, living at Sunderland, which became their permanent residence

¹ *Richmond Dispatch*, November 5, 1897.

following the sudden death of Judge Holmes. George Frederick's scholastic precocity won him a scholarship to the University of Durham in 1837; but after attending a scant year he was compelled to leave for Quebec because of a family quarrel arising from a trivial incident.

Finding few opportunities in Canada, young Holmes went to Virginia in 1838. His charming personality and amazing store of classical knowledge endeared him to many Southerners—he knew the languages and much of the literature of classical times as well as modern Italian and French. He taught successively in various preparatory schools of Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina; privately he studied law. Finding his legal career blocked by a local prejudice against foreign lawyers, he turned his attention to literary efforts, publishing his first article in July, 1842, in the *Southern Quarterly Review* on "Whewell on the Inductive Sciences," a philosophic essay dealing with the need for a new social science based upon an experimental technique. Soon other essays covering a wide range of subjects appeared in southern journals.

In 1846 Holmes obtained an appointment to the chair of classical languages in Richmond College, then in its formative period. When in the following year an offer came from the College of William and Mary to teach history and political economy, he accepted it eagerly, but resigned within a year, following a quarrel with the Board of Visitors over a professorial duel. Fortunately, he did not have to wait for another appointment, for the trustees of the new University of Mississippi decided that they needed Holmes as president. By 1849 a disagreement between the new President and the trustees over student discipline—Holmes disliked the martinet—brought about his forced resignation. Not until 1857 did Holmes secure a permanent academic tenure when the University of Virginia invited him to its newly established chair of history and literature, a post which he distinguished during his forty years of service. In 1845 he had married Lavelette Floyd, daughter of Governor John Floyd of Virginia, and thereafter began a happy relationship which acted as a stabilizing force upon his

career. He died on November 5, 1897, after a successful lifetime of teaching and prolific research.²

At the time of his marriage Holmes became an assistant editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, then under the aegis of William Gilmore Simms. The new dignity, however, brought little financial reward to the hard-pressed young writer, and he despaired of any favorable prospects for himself in the literary world. When he first revealed his pessimism to Simms in 1843, the novelist replied with kindly praise:

Your contributions to the *Review* have been the very best which have appeared in its pages. You write with facility, with great ease and freedom—forcibly, correctly, elegantly. There is no good reason why you should not continue to write, except perhaps, that the theatre is a confined one. Periodical literature, particularly that of the *Reviews*, is not very successful in the South, or even in America. . . . Nothing but the trashy survives.³

During 1844 Simms acted as literary broker between Holmes and Benjamin B. Minor, the new editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, arranging for a regular connection with that journal. The editor of the *Quarterly Review* advised his associate to accept a low rate of remuneration, insisting, "You are too rapid a writer, and have too much material at your fingers' ends not to be able to write cheaply. This is the only way to get on in writing for the magazines."⁴ Holmes adopted this suggestion; thereafter the *Messenger* became a frequent outlet for his brilliant review articles, and a firm friendship between Minor and his contributor was established. "Whenever Mr. Holmes was in Richmond," commented Minor's son in later years, "he had free and welcome entrée to the office and the residence of the editor of the *Messenger*, and availed himself of it."⁵

His relations with Simms were even more cordial, although he expressed his apprehension that the famous novelist "loved money like a

² This biographic sketch is based largely on the George Frederick Holmes MSS. at Duke University and the Library of Congress. All manuscript items cited below are from the Duke University MSS. unless otherwise noted.

³ William Gilmore Simms to Holmes, July 20, 1843, in Holmes Letter Book.

⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, January 26, 1844, *ibid.*

⁵ Benjamin B. Minor, Jr., "Some Further Notes Relating to Dr. G. F. Holmes," in University of Virginia *Alumni Bulletin* (Charlottesville, Va., 1894-1924), V (November, 1898), 74.

Yankee." The two might on occasion, in the words of Simms, "crack a bottle together and talk holiday nonsense."⁶ Jointly they prepared several articles during 1844 in the form of correspondence upon "The Present State of Letters," which was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. This was an outgrowth of a long, fruitful discussion in the previous year on American literature which suggested to Holmes "the germ of much subsequent reflection on the nature of Literature in general, and more especially of the Literature of this country."⁷ He noted particularly the influence of the iconoclastic trends of the day upon literature, observing its effects in the Byronic and Lake schools of poetry in England and in the French literature of social reform. In all these writings he found mingled "the utterance of those feelings of dark uncertainty, of scepticism and of despair, produced in apprehensive minds by the whirl and confusion of tottering creeds and crumbling institutions, which filled the world at the time they wrote."⁸ This influence, he contended, found its expression in American literature which revealed a fundamental tone of vagueness and incoherence. Old systems were being undermined in favor of "some great and catholic change." Chaos in contemporary social life, political crises, and religious convulsions, as well as literary incertitudes, were in his mind the harbingers of a new social order.

In January, 1844, Holmes was elected an associate of the American Copyright Club, evidently in recognition of his researches upon the subject of literary property. He proposed that the organization devote itself to the "production of a sound, vigorous, and elevated National Literature" and took active steps to encourage the publication of an organ for this purpose, "The Home Critic." In his mind was the conception of a journal which would facilitate a general appreciation among Europeans as well as Americans of the social and cultural contributions of each region of the United States. This, he felt, would be an admirable antidote to the journalistic exaggerations of "the Halls,

⁶ Simms to Holmes, November 6, 1844, Holmes Letter Book.

⁷ George F. Holmes, "The Present State of Letters," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1834-1864), X (1844), 410.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 412.

the Trollopes, and the Marryatts [*sic*]."⁹ Unfortunately, public indifference made this venture abortive.

By this time the young Englishman had established himself in Orangeburg, South Carolina, where he wrote his articles among an élite of southern authors and statesmen. He became a close friend of John C. Calhoun and soon learned to espouse the doctrine of state rights in vigorous style. There is manifest a flagrant note of the contemporary imperialistic spirit in Holmes' essay, "Relations of the Old and the New Worlds," published in *De Bow's Review*:

All civilization has displayed its energy and enlarged its operation by acquisitions and conquests from inferior nations, of doubtful equity in themselves, but of unquestionable advantage to the world in their results. If the United States should, in the process of time, absorb Mexico, annex Cuba, spread over Nicaragua and the rest of Central America, and overflow the wide Llanos and pampas of South America, they will only repeat on a grander scale the same series of phenomena which has been exhibited in the past by every nation and every race which has been signally instrumental in furthering the progress of humanity.¹⁰

A lecture in August, 1845, before the Beaufort District Society of South Carolina upon the cultural trends of the day brought him enthusiastic recognition from Governor James H. Hammond, who wrote privately, "I thought he might be a scholar—that is a man of languages, but it never entered my conception that he was possessed of such an ample range of information . . . a digestion so complete and reflection so profound and just."¹¹ Former President John Tyler exercised his personal influence to obtain for Holmes, whom he admired, the professorship in history and political economy at the College of William and Mary.¹² The scholarly Francis Lieber of South Carolina College praised the "manly intellect and sound scholarship" in Holmes' writings of this period.¹³

In the long interim away from academic tasks during 1849-1857, Holmes increased his already large literary output in various southern

⁹ Holmes to Cornelius Mathews, February 3, 1844, in Holmes Letter Book.

¹⁰ *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XX (1856), 529.

¹¹ David F. Jamison to Holmes, August 28, 1845, in Holmes Letter Book.

¹² John Tyler to Holmes, October 20, 1846, in Holmes MSS.

¹³ Francis Lieber to Robert McCandlish, January 29, 1847, *ibid.*

journals and carried on a lengthy correspondence with all types of scholars and literary figures, including Auguste Comte, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Louis Agassiz, John R. Thompson, George Fitzhugh, and many other distinguished contemporaries. He spent much of his time in farming near Jeffersonville, Virginia; while tramping through his beloved forests of the Shenandoah Valley, he found the leisure to contemplate upon the various historical, philosophical, and literary themes which he contributed to southern periodicals.

In 1852 he ventured for a short time into political journalism by establishing the *Southwestern Advocate* at Jeffersonville to support the cause of Franklin Pierce for president. The available files of the newspaper reflect but little credit upon Holmes' literary ability, for it was an unpretentious four-page affair of miscellaneous news items and comments, well interspersed with patent medicine advertisements.¹⁴ He did not conceal his distaste for newspaper work in his letters to his friend, David Jamison of Orangeburg, who replied sympathetically, "I know how unceasing is the application to petty details and how great is the drain upon the mind, with no time to fill up the void with anything but scraps."¹⁵ Another literary venture which proved similarly abortive was a biographical series of Virginia governors.¹⁶

In response to a personal appeal of John R. Thompson, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Holmes contributed once more to its pages after an absence of several years. Thompson had written in October, 1847, that "a few co-laborers like yourself would elevate the *Messenger* at once to the highest position among the periodicals of America."¹⁷ The *Messenger*, following the normal evolution of antebellum journals of the South, had begun to gasp for breath, severely pressed by financial burdens. By 1852 it had sunk so deeply into the

¹⁴ Jeffersonville (Va.) *Southwestern Advocate*, October 16, 23, 1852.

¹⁵ Jamison to Holmes, May 26, 1852, in Holmes MSS. (Library of Congress).

¹⁶ Holmes to N. H. Mapie, August 27, 1853, in Holmes MSS. (Library of the University of Virginia).

¹⁷ John R. Thompson to Holmes, October 14, 1847, in Holmes MSS. (Library of Congress).

morass of declining magazines that Thompson described his plight in the most despairing terms:

Confidentially, I must tell you I regard it as extremely doubtful whether the *Messenger* will survive December 1852. Regarding its decease therefore as a probable event, I ardently desire that, before this melancholy day arrives, it should say one strong word in behalf of that ungenerous people [of the South] who are responsible for its decline. In other words, I wish to publish before winding up the concern, as strong a review of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as it is within the wit of man to contrive. . . . I would have the review as hot as hell-fire, blasting and searing the reputation of the vile wretch in petticoats who could write such a volume. . . . I want it *to tell* throughout the length and breadth of the land, so that whenever Uncle Tom's Cabin is mentioned, by an inevitable association, men shall call up the *Messenger's* annihilation of its author.¹⁸

Holmes had already written articles for the *Messenger* excoriating abolitionist literature, and he accepted this offer most willingly. In a bitter review of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, he insisted that such incendiary efforts, as he regarded them, had "rendered imperative a harsher intercourse and more rigid management" of slaves.¹⁹ In a caustic vein, he later added, "The Pharisees of Northern Abolitionism are taught a pleasant escape from the consciousness of their own iniquities and domestic disorders by magnifying the supposed guilt of their neighbours, and concentrating their whole attention upon the only sin in which they do not more zealously participate."²⁰ Actually, he concluded, the real woes of the oppressed millions of Europe were to be found symbolized in the picture of the imaginary wrongs of the slave.

For Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of such a work, Holmes could not find sufficient terms of vituperation in his otherwise gentle vocabulary. He wrote of the "gross fancies and coarse nature" of the "Cincinnati school-mistress," asserting that "the license of a ribald tongue must be excluded from the sanctity of the domestic hearth." Mrs. Stowe belonged to the company of Fanny Wright and George Sand who had

¹⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, August 24, 1852, *ibid.*

¹⁹ [George F. Holmes], "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVIII (1852), 730.

²⁰ G[eorge] F. H[olmes], "A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," *ibid.*, XIX (1853), 321.

"unsexed in great measure the female mind, and shattered the temple of feminine delicacy and moral graces."

He went on to point out the errors which he thought were illustrative of the author's lack of information regarding the South. If the characters George and Eliza had so large a proportion of white blood in their veins, he insisted, they would not have been kept in slavery. It was untrue likewise that the families of slaves were broken up when the master was compelled to sell his establishment. As far as cruelty was concerned, the master's self-interest and his sense of duty concurred in rendering him considerate to the slave; besides, Simon Legree was a New Englander by birth and education. He pointed out that the foreign slave trade belonged largely to northern interests; "nearly five-sixths of the slave vessels sail from Baltimore, and the Northern ports of the righteous free States, and none from the more Southern harbors."²¹ As for Mrs. Stowe's defense of herself in *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1853, Holmes replied with a vigorous attack upon the alleged facts. "The evils ascribed to the institution of slavery," he wrote, "are incident in a still greater extent to all social organizations whatever, and they are changed in form only, while diminished in kind and degree by the prevalence of slavery."²²

The antislavery works of Harriet Beecher Stowe produced a frenzy in southern journalism which was accentuated by the realization of the superior literary channels afforded to the North. In Holmes' review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he pointed out that the southern people had "chilled all manifestations of literary aptitudes" by a "blighting indifference," and now that the heavy literary guns of the North were trained on southern institutions there was hardly an adequate defense prepared to meet the onslaught. A rhetorical question, frequently

²¹ *Ibid.*, 322-26; [Holmes], "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in *loc. cit.*, 726, 728, 729. Some of these alleged errors had been suggested to Holmes by John R. Thompson, editor of the *Messenger*. The latter had also remarked that the story of Eva and Uncle Tom was a palpable plagiarism of Dickens' Little Nell and her grandfather. It was untrue, he added, as put in the mouth of St. Clare, that there was no law in Louisiana against the murder of a slave by his master. Thompson to Holmes, September 11, 1852, in Holmes MSS. (Library of Congress).

²² H[olmes], "A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," in *loc. cit.*, 324.

repeated by similar journals, reveals the tragedy of southern belles-lettres:

What Southern author has not occasion for bitter complaints of the neglect, injustice, and illiberality of the Southern communities for which he has lived and written? . . . What Southern periodical, established for the development of Southern intellect, for the defence of Southern institutions, for the creation of a Southern literature, has not languished for want of adequate encouragement . . . ?²³

By 1856 the exigencies of the sectional struggle, then at a white heat in the Kansas civil war, had produced considerable literary activity at the South, much of it devoted to slavery. The proslavery writings of Professor Albert T. Bledsoe of the University of Virginia, particularly his *Essay on Liberty and Slavery*, and George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South* received the decisive *imprimatur* of Holmes in lengthy articles published by the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church South* and *De Bow's Review*. He praised their rebellion against "antiquated political doctrines," such as Jeffersonian democracy, and their attempts to create a new system of political science free of Manchester liberalism.²⁴

He was particularly interested in the writings of Fitzhugh of Port Royal, Virginia, whose ideas were so strikingly similar to his own as to suggest considerable borrowing from Holmes' work, especially the latter's commentary on Aristotle's theory of slavery.²⁵ Fitzhugh maintained that slavery was the normal and necessary form of society throughout history and that free communities appeared in comparatively recent times, demonstrating complete failure in Europe and beginning to do so in the cities of the North. Like Holmes he attacked the individualist tendencies of the day, particularly the utilitarian philosophy of the nineteenth century. Both men desired the creation of a unique southern civilization based on certain paternalistic principles of the plantation. Holmes quickly recognized their ideological affinity and

²³ [Holmes], "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in *loc. cit.*, 724-25.

²⁴ George F. Holmes, "Bledsoe on Liberty and Slavery," in *De Bow's Review*, XXI (1856), 140.

²⁵ [George F. Holmes], "Observation on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle relative to Slavery," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI (1850), 193-204.

supported Fitzhugh strongly in several reviews for various journals and Virginia newspapers. He praised *Sociology for the South* as "bold, vigorous, dashing, novel, and attractive," and remarked that the author displayed "admirable sagacity, good feeling, and skill," furnishing a new light in political philosophy.²⁶

Fitzhugh naturally was gratified by the favorable nature of Holmes' reviews and soon developed a friendship with him. "You have greatly strengthened my main position—the failure of free society," he wrote in 1855. "You and Hughes²⁷ and I in the last year, it seems to me, have revolutionized public opinion at the South on the subject of slavery. . . . Without flattery, I candidly admit . . . the review far surpassed the work reviewed."²⁸ Thereafter he submitted advance chapters of a new book, *Cannibals All!*, to Holmes, declaring enthusiastically, "I shall print nothing again till you see it."²⁹ By 1857 Fitzhugh frankly admitted that Holmes had anticipated him on his fundamental theories during certain lectures given at William and Mary in 1847, and subsequently in a review.³⁰

Unlike other proslavery writers who used the novel concept of "sociology" as an auxiliary to a defense of the South, Holmes related the term to what were more clearly universal values. Especially fruitful in the history of American sociology is his relationship to Auguste Comte, the "father of sociology." Although one of the first American reviewers to recognize the pioneer nature of Comte's positivist philosophy, Holmes was repelled by his antireligious position and tended to condemn much of positivism on this score. The Virginian's analysis of Comte in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* alone during 1852-1854 occupies well over three hundred pages, and these articles were hailed

²⁶ [*Id.*], "Fitzhugh's Sociology for the South," in *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church South* (title varies, Louisville, 1847-), N. S., IX (1855), 181.

²⁷ This alludes to Henry Hughes, author of *A Treatise on Sociology*, actually a proslavery tract, which appeared in 1854 at the same time as George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South*.

²⁸ Fitzhugh to Holmes, March 27, 1855, in Holmes Letter Book.

²⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, n. d., *ibid.* The book was published in Richmond in 1857.

³⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, July 27, 1857, *ibid.*

by Comte himself as an evidence of "the enormous growth of positivism in the United States."⁸¹ Many years later, during 1882-1883, Holmes introduced a course in sociology at the University of Virginia, and the lectures were reprinted as a text, *The Science of Society*.⁸² This work and Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*, published at the same time, were the first American textbooks on the subject.

Among the innumerable articles which flowed from the ready pen of Holmes, few branches of knowledge remain unrepresented. The catholicity of his interest was expressed in critical discussions of history, literature, economics, law, linguistics, and other subjects already noted. His amazing erudition, drawn from original sources, proved well integrated, escaping from the artificiality of departmentalization. Although his articles were usually in the form of book reviews, he would dispose of the author's contribution in short order and then launch out upon an original analysis of the implications involved in the writer's thesis. Nineteenth-century book reviews, on the whole, were far more ambitious affairs than those of later years. In the classroom and the public lecture forum he inspired his audiences with his enthusiasm for the rising Alfred Tennyson or the intricacies of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. His lecture series at the Peabody Institute of Baltimore in 1873 on "The Romances of King Arthur and His Round Table" brought him large appreciative audiences and very favorable press notices.⁸³

In the field of literary scholarship, Holmes' essays on the sources and philosophy of language won him considerable recognition in academic circles.⁸⁴ Such discussions as the origin of Merlin and the authenticity of certain writings ascribed to Joachim, Abbot of Flora, among other

⁸¹ The relations between Comte and Holmes may be intimately followed in the Holmes Letter Book and in the excellent volume of Professor Richmond L. Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States (1816-1853)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 99-142.

⁸² Published in 1883.

⁸³ "Collegiana," in *University Literary Magazine* (title varies, Charlottesville, Va., 1857-1928), I (1857), 91; Fredericksburg (Va.) *News*, June 28, July 12, 1877.

⁸⁴ See particularly G[eorge] F. Holmes, "Language: Its Sources, Changes, and Philosophy," in *De Bow's Review*, After the War Series, I (1866), 25-35; [*id.*], "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Methodist Quarterly Review* (title varies, New York, 1818-), XXXVI (1854), 489-526.

similar studies, reveal the technical grasp of the specialist.³⁵ In his analysis of Rabelais, he showed a deep appreciation of the man's humanistic outlook and intellectual stature.³⁶ But however generous Holmes might be in overlooking Rabelais' coarse humor, he was severe in his strictures upon Milton's ethics of divorce, suggesting that his prose revealed one of the "illustrious apostles of erotic vagabondage."

"It is characteristic," he wrote, "of intellects of great vigor, especially when speculative habits are united with an active imagination, to convert their appetencies and the determination of their will into philosophical and theological theses."³⁷ He concluded that the picture of Satan in *Paradise Lost* was drawn from incipient tendencies in Milton's nature and summarized the poet in this description: "In religion an Arian; in politics an oligarch; in sociology an advocate for the abrogation of all restrictions which hampered himself, and for the retention of all which only oppressed others; in polemics a termagant; in his family a tyrant."³⁸ Nevertheless, Holmes praised Milton's "splendid poems, and a few brilliant extracts from his prose works." Fond of expressing moral judgments upon literature, Holmes took particular pleasure in scoring the "profligacy and libertinism" of Eugène Sue as evidenced in *The Wandering Jew*. He took this occasion, in 1846, to assail the *littérature extravagante* of nineteenth-century France, singling out the works of Balzac, George Sand, Paul de Kock, and Sue as illustrative of a contemporary social disintegration.³⁹ This article brought the reviewer considerable praise from many quarters of the South.

Holmes, in his constant endeavor to encourage a native southern literature, gave considerable attention to the cultural achievements of his section. One of his most significant reviews dealt with a translation

³⁵ *Id.*, "Merlin," in *Southern Magazine* (Baltimore, 1868-1875), XIV (1874), 627-37; *id.*, "Joachim, Abbot of Flora," *ibid.*, 393-404.

³⁶ [George F.] H[olmes], "Life and Writings of Rabelais," in *Southern Quarterly Review*, VII (1845), 124-52.

³⁷ Geo[rge] F. Holmes, "Milton's Domestic Life—His Ethics of Divorce," in *De Bow's Review*, A. W. S., III (1867), 21.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

³⁹ H[olmes], "The Wandering Jew," in *Southern Quarterly Review*, IX (1846), 73-114.

of Homer written by William Munford of Virginia in 1846. He pointed out that this meritorious work was a major event in the literary history of the South, "the first translation, of any note or magnitude, of a classical author from an American pen"—a judgment concurred in by other contemporary critics. Munford's *Homer*, he wrote, far exceeded any of its predecessors; although inferior in "rhetorical artifices" to Pope, it was superior at every point to Cowper.⁴⁰ Another such extensive review which contributed to the reputation of southern letters was his analysis of the work of Hugh Swinton Legaré.⁴¹

Despite the high caliber of Holmes' reviews, which was well recognized by such editors as Minor, Simms, Thompson, James D. B. De Bow, and John McClintock, his personal fame as a literary critic was restricted for the most part to a relatively small intellectual circle of the initiate. This was due in no insignificant measure to the prevailing custom among southern magazines of leaving articles unsigned. A few journals like *De Bow's Review* might include the contributor's name or initials in an annual table of contents but even this departure was far from consistent in practice. The identification of Holmes' numerous but scattered articles must be sought in part from internal evidence; the most reliable key, however, is provided by his private correspondence, particularly in the original manuscripts of reviews which are still preserved.

Holmes preferred to conceal his talents behind this anonymity, although subscribers occasionally protested. When he was asked by James R. Gilmore, editor of the *National American Biography Series*, for some facts regarding his life, Holmes declined in a blunt statement: "No man can know himself. He knows only what he may think himself to be. No man is willing to 'tell the whole truth of himself and nothing but the truth.'"⁴² To a similar request, somewhat later, he replied, "It is enough to know that 'for the deed's sake I have done the

⁴⁰ *Id.*, "Munford's Homer," *ibid.*, X (1846), 1-45.

⁴¹ *Id.*, "Writings of Hugh Swinton Legaré," *ibid.*, IX (1846), 321-61.

⁴² Holmes to James R. Gilmore, October, 1890, in Holmes MSS.

deed.' When the ability to work is past, I want to be forgotten."⁴⁸ This wish was to be gratified only too well.

⁴⁸ "George Frederick Holmes," quoted from *Topics*, in *University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin*, IV (November, 1897), 87. Holmes' library, containing over three thousand items, some of them quite rare in nature, represented an approximate expenditure of \$7,500. The collection was representative particularly of the classics, general literature, history, and philosophy. *Ibid.*, IV (February, 1898), 121; *Catalogue of the Library of George Frederick Holmes* (Charlottesville, Va., n. d.).

Zebulon B. Vance and the "Scattered Nation"

BY SELIG ADLER

The American Civil War raised many men from obscurity to state and national prominence. Almost every state, North and South, had its latter nineteenth-century hero. With the exception of those whose roles were so important as to incorporate their deeds into the everyday knowledge of the average citizen, they have been forgotten. There is, however, one of this group whose memory still lives within his own state, whose stories are still told, whose name is still meaningful. That person is Zebulon Baird Vance, who followed the *cursus honorum* in North Carolina from county attorney to the General Assembly to two terms in the lower house of Congress, from a colonel in the Confederate army to a great southern war governor. Eleven years after Appomattox he returned to the governor's chair at Raleigh, according to a southern verdict, to deliver "his people of the Old North State from the bonds of oppression and from the Egypt of reconstruction."¹ From the governorship Vance went to the Senate where he died in his third elective term.

Although Vance has been dead forty-seven years, his memory is still alive. His monument on Capitol Square, Raleigh, is the only statue ever erected by public funds in the history of the state.² In 1916 his name was chosen to represent North Carolina in the National Hall of Statuary in Washington. The newspapers still mention him; his jokes are a part of the folklore of the state; intimate knowledge of his doings still persists. The salient facts of Vance's career and character explain

¹ Charlotte *Observer*, April 19, 1894.

² R. D. W. Connor, *Makers of North Carolina History* (Raleigh, 1911), 239.

this unusual devotion and tribute. Born in the mountain country near Asheville in 1830, by his thirtieth birthday Vance was a state-wide figure serving his second term in Congress. He was an ardent Unionist at first, but the firing on Fort Sumter led him into the secessionist camp. In 1862, while gaining a reputation for gallantry on the field of battle and maintaining unusual morale with his anecdotes and jokes, he was elected governor of the state. As war governor, Vance endeared himself forever to his people. He mitigated the horrors of war by insisting on the precedence of civil law, and stoutly protected the state from the uncomfortable militarism of the Confederate government. Despite his differences with President Jefferson Davis, Vance fought the fight to the end, leaving Raleigh on the advance of William T. Sherman's army in April, 1865. After an unsatisfactory conference with Davis at Charlotte, he surrendered himself to the Federal forces. General John M. Schofield told him to proceed to his home at Statesville and there to await further orders. While in Statesville he made his first intimate acquaintance with the members of a people who treasure his memory equally with his own kith and kin. To North Carolinians he is the incomparable Vance of war and Senate fame and many jests; to the Jewish people he is the author of the "Scattered Nation," the one American statesman of his day who pleaded their cause to the people of the United States.

Vance arrived in Statesville early in May, 1865. There and later in Charlotte he came into close contact with a number of Jewish merchants whose friendship served to inspire the "Scattered Nation."³ The leading mercantile establishment of the town was Wallace Brothers and Stephenson. Isaac and David Wallace were typical German-Jewish immigrants of the mid-century. In 1859, after peddling and keeping store in the vicinity of Bamberg, South Carolina, they moved to Statesville. From the first they took a leading part in the affairs of this farming metropolis of six hundred souls. Their general store was the

³ *The Ceremonies Attending the Unveiling of the Bronze Statue of Zeb. B. Vance, LL.D. in Capitol Square, Raleigh, N. C., and the Address of Richard H. Battle, LL.D., August 22, 1900* (Raleigh, 1900), 38.

hub center of county and trading gossip. They sold supplies to the farmers, ran a small banking business as an accommodation, and even included a drug counter. From the handling of standard home remedies they came upon an idea which has benefited that section of the state for seventy-five years. The farmers of Wilkes, Ashe, and Watauga counties had thus far not capitalized upon the variety of herbs found in their farmyards. The Wallaces taught them to bring goldenseal root, ginseng, black haw, and eventually some six hundred other varieties of roots and herbs into Statesville in return for merchandise.⁴ This was the beginning of a crude drug business which still continues to be a source of prosperity to the local countryside.

The visits of Vance to the country store are recalled to this day. There was much about Isaac and David Wallace to impress the war Governor. They were, in the language of the present oldest inhabitant of Statesville, the "substantial people of the town," men of integrity and foresight. They were liberal in their terms to struggling small landowners and generous donors to worthwhile causes.⁵ Realizing that they were an isolated minority, they were ultraconsiderate of the feelings of their Gentile neighbors. Their integrity of character was well appreciated. The minister of the First Presbyterian Church, which the Vances attended, was the Wallaces' friend. With their neighbors, the family had struggled through the long war years. A detachment of Union men foraged the Wallace home during Passover, 1865. Failing to find bread, they sampled the unleavened cakes of the season to whirl them through the air with the disgruntled comment of "more hard tack."⁶ This incident occurred shortly before Vance returned to Statesville under General Schofield's orders.

The Governor was allowed but short respite with his family. On May 13, 1865, which chanced to be his thirty-fifth birthday, a squadron of General Hugh J. Kilpatrick's cavalry surrounded his home, arrested

⁴ Statement of Isidore Wallace, Statesville, North Carolina, to the writer, July 27, 1939.

⁵ Statement of Noble Bloomfield Mills to the writer, July 27, 1939. Mr. Mills had lived all his eighty-seven years in Statesville or the immediate vicinity, and in 1939 was still actively engaged in business.

⁶ Statement of Isidore Wallace to the writer, July 27, 1939.

him, and prepared to take him to Washington. As the railroad and telegraph lines had been destroyed, Statesville was completely cut off from the outside world. The Union officer in charge wanted the Governor to ride horseback thirty-five miles to the railroad at Salisbury. There being some question as to the corpulent Zeb's equestrian abilities, a Jewish resident agreed to drive him by buggy to Salisbury. This man was destined to become one of the most enterprising and successful men in the state and was probably the most intimate of Vance's Jewish friends. He was Samuel Wittkowsky who had been born in 1835 in Prussian Poland. Arriving in New York at the age of eighteen with but \$3.00 in gold, he had worked his way upward in various places in the South, and during the war had been engaged in the manufacture of hats in Statesville in the firm of Wittkowsky and Saltz-giver. He had probably long admired Vance, for early in 1865 he sent him a "black hat of our make."⁷ Thus on that May day of 1865 the famous war Governor and the immigrant Jew started out on the long buggy ride to Salisbury surrounded by two hundred Federal cavalymen.

Wittkowsky was fond of recalling that ride in later years. He often told how Vance turned to him, wiped the tears from his cheeks, and said: "This will not do. I must be a man, but I am not so much concerned as to what may be in store for me, but my poor wife and little children—they have not a cent of money—and my poor State—what indignity may be in store for her?"⁸ As they rode on, however, Vance's naturally good spirits returned, and by the time they reached Salisbury he had so charmed the Yankees with his stories that they spared him the indignity of riding into town an obvious prisoner. Thus began his intimate acquaintance with a Jew whose slogan "Push, Pluck and

⁷ Samuel Wittkowsky to Zebulon B. Vance, January 29, 1865, in Zebulon B. Vance Papers (North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh); Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte, 1897), 95. The writer wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Charles C. Crittenden, secretary of the Commission, and to other members of the staff who allowed him to make use of the material, and who with patience and helpful suggestions guided his way through the many volumes of Vance material.

⁸ Unidentified newspaper clipping found among a collection of Vance Clippings in the North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library. A slightly different version of Vance's conversation with Wittkowsky may be found in Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 96.

Perseverance" was to make him a leading and valuable citizen of Charlotte, a city in which he and Vance were often to meet.

In Washington, on May 20, 1865, Vance was consigned to Old Capitol Prison. Vance's efforts to soften the horrors of war and to care for Federal prisoners soon came to the attention of the irascible Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. On July 6 the Governor was paroled within the limits of North Carolina, Stanton saying to him, "' Upon your record you stand acquitted.'"⁹ Vance spent the next six months in weighing the possibilities of Wilmington and Charlotte as opportune cities for the practice of law. Confidence in Charlotte's future and absence of serious legal competition there were responsible for his decision in favor of that city.

Charlotte had just received its city charter and, in 1866, boasted of some three thousand inhabitants. Vance was destined to spend ten years in this pleasant little city which was to become the most thriving community in the state before the turn of the century. His genial personality radiated through the streets of the town; his appearances in court "became gala occasions" during which the populace suspended business.¹⁰ The Attorney's popularity and availability soon brought him political honors almost without effort on his part. On November 29, 1870, the legislature elected him United States senator. The cinders of war, however, had not yet cooled sufficiently to allow so important an ex-Confederate to have a voice in the upper council of the nation. The Republican Senate refused to seat him, and he settled down to six more years of the law. When these were over he was to be in public service for the rest of his life.

Vance's Charlotte years brought him into intimate acquaintance with a number of Jewish merchants. The concentration of Jewish stores in the proximity of his law office afforded opportunities for daily close contact. More than one good Vance story must have had its first telling in the "mercantile establishments" which lined the center of the

⁹ Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 352.

¹⁰ Phillips Russell, "Hooraw for Vance!" in *American Mercury* (New York, 1924-), XXII (1931), 238.

town. The great majority of Charlotte Jews was of German origin. They were the young, able, and enterprising part of German Jewry who probably left Europe because of the attractions of the New World rather than the persecutions of the Old. The combination of a good secular education, nineteenth-century German liberalism, and good business sense made for solid citizenship. The Jewish community in Charlotte dated from the early 1850's. "When the railroad got to town the merchants multiplied," wrote the county historian. "Ready-made clothing first made its appearance with the advent of Levi Drucker. The Israelites followed close on the coming of the railroads. They have proved amongst our best citizens."¹¹ The small Jewish settlement took an active part in the war. In 1861 the Jewish women raised \$150 to assist the volunteers and were commended for their interest.¹² The Charlotte Grays marched to war with E. B. Cohen as first lieutenant, and there was a fair sprinkling of Jewish names in the muster roll of the First North Carolina Regiment which was enlisted in Charlotte in 1861.¹³ With the end of the war, Jewish mercantile establishments multiplied. Vance's Statesville friend, Wittkowsky, moved to Charlotte and with Jacob Rintels re-established the prewar firm of Wittkowsky and Rintels. The partners rented a room twenty-one feet square, bought some old, rough planking, and put up the calico-covered shelving themselves.¹⁴ In the 1880's Wittkowsky turned to pioneering in the cotton mill industry in the vicinity of Charlotte. From the sale of cotton mill stock on weekly payment terms of twenty-five cents a share, he organized in 1883 the Mechanics Perpetual Building and Loan Association, which is today the second largest organization of its kind in the state. In his last years Wittkowsky was president of the North Carolina Building and Loan League, and today he is recognized as the father of that type of enterprise in the Upper South. In 1902 the Char-

¹¹ John B. Alexander, *The History of Mecklenburg County from 1740 to 1900* (Charlotte, 1902), 379.

¹² Daniel A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg Co. and the City of Charlotte from 1740 to 1903*, 2 vols. (Charlotte, 1904), I, 140.

¹³ Alexander, *History of Mecklenburg County*, 335 ff.

¹⁴ Unidentified newspaper clipping from a collection in the possession of the Mechanics Perpetual Building and Loan Association, Charlotte, North Carolina.

lotte *News and Times Democrat* called him the city's most useful citizen although "not only an adopted citizen of his present home, but a native of a foreign land."¹⁵

Vance, admittedly improvident in his own affairs, admired Wittkowsky's contributions to the state's enterprises. But the direct extent of Wittkowsky's influence on Vance's Jewish interests is conjectural. An estimate of this influence must be discounted by the fact that Wittkowsky is remembered today as an assimilationist with few Jewish interests. He did, however, state publicly at the time of Vance's death:

I speak for my race in North Carolina—aye for my people of the whole Union. The deceased has ever by his words and writings demonstrated that he was their friend. His lecture on the Scattered Nation will ever remain green in the memory of my race, and will be one of the brightest jewels to his ever liberal, fair and untarnished escutcheon. And I venture here the assertion that in the history of North Carolina no Israelite has cast a vote against Z. B. Vance.¹⁶

Samuel Wittkowsky was the most intimate, but not by any means the only one of Vance's Jewish friends. Strolling along the sunny streets of downtown Charlotte, stopping to chat under the awnings or inside the shops, his daily routine brought him into constant conversations with Jewish merchants. There were Elias and Cohen, Kahnweiler Brothers, B. Koopman, H. and B. Emanuel, D. Blum, N. Reichenberg, S. Frankenthal, and Asher and Company among the dry goods concerns. The local photographer was a German Jew named Baumgardener. J. Hirshinger was a pioneer in the manufacture of clothing in the district, and Jonas Schiff established the first local tannery. A branch of the later famous Baruch family also resided in Charlotte during Vance's time. These families almost universally came South with some capital. They helped stabilize conditions after the war by putting this much-needed capital into circulation, by furnishing opportunities for employment, and by opening new fields of endeavor. If the word of older substantial inhabitants is to be taken, these Jews of Reconstruction days were a group of men whose liberality, integrity, and honesty made Jews popular and welcome in Charlotte. The newspapers of the day fre-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Unidentified newspaper clipping, in Vance Clippings.

quently carried items of Jewish news. Vance's Biblical interests stimulated his study of Jewish history; his firsthand acquaintance with representative Jews and his natural humanitarianism made him plead for tolerance. Together, these strains helped to create the "Scattered Nation."

While Vance's courthouse trials were brightening the gloomy days of Carpetbag government, a new interest presented itself. Vance began to capitalize on his natural speaking ability and to accept professional lecture engagements to supplement his meager income. In the days before the automobile, motion picture, and radio had brought about the "Recreational Revolution," the lyceum was still popular. As early as the campaign of 1860 Vance had been recognized as a stump speaker without peer in the state. During the war inspirational speeches to General Robert E. Lee's army made Vance one of the outstanding orators of the South.¹⁷ Vance's style of speaking was peculiarly his own. His remarkable resourcefulness in adapting himself to every type of audience by means of local illustrations and interests, and his keen, sparkling wit have been attributed to the Norman and Irish blood in his veins. He had an endless flow of stories to nail down important points. These anecdotes were invariably clear and pointed and always illustrative of some larger theme, and he had the rare ability to go on at almost any length without tiring his audiences. Yet when he was through, amidst the vigorous applause, the main points of his speech had been driven home.

As Vance neared forty, matured perhaps by the war and its aftermath, the bumpkin spellbinder became the successful, serious lecturer. There were two distinct strains in his character which have not always been recognized. More than once his most intimate friends made the mistake of believing that while Vance was an incomparable country jury lawyer and stump speaker, he could not make a success of seriousness. Twice he proved them wrong. In the midst of the Civil War the jocose colonel became the grim, efficient war governor. In 1879 his friends feared that he would be a failure in the Senate, that he would

¹⁷ Connor, *Makers of North Carolina History*, 233-34.

amuse that august body, but would win no respect. Again they were mistaken. Like Lincoln, Vance was one of the few men who could successfully combine incessant jocularly with seriousness and get credit for seriousness.

Vance's first important lecture after the war was "The Duties of Defeat" which he delivered as the commencement address at the University of North Carolina, June 7, 1866. He spent much time in careful preparation, and the address was well received. Soon the Tar Heel orator was speaking in large lecture halls in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, to county fairs, historical societies, boards of trade, and graduating classes.¹⁸ He spent his evenings at home and in small-town hotels while on circuit in the careful preparation of these lectures. With the encouragement of friends at Chapel Hill, he widened his intellectual horizon with much reading. By the early 1870's Vance's national reputation as a platform speaker was firmly established. He continued to speak in all parts of the country to a great variety of audiences until interrupted by serious illness five years before his death. Among his best-known lectures were "The Demagogue" and "The Humorous Side of Politics." As the Civil War crystallized into history he put his intimate knowledge of that conflict to good use and delighted the Yankees of a Grand Army of the Republic post in Boston with "The Political and Social South During the War." Another lecture of this type which received considerable notice was "The Last Days of the War in North Carolina," delivered before the Association of the Maryland Line at Baltimore. These speeches were, of course, written from the southern point of view, but were prepared with meticulous care and with a surprising amount of attention paid to historical accuracy. Despite his careful efforts, however, Vance's Civil War lectures have long since been forgotten. His one literary effort destined to survive dealt with the history of "The Scattered Nation." This fact requires considerable additional explanation.

Major Clement Dowd, Vance's law partner, close friend, and official biographer, believed that it was the love of Biblical history which

¹⁸ Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 220.

first turned Vance's attention to the Jews.¹⁹ There can be no question that the influence of his mother and his first wife and the strongly Calvinist surroundings in which he lived account for his unusual acquaintance with and devotion to the "Book of Books." The interest long antedated all Jewish acquaintances and connections. The mother, Mrs. Margaret Baird Vance, was a most unusual woman. Although her letters do not reflect a great deal of formal education, she was steeped in the knowledge of the Bible and such secular masters as Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott. Tradition asserts that Zeb's intimate knowledge of these works began at his mother's knee.²⁰ The first Mrs. Vance, born Harriet N. Espy, virtually lived in the pages of the "good book." "Hattie" Vance, daughter of a Presbyterian minister, guided her entire life by Calvinist theology. The same "Institutes of the Christian Religion" which caused James Truslow Adams to call the Puritans Jews in spirit influenced Mrs. Vance's religion deeply. Vance lost his mother and wife within a few weeks. Both women were eulogized by the North Carolina Presbytery as "mothers in Israel." The same pamphlet went on to say that God's "promises to Abraham hold good now to all who share Abraham's faith."²¹ Vance himself wrote that Hattie Espy joined her fortunes with his when he was "a wild & obscure young man."²² She stimulated his interest in the Bible so that he read it for hours at a time.

Vance's mastery of the Old Testament was said to have exceeded that of any other layman in the Bible-reading Old North State. His speeches, writings, and personal correspondence were saturated with Biblical quotations and illustrations. He wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War that had his undisciplined cavalry been sent as one of the ten plagues against Pharaoh, "he never would have followed the children of Israel to the Red Sea. No sir, not an inch!"²³ The

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁰ *Greensboro Daily News*, January 31, 1926.

²¹ *In Memory of Mrs. Margaret M. Vance and Mrs. Harriette Espy Vance* (Raleigh, 1878), 8, 25.

²² Vance to Cornelia P. Spencer, December 10, 1878, in *Cornelia P. Spencer Papers* (North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh).

²³ Quoted in Russell, "Hooraw for Vance!" in *loc. cit.*, 233.

war-torn people of North Carolina were to Vance "this suffering and much oppressed Israel."²⁴ He told Tammany Hall after the war that the northern Democrats were wandering after "Moabitish women."²⁵ Vance was not yet a member of the church during his Charlotte days, but with Hattie and the boys he regularly attended the First Presbyterian Church. There he listened to the sermons of Dr. Arnold De Welles Miller. That divine was so interested in the "people of the book" that one Sunday a year he invited all Charlotte Hebrews to his church, sat them in the front pews, and devoted his sermon to the Old Testament.²⁶ Motivations from this source were not lacking to attract Vance's attention to the possibilities of a lecture on the Jewish people.

Besides his devotion to what he would have termed "sacred history," Vance was very much interested in secular history. Here his interests were divided between the intimate details of the great American conflict in which he had participated and ancient history. He was a vice-president of the Southern Historical Society and helped organize a branch of the association in North Carolina. Unlike so many of his contemporaries in historical associations, North and South, his interests and readings were not confined to the story of the thirteen colonies and the wars and battles of the republic. Vance had a broad reading knowledge of, and acquaintance with, classical history which is readily apparent in all his works. The "Scattered Nation" shows the familiarity of its author with Egyptian, Phoenician, and Carthaginian history. He speaks familiarly of the worship of Isis and Osiris, Baal and Astarte. From quotations one concludes that he had read Tacitus and Josephus. He discusses with ease the Hellenistic influence on Jewish thought. His other speeches and writings give similar evidence of wide reading and intimate acquaintance with the broad movements of general history as they were interpreted by the best writers of his time. The "Scattered Nation" reveals that Vance had even encountered the advance guard

²⁴ Vance to David L. Swain, September 22, 1864, quoted in unidentified newspaper clipping in Vance Papers.

²⁵ Vance made this statement in his Tammany Hall speech of July 4, 1886. D. W. McCauley to Vance, July 19, 1886, *ibid.*

²⁶ Statement of Frank D. Alexander, Charlotte, to the writer, July 27, 1939.

of the higher Biblical critics. But his general approach, while rationalistic to some extent, is that of the conventional southern fundamentalist.

Vance's Biblical and historical interests account for the part of the "Scattered Nation" interpreting ancient Jewish history as he saw it. The touching plea for tolerance and justice for the Jew came from other sources. We have already considered what part might have been played by intimate Jewish contacts. Outside of these, Vance was broadly humanitarian, kindhearted, and tolerant. His whole personality and character radiated kindness. Formally within the folds of the Presbyterian Church after 1878, he was never in the least narrow-minded or bigoted. Two years after the death of his wife, he fell in love with and married Mrs. Florence Steele Martin of Louisville. Mrs. Martin was a widow of some means and a devout Catholic. Only one acquainted with the southern Protestant attitude toward Catholicism can appreciate the significance of this step and the concern it caused Vance. He wrote to a close friend that his bride-to-be was suited to him in every way except "that she is a Catholic. Think of it! What *will* my Presbyterian friends say to me? This part of it gives me much concern, but I am . . . still enough of a boy to scorn policy in such a matter, and to listen somewhat to the suggestions of my heart."²⁷ The marriage proved to be a most happy one. Occasionally there were rumors that Vance was to be converted to his wife's faith and some looked askance at his tolerance, but on the whole he seems to have made an excellent adjustment. The entire episode, in retrospect, is another example of that open-mindedness in his character which inspired the "Scattered Nation."

Jewish writers of these present gloomy days often look back at the nineteenth century as the "halcyon days" of modern Jewish history. While Aryanism, the "streamlined" Teutonic pogrom, and wholesale anti-Semitic propaganda were still far in the future, anti-Jewish feeling was much more than an abstraction in the 1870's. The very writing and repeated delivery of the "Scattered Nation," and the charges that it refutes, give proof that the Jewish situation even in the United States was far from ideal. There were somewhat less than five hundred

²⁷ Vance to Spencer, May 6, 1880, in Spencer Papers.

Jews in North Carolina at the time Vance wrote the speech, a fact that discounts all political motives.²⁸ North Carolina had long given concern to the defenders of Jewish rights. The Secession Convention of 1861 had continued in the constitution to refuse the right "of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department" to any person "who shall deny . . . the divine authority either of the Old or New Testaments."²⁹ The 1865 Convention made no change in the situation, but the Constitutional Convention of 1868, apparently without debate, altered the clause so as to admit Jews to public office.³⁰ Thus, Vance's plea for social equality came almost immediately after the state had belatedly removed the last remaining Jewish civil disqualifications. In the 1870's, especially in the North, the Jewish question took a new form. Following the Federal victory Jews flocked into the country in larger numbers than ever before. The German-Jewish families who had become wealthy with the boom of the 1860's began to feel discrimination in mountain and seashore resorts and were excluded from certain clubs and fraternities. Social ostracism replaced the religious prejudice of the earlier part of the century.³¹ A flood of Gentile voices decried the new attitude as out of harmony with American tradition. Vance's voice was but one of many which included William Cullen Bryant, poet; James Parton, eminent biographer; and James K. Hosmer, historian.³² Vance's apologia may be considered as part of the reaction against the anti-Jewish feeling attendant upon the first large wave of Jewish immigration to these shores. Because of its author's position and eloquence and because of its essential coherence

²⁸ Iser L. Freund, "Brief History of the Jews of North Carolina" (MS. in possession of the University of North Carolina Library).

²⁹ Leon Huhner, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in North Carolina, with Special Reference to the Jews," in American Jewish Historical Society, *Publications* (Baltimore, 1893-), No. 16 (1907), 37-71; Francis N. Thorpe (ed.), *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1909), V, 2793.

³⁰ Huhner, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in North Carolina," in *loc. cit.*, 68.

³¹ Alice H. Rhine, "Race Prejudice at Summer Resorts," in *Forum* (New York, 1886-), III (1887), 523-31.

³² *Ibid.*, 524, 529; James Parton, "Our Israelitish Brethren," in *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston, 1857-), XXVI (1870), 385-403.

and beauty it was the only part of this type of American Judaica of the period to survive.

The date of the first composition and delivery of the "Scattered Nation" is unknown. The year 1882 has often been incorrectly cited in various oratorical collections which have reprinted the speech. The *New York Tribune* of July 17, 1876, mentions the speech as having been repeatedly delivered by Vance. Internal evidence within the essay would indicate that it was written sometime between 1868 and 1873.³³ It was undoubtedly one of those lectures which Vance delivered during his Charlotte years to supplement his law income. The exact occasion of the first delivery is similarly lost to history.³⁴ In later years the speech was repeated an almost countless number of times before Gentile and Jewish audiences. A simple reading of the document, however, would indicate that it was originally intended for the Gentile public.³⁵ During the course of some fifteen to twenty years in which Vance was repeating the speech, he must have made many changes in the text. It was his custom to alter his lecture topics as he repeated them.³⁶ The

³³ The earliest reference that the writer has been able to find concerning the "Scattered Nation" was written in 1875. By that date it seems that the lecture was already well known. The speech begins, "Says Professor Maury." Matthew Fontaine Maury did not enter academic life until 1868 when he became a member of the faculty of the Virginia Military Institute, so the introduction was written after 1868. Maury died in 1873, yet there is no mention of the "late distinguished Professor," or some other tribute that Vance would have likely paid a recently deceased eminent ex-Confederate. The introduction, then, sounds very much as if it were written before Maury's death. There is other circumstantial evidence which would warrant putting the date of composition between the above-mentioned years. See H. A. Marmer, "Matthew Fontaine Maury," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), XII, 430-31.

³⁴ Tradition asserts that the "Scattered Nation" was first delivered in Baltimore. The writer was unable to find any corroboration after a search which included visits to the Peabody Institute and Enoch Pratt Free libraries in Baltimore. Yet, in view of Vance's close Baltimore connections, especially in the person of Dr. Thomas J. Boykin, the former surgeon of his regiment, the tradition may well be founded in fact.

³⁵ For instance, Vance's statement that the Jews "trouble neither you nor me." Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 388. All quotations and references to the "Scattered Nation" are to the version in *ibid.*, 369-99. The various editions of the speech differ in minor details.

³⁶ In an undated letter to an unidentified correspondent, in the Vance Papers, Vance wrote: "No danger of my publishing my Lecture. I want to repeat it, and I agree with you that it is not prudent to put it in print. I have rewritten it, and 'woven in the thread' you mention." This reference may or may not be to the "Scattered Nation."

present writer is of the opinion that the "Scattered Nation" underwent considerable revision during the early 1880's. The Russian pogroms of 1881 had focused much attention on the Jewish question, the matter even entering discussion in the halls of Congress. This interest must have resulted in many additional invitations to deliver the lecture. The final version of the speech mentions the "recent barbarities inflicted upon them in Russia," followed by what is doubtless a description of the pogroms which persisted from April to December, 1881.³⁷ "How sad it is," Vance said, "again to hear that old cry of Jewish sorrow, which we had hoped to hear no more forever!"³⁸ Inasmuch as the Russian Jews enjoyed a relative degree of security during the reign of Tsar Alexander II from 1855 to 1881, Vance must have been referring to the events of the last year. The fact that the speech was revised and again popularized during this period would explain the common error of setting 1882 as the date of original composition.³⁹

The "Scattered Nation" is distinctly one of Vance's serious efforts. There is little in it to indicate that it was written by a man who enjoyed a reputation for drollery. It is another illustration of the deeper, meta-physical side of Zebulon Vance, so often clouded by his delightful wit and easy mannerism. The lecture is a composition resulting from Vance's mastery of the Old Testament and conventional secondary accounts on Jewish subjects. It is written in beautiful imagery and garnished with apt and unusual quotations from literature. The name of the speech is not original.⁴⁰ Vance's extra-Biblical sources are often

³⁷ Herman Rosenthal, "Alexander III., Alexandrovich," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York, 1901-1906), I, 347. Vance also spoke of the new German anti-Semitism. It is hardly probable that he had heard of this new movement until after 1878, for it was then that Bismarck turned to the program of the reactionaries. This part of the speech also was probably added in 1882. Gotthard Deutsch, "Anti-Semitism," *ibid.*, 644-45.

³⁸ Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 394.

³⁹ Ashley H. Thorndike (ed.), *Modern Eloquence*, 15 vols. (New York, 1936), XIII, 396. This source states that the speech was "delivered in 1882 and thereafter in various places." The same date is given in various other oratorical and literary collections.

⁴⁰ For instance, *The Scattered Nation; Past, Present and Future*, a missionary periodical addressed to the Jews, was published in London in the 1860's. The *Israelite* of March 3, 1871, a Cincinnati Jewish organ, published an article under the same title. It is hardly possible that the author of this article had ever heard of Vance's lecture at this early date, if indeed Vance had already written it.

readily discernible. He introduced his subject with a striking description of the Gulf Stream from the famous southern oceanographer, Matthew Fontaine Maury. This was followed by an analogy of Israel to the Gulf Stream—a river of people winding through the sea of nations. He turned to the dawn of Jewish history by quoting at length a condensation of the articles on the subject in the *American Cyclopaedia*.⁴¹ Vance mentioned his indebtedness to *The History of the Jews* by Henry Hart Milman. Dean Milman was a nineteenth-century English clergyman whose attitude toward Jewish history was both rationalistic and sympathetic. For Jewish contributions to medieval civilization, Vance consulted John W. Draper's *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. Draper was a contemporary professor of chemistry at New York University whose historical writings were then in vogue. While Vance's researches were far from exhaustive, the essay exhibits a considerable amount of careful preparation. The entire effort is woven into the background of general reading and knowledge. Its chief survival value lies in its beautiful rhetoric, logical organization, and, in parts, originality and freshness.

A detailed analysis of the "Scattered Nation" is beyond the scope of the present article. Even if space permitted, a condensation would be out of order with the majestic original so easily accessible. The timber beams around which the lecture is constructed are: the introduction, the origin of the Jewish people and their religion, the Jewish theocratic state, its condition in Biblical times, the present state of the Jews—their habits and peculiarities, the question of persecution, and the peroration. In places Vance reveals his southern prejudices. For the sake of the Negro, constitutions were violated, laws and partisan courts were used to force an unnatural racial equality, yet Jews, "those from whom we derive our civilization, kinsmen, after the flesh, of Him whom we esteem as the Son of God and Savior of Men, [are] ignomin[i]ously ejected from hotels and watering places as unworthy the association of men who had grown rich by the sale of a new brand

⁴¹ "Hebrews," in *American Cyclopaedia*, 16 vols. (New York, 1873-1876), VIII, 582 ff.

of soap or an improved patent rat-trap!"⁴² Vance went on to say that he did not question the existence of "Jewish scoundrels in great abundance," but as to the prevalence of Gentile knaves in still greater numbers, "Southern reconstruction put that fact beyond a peradventure."⁴³ Nor could he miss the opportunity of a thrust at some of his Yankee friends: "Is there any man who hears me to-night," he asked his audiences, "who, if a Yankee and a Jew were to 'lock horns' in a regular encounter of commercial wits, would not give large odds on the Yankee? My own opinion is that the genuine 'guessing' Yankee, with a jackknife and a pine shingle could in two hours time whittle the smartest Jew in New York out of his homestead in the Abrahamic covenant."⁴⁴

Unlike many Judeophiles, Vance did not overstate his case. He did not paint the modern Jews as a people incapable of the foibles of the other species of mankind. Perhaps it was Vance's kindly objectivity that explains the strength of his plea. Despite seventy years of kaleidoscopic events, the "Scattered Nation" is still a vigorous answer to twentieth-century anti-Semitism. "Strike out all of Judaism from the Christian church," he said, "and there remains nothing but an unmeaning superstition."⁴⁵ The Jew should be judged "as we judge other men—*by his merits*. And above all, let us cease the abominable injustice of holding the *class* responsible for the sins of the *individual*. We apply this test to no other people."⁴⁶

How many times and in which cities Vance delivered the "Scattered Nation" can only be a matter of surmise. A number of invitations from Jewish and Gentile organizations to speak on the subject are in the Vance Papers, but these are only fragmentary. For instance, in 1878 "The Israelites of Goldsboro" sent Vance a formal petition to deliver his "celebrated lecture," the admission proceeds to be used for the benefit of yellow fever sufferers in the South. The petition also

⁴² Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 393.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 396.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 397.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 374.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 393.

contained the request of various Christian clergymen, the Presbyterian minister adding that the speech would also be appreciated "by those of us who are not of Israel." In 1880 twenty-eight members of a Washington church petitioned Vance to deliver the lecture, the receipts to be used for parish work. Over the course of some fifteen years it was delivered hundreds of times and "in almost every important city in the United States."⁴⁷ Vance's lecturing activities were halted by the loss of an eye in 1889. This was a great emotional shock, and he was never quite himself for the remaining five years of his life. But he had been active long enough to make a profound and lasting impression on Christian-Jewish relations in North Carolina. A funeral oration by a Gentile member of the Charlotte bar reads in part: "Zeb Vance is dead! The Scattered Nation gathers round his tomb and weeps. No High Priest, clad in Heaven-appointed robes, e'er plead the cause of Israel's race more valiantly than he."⁴⁸ The *Charlotte Observer* commented on a memorial meeting held at the time of Vance's death: "Perhaps there never was before a memorial meeting held in honor of a great Gentile prince at which a representative of the Israelitish nation stood up and paid such a tribute as did Samuel Wittkowsky yesterday to the memory of Zebulon B. Vance. The scene was unique if not unprecedented and unparalleled."⁴⁹ Nor has the "Scattered Nation" lecture been forgotten by North Carolinians throughout the years. It has become a part of southern literature reprinted in *Oratory of the South*, *Modern Eloquence*, *Library of Southern Literature*, and in three separate, bound editions.⁵⁰ As late as 1928 a new edition was pub-

⁴⁷ R. D. W. Connor, "Zebulon Baird Vance," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 161.

⁴⁸ Edwin D. Shurter (ed.), *Oratory of the South, From the Civil War to the Present Time* (New York, 1908), 181. This eulogy by Charles W. Tillett has been reprinted in many places. It often appears without the paragraph concerning the "Scattered Nation." It is possible that this section was added later, although the rest of the eulogy was written at the time of Vance's death. Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 327-29, reprinted Tillett's eulogy in 1897 without this paragraph.

⁴⁹ *Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1894.

⁵⁰ The speech was printed, probably in the newspapers, at least as early as 1878. A petition for its delivery in Goldsboro, dated 1878, and found in the Vance Papers, mentions that many of the petitioners had already read the speech. Dowd, *Zebulon B. Vance*, 369-99, reprinted it in full in 1897. The first separately bound edition was published

lished by Alfred Williams and Company of Raleigh, and at present there are plans under way for still another edition. In 1922 the lecture was reprinted in full in the *Asheville Citizen* at the request of a non-Jewess.⁵¹ The *Greensboro Daily News* of January 31, 1926, termed Vance "the latest Jewish prophet" whose famous lecture "has almost attained a place in Hebrew sacred literature." The past decade of Jewish torment has more than once given rise to the vain regret, "would that the voice of Vance were heard again in the land."⁵²

With the exception of his North Carolina "Israelitish intimates," Vance's Jewish connections do not appear to have been extensive. One finds among his effects an occasional elaborately engraved tribute from a Jewish congregation or society. A typical one encloses a "small tribute" for his efforts and concludes: "Believing as we do in the God of Israel, the God of the Bible, the prayers of this portion of the 'Scattered Nation' will be sincerely offered in your behalf."⁵³ But if an argument from silence is valid, Vance was not on intimate terms with the Jewish leaders of his day. Such Jewish correspondence as is preserved is almost entirely from obscure persons. For instance, a Reverend S. Gerstmann of St. Joseph, Missouri, wanted the Senator's help in 1878 in securing a rabbinical position in Richmond.⁵⁴ Six years later the reverend gentleman hinted that with the Democratic return to power, he would not be averse to accepting the Jerusalem consulship.⁵⁵ Of great significance is the fact that the American-Jewish press took very little notice of Vance's death. The *Israelite* of Cincinnati and the *American-Hebrew* of New York did not mention his passing. The

privately by Willis Bruce Dowd in 1904 and contained an introduction by the publisher. The 1916 edition was printed in New York with the 1904 introduction and a foreword by M. Schnitzer. The 1928 edition was published in Raleigh and has an introduction by Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson, then of Asheville. It was sponsored by the Asheville Lodge of B'nai Brith in connection with the unveiling of the Vance plaque in that city. At the present writing, District Grand Lodge Number Five, B'nai Brith, is contemplating a fourth edition.

⁵¹ *Asheville Citizen*, February 8, 1922.

⁵² *Ibid.*, May 13, 1938.

⁵³ Tribute to Vance from an unidentified Jewish social organization, in Vance Papers.

⁵⁴ S. Gerstmann to Vance, August 7, 1878, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, November 30, 1884, *ibid.*

New York *Jewish Messenger* carried a short notice of the event, adding that the late Senator Vance "had the courage to say on the platform a good word for the Jew, and did his share to teach his countrymen, North and South, some needed lessons in justice and brotherhood."⁵⁶

Adequate Jewish appreciation of Vance's services did not come until after his death. The 1904 and 1916 editions of the essay found their way into many Jewish homes and libraries. Jewish recognition of Vance's memory has grown with the years. Shortly after the close of the World War of 1914-1918, the venerable philanthropist, Nathan Strauss, went to Asheville, laid a wreath on Vance's monument, and said that he did not want to die without discharging a debt of gratitude.⁵⁷ It was Strauss, too, who built a suitable fence around the monument in Asheville City Square. In 1928 the Asheville Lodge of B'nai Brith dedicated a plaque to Vance's memory in the yard of Old Calvary Church at Asheville, in a place which has been called the "Westminster Abbey of the Southland." An assemblage of several thousand, including many dignitaries, were present that crisp fall day when Rabbi Stephen S. Wise formally expressed the tribute of American Jewry to Vance.⁵⁸

The dark years of the 1930's have brought the members of the "Scattered Nation" even closer to Vance's memory. The *American-Jewish Times* of September, 1936, reprinted the famous lecture in full in its New Year's edition as a message of hope and consolation to the Jews of the world. The sparks of European racial hatred and intolerance have even fallen in the very shadow of Vance's birthplace. With them has come a refreshing counteraction from the font of his memory. Each May 13, Vance's birthday, the Asheville representatives of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and B'nai Brith sponsor a program around the Vance monument. Here, in the presence of the city

⁵⁶ New York *Jewish Messenger*, April 27, 1894.

⁵⁷ Statement of D. Hiden Ramsey, general manager and secretary of the Asheville Citizen-Times Company, Asheville, N. C., to the writer, July 28, 1939.

⁵⁸ Raleigh *News and Observer*, October 15, 1928; Asheville *Citizen*, October 14, 15, 1928.

officials and representatives of other organizations, due tribute is paid to the memory of this beloved North Carolinian. Despite intensive devotion to his native state and section, Zebulon B. Vance was first of all a great American. The paramount lesson of his essay is that the people of the United States allow the prejudices engendered by two thousand years of Old World history to wither in the fresher breezes of the New World atmosphere.

Notes and Documents

A TRADING TRIP TO NATCHEZ AND NEW ORLEANS, 1822: DIARY OF THOMAS S. TEAS

Contributed by EDWARD TEAS

Edited by JULIA IDESON and SANFORD W. HIGGINBOTHAM

Thomas Scattergood Teas was born in Philadelphia, November 28, 1794, and died at Greensboro, Indiana, October 31, 1850.¹ He was the son of John Teas, an Irishman who had come to America before the Revolution, and of Rachel (Nicholson) Teas who was descended from New Jersey parents of English stock. In the chinaware store operated by his father,² Thomas was brought into close contact with the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Pennsylvania metropolis and soon acquired a fluent command of both French and German. His education was good in other respects also, and family tradition credits him with being "an inveterate reader, poet, author, [and] dreamer."³

¹ The account of Teas' life is based for the most part on the *History of Henry County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1884), 829-30, and a sketch prepared by his grandson, Edward Teas, of Houston, Texas. The dates of his birth and death are taken from the latter. The former sets the year of birth at 1792, while 1796 is given in the brief biographical sketch preceding Teas' "Journal of a tour to Fort Wayne and the adjacent country, in the year 1821," in Harlow Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indianapolis, 1916), 246. We are indebted to Miss Caroline Dunn, librarian of the William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, and to Clarence H. Smith, curator of the Henry County Historical Society, New Castle, Indiana, for transcriptions of the material in the *History of Henry County*.

² The various city directories of Philadelphia show that John Teas was the proprietor of a nail factory in 1799 and of a china store from 1800 to 1808. In 1809 the store was listed in the name of his widow. We are indebted to Barney Chesnick, assistant librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, for this information.

³ Taken from the account of Edward Teas.

While still a young man he made long solitary trips on foot,⁴ journeying once to Niagara Falls and on another occasion to the Delaware Water Gap. In the spring of 1820 he left Philadelphia and crossed the mountains into Ohio where he followed his trade of carpentry. After two years in this region he gathered a cargo and floated it down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to Natchez and New Orleans where he disposed of his goods. He then took passage on a sailing vessel to Philadelphia and returned to the West via the National Road and the Ohio River, completing his journey October 4, 1822. It is his diary of this trip which is reproduced below.

Teas was married on November 10, 1825, to Sarah Clark Strattan, the daughter of Eli and Eunice (Dallas) Strattan,⁵ and soon afterward moved to Union County, Indiana, where he built the first oil mill in the state and also operated grist- and sawmills. In 1834 he migrated to Henry County and established the Spiceland Flour Mills which he ran until his death in 1850.

A member of the Society of Friends, Teas served for a number of years as clerk of the Spiceland Quarterly Meeting and subscribed fully to the humanitarian tenets of the sect. He was active in the early abolitionist movement in Indiana,⁶ evinced concern over the degeneration of the Indians, and was a confirmed opponent of capital punishment. The journal of his voyage reflects some of these ideas and also indicates the breadth of his interests.⁷

⁴ See, for example, his "*Journal of a tour to Fort Wayne and the adjacent country, in the year 1821*," in Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 246-55.

⁵ Harriet R. Stratton (comp.), *A Book of Strattons*, 2 vols. (New York, 1908-1918), I, 286. We are indebted to Miss Eleanor S. Wilby, librarian of the Historical and Philological Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, for a transcription of this information.

⁶ *The County of Henry, Indiana; topography, history, art folio* (n.p., n. d.), 15.

⁷ The original journal is not paragraphed and is interlined with what are evidently brief notes which the author inserted later with the intention of writing a fuller account of the trip. For the sake of clarity, each entry in the journal has been made a paragraph, and interlined material which is obviously not a part of the original record has been omitted. Apart from these changes and the unavoidable differences involved in printing manuscript material, the journal appears in all respects as Teas wrote it.

JOURNAL D'UN VOYAGE SUR DES RIVIERES OHIO OU LA BELLE RIVIERE,
ET LA MISSISSIPPI OU LE PERES DES ONDES, JUSQU'A NOUVELLE-
ORLEANS ETC. PAR L'AUTEUR.

Journal &c-

4th mo 10th 1822— After some hurried preparations for my journey, I took leave of the family of Eli Strattan⁸—a family that, during a residence of eight months with them, have treated me with a degree of kindness of which I believe, time will never efface the remembrance— It had rained hard the day and night previous, and continued raining; and as the whole of the cargo which I am to take charge of, is not yet sent to Rossville,⁹ we feared that the boat which is to convey it to N. Orleans, would drop down to the mouth of the G. Miami with this freshet, before the balance could be got on board— I hurried down, arrived at Rossville at 4 o'clock P. M. and found the boat gone— Captain Hittle,¹⁰ her commander, had left word that he would wait for me at the mouth, twenty four hours— Spent the evening in making arrangements with Alexander Delorac, a commission merchant, for forwarding the cargo to the mouth, immediately on its arrival, and retired to bed, but my anxiety was too great to allow me to sleep; and early on the morning of the 11th, I mounted my horse and proceeded down to the mouth of the Miami— arrived there at 12 o'clock, and found our boat, with 15 others, lying snug, wind bound— As the Ohio is rising, Capt Hittle is in no great hurry to be off and I easily persuaded him to wait for the arrival of my baggage and the balance of the cargo— but as it was probable that the presence of one of us would hasten its arrival, and as I felt too much fatigued to ride back, having been on horseback for nearly 3 days, & had but six hours sleep during the last 72, I concluded to send one of our crew up for that purpose—

12th This day all the boats except 3 or 4, left this place and proceeded on their voyage—

13th Went over to Lawrenceburg [Indiana] 11½ miles below, and bought a fishing line and some other necessities— This afternoon the man I had sent up to Rossville arrived with the goods in a flat which he had procured— got them on board, left the flat with William Gwinn (the keeper of the ferry at the mouth,) for sale, and commenced our voyage The Ohio has risen during our stay, about 7 feet— Came on by a number of small villages— Capt. Hittle has 3 boats lashed abreast—¹¹ at dusk divided the watch from 7 till 12, & from 12 till day light— passed Vevay [Indiana] a little before day— 60 miles

⁸ See Stratton (comp.), *Book of Strattons*, I, 286.

⁹ Now a part of Hamilton, Ohio.

¹⁰ Probably Solomon Hittle of Butler County, Ohio, who was listed in the Recorder's Office as owning three pieces of property in 1822. Information furnished by Miss Eleanor S. Wilby, librarian of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

¹¹ In an interlineation, Teas gives the names of the three boats as *La Bonaventure*, the *Fear Not*, and the *Perseverance*.

14th At 8 o'clock A. M. passed the mouth of Kentucky river— In the course of the day passed a number of small towns— This afternoon had a heavy thunder gust and at 6 o'clock came too, within 18 miles of the falls of the Ohio, as we want day light to pass them by, and it is dangerous landing after dark— I brought an adventure of fowls (216,) from Eli Strattan's, but by the breaking of one of the coops, 11 were killed, and a number made their escape; so that according to a census which I took to day, there are but 161— distance 62 miles So far, the Kentucky shore is generally a very high and steep hill, abounding with large rocks— The Indiana shore is lower— A settler where we now lie, informs us that the Ohio has risen 12 feet; so that it is not probable that we shall find much difficulty in crossing the falls.

15th This morning the wind continues fresh, and we laid by till 3 o'clock P. M. when we pushed off, though the wind blew fresher than it had all day— We had scarcely reached the middle of the river when we encountered such a heavy swell, that the boats chafed off their fastenings with the roll of the sea, and we shipped a considerable quantity of water— As it was evidently dangerous continuing under way, we pulled for the land again, and after two hours hard rowing, and after making two unsuccessful attempts to make fast to the trees, we at last succeeded in bringing our boat up— The others landed a little above us— It is very difficult landing in a high stage of water, as the lower bank is overflowed, and the trees where we have to make fast are 15 or 20 yards from the shore— At the top of the hill at the foot of which we lie, is a stupendous pile of rocks— I ascended it, and had a fine prospect of the Ohio river, and the Kentucky shore— found a curious cave formed by the hand of nature— It is a Gothic arch about 12 feet high and 7 wide at the base and 18 or 20 deep—

16th At 4 o'clock A. M. got under way again, and proceeded to Louisville. This is a large and handsome town— crossed the falls without the least difficulty, and came on till night— It was dark and cloudy, and the wind began to freshen— Held a council, in which it was concluded that as we could not attempt a landing without imminent peril of staving, it being so dark, there would be less danger in keeping on, and that all hands should keep on deck— Providentially the wind fell, and we drifted pretty rapidly and safely; but it was so dark that about 12 we ran on a point of land— as the bottom was gravelly, the boats swung round and went clear— The method of ascertaining which shore is nearest to the boat, is by striking on her side, and the echo will be returned first from the nearest shore— The dawn of day has not often been more welcome to me than it was this morning— It rained nearly the whole night, and our situation was extremely uncomfortable. by sunrise (17th,) we had run 140 miles— Several steam boats have passed us, bound up the river— This afternoon a man and his family who were moving about 60 miles down in a perogue, overtook us, and lashed alongside the Fear Not— As we were not inclined to try

the peril of running in a windy night, we came too at 6 . . . o'clock, and the perogue being on the land side of the boat, was stove against a log, and about 10 feet of her larboard quarter torn completely off— She filled immediately, but her cargo being mostly of floating articles, she did not sink— They hailed the Bonaventure to send her skiff alongside, and we towed the perogue to the leading boat, and took out the furniture, completely drenched. distance to day 54 miles—

18th At 4 o'clock got under way— came to Yellow Banks¹² 18 miles, where the shipwrecked family are moving landed them and their furniture, procured some necessaries for the squadron, and put off again— passed the mouth of Green River at 3 o'clock, and at night came too, having run 70 miles— The stupendous masses of rock which line the shores of the Ohio, are now succeeded by low banks which in this high stage of the water are not more than 4 or 5 feet above it— This afternoon we passed some canebrakes. The banks of the river along here are constantly falling in, and make a great splashing. The general width of the Ohio these 2 days past, is from $3/4$ to 1 mile—

19th Put off about 4 o'clock and came down within 2 miles of the mouth of the Wabash In landing this evening, we ran in among the trees round a point which appeared to be eddy water, but when we came into it, it proved to be a very rapid current, and we had a very narrow escape from running against a tree which at the rate we were going, must inevitably have stove the boat— She struck it obliquely, and sprung a leak— With great difficulty we got her moored, and stopped the leak— distance 70 miles— The cane grows in considerable quantities along the banks—

20th. At 6 o'clock got under way— passed the mouth of the Wabash, which is near the line between Indiana & Illinois 12 miles below is Shawnee town [Illinois]— Sent a letter to Strattan from here— This is the handsomest village except Louisville that I have seen on the voyage— In the afternoon we arrived at the "Cave in the Rock"¹³ 12 miles below Shawneetown in Illinois, and a skiff load of our crew visited it This is somewhat of a curiosity. It is 80 yards wide at the mouth which is semicircular, and 102 yards deep It bears the names of several thousand persons who have visited it— What attracted my attention the most, was the appearance of the different strata of petrified roots of trees and earth which rise in regular gradation from the base to the summit— the roots preserve the roughness of what once was bark, and where they were broken off, the sap and heart of the wood was clearly distinguishable. A short distance above is a fissure in the rocks into which the water now flows, large enough to admit our skiff about 12 feet We went in with her as far as she could go,

¹² This site took its name from the yellow appearance of the banks. A frontier post was located here until 1795. [Zadok Cramer], *The Navigator* (Pittsburgh, 1818), 114-15.

¹³ See the description in *ibid.*, 120. See also, Otto A. Rothert, *The Outlaws of Cave-In-Rock* (Cleveland, 1924), *passim*.

and then got out and walked to the end of the crevice, where it terminates in a point— Here the process of petrification was equally observable— The rock is generally perpendicular, and about 100 feet high— The cedar and spruce begin to make their appearance— The Ohio here is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide— At night as it was calm, we concluded to run all night and by day break, (21st,) had run 116 miles— The current here is not so rapid as above. Passed the mouths of Cumberland and Tennessee rivers & Fort Massac¹⁴ last night— At 10 minutes past 3 P. M. we arrived in the Mississippi,— and entered on the State of Missouri— This river is not here so wide as the Ohio by 300 yards, but a few miles below it is nearly 2 miles wide— At this time it is not so high as the Ohio, being about 4 feet below the top of the banks— The current is extremely rapid— The water not so pleasant to the taste as that of the Ohio—the banks of sand, and covered with a thick growth of small timber, which is continually caving in, and prostrating the trees with it— We have met with a great number of large green trees adrift— Came about 20 miles from the mouth of the Ohio, and 60 since sunrise— The principal timber along the banks, is Cotton wood, ash, some oak, cedar, spruce, and sycamore— besides extensive canebrakes— The thickets are so close that there is scarcely a possibility of getting through them— deer are very plenty, as are wild ducks and turkeys— Perhaps there is not a site for a town west of the Allegany Mountains, of greater commercial advantages than the point formed by the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, but the land is so low that in ordinary high freshets it is overflowed—

22d This has been another blustering first day to us— We landed once on account of the wind, and were driven ashore twice, but fortunately it was on willow banks, where there was no danger— At this stage of water, (about 25 feet above low water mark), I believe there would be less peril in running during a gale of wind, even at the risk of swamping a boat, than in landing at a sand bank— We have seen several large trees undermined by the water, and fall with a terrible splashing into the river, to-day— One of these falling on a boat, would crush her instantaneously— But a boat may be run with any degree of head way that can be got on her, into a willow shore, as the pliancy of the willows checks her gradually— Where we put in to day, when the willows stopped us, there was from 12 to 18 feet water— Saw some cypress trees—walnut, beech hackberry, and maple— In the top of a cypress tree, we saw an eagle's nest, with the female sitting on it. There are very few houses along shore here—

¹⁴ Fort Massac was first built in 1757 and given the name of Fort Ascension by Charles Philippe Aubry who later became the last acting governor of Louisiana for the French. The name was later changed to Fort Massiac in honor of a French minister, but usage corrupted it to Fort Massac, and a legend arose that it received its name from the massacre of a number of Frenchmen by the Indians. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, Ill., 1920), 239, 411, n. 32. Cf. [Cramer], *Navigators*, 125; William Chapin, *A Complete Reference Gazetteer of the United States of North America* (New York, 1839), 101.

we have not passed more than 15 or 20 since we arrived in the Mississippi— This afternoon the Fear Not got into a whirlpool, and took two or three turns round before she could get out of it— At six o'clock reached New Madrid, a decayed looking village in Missouri, and landed— We passed the Tennessee line, this afternoon— Distance to day 56 miles— The land on which New Madrid stands, was sunk by the earthquake which took place in 1811, nearly seven feet perpendicular—¹⁵

23^d At daybreak got under way— There was a frost last night, but the day has been excessively hot— The river in some places we passed today is above 2 miles wide— In the few places where we can see any shore through the thickets, the land is lower, back from the river, than at the banks; so that if it were four feet higher than it is at present, the greater part of the land would be inundated— This is probably the reason why there are so few settlements along its banks; and if it were not for this discharge, the immense body of waters which is poured into its channel, would probably overflow the whole of the lower country— I have been informed that there are immense swamps back from the river, in which the surplus water is drained off— 60 miles below New Madrid is a channel called the New Cut off, where the river makes a circuit of 15 miles, and comes within less than half a mile of a junction again— About 2 years ago the water forced a passage across this neck, and the rapidity of the current soon tore out a channel which is now half a mile wide— This is a very dangerous passage, except in a high stage of water, being full of snags and sawyers formed by the trees which were washed off the bank— 14 boats were stove last spring in attempting to pass it— We concluded to try it, and came through clear, though we had a narrow escape from running against one snag— and we had not passed more than 100 yards from a bend in the lower part of it when a large tree caved in, and fell with a thundering crash into the water— Came 5 miles below and landed, or rather treed, for no land was in sight— distance 66 miles— This afternoon the mosquitoes begin to make their appearance in swarms, and give us a fore taste of what we may expect when we get lower down— I am told however, for my consolation, that their numbers here bear no comparison with those of the lower Mississippi country— Saw several eagle's nests— We left Madrid in company with 14 sail, but by taking the cut off, we are ahead of all except three, who came through it with us—

24th The wind blew so high that we could not put out to day— This afternoon one of the hands went ashore and set the cane brake on fire— In a few minutes the flames spread over several acres— The cane cracks nearly as loud as

¹⁵ The New Madrid earthquake was a rather famous natural phenomenon in its day. Beginning on December 16, 1811, the shocks continued with diminishing intensity and frequency until they finally died out in 1813. A good summary of the reports on the quakes may be found in Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1908), III, 172-80.

a rifle, when it burns through, and so many on fire at once made a most tremendous cracking, which some of our men who have been in the army, say, resembled a battle with musquetry— I squeezed the skiff through the thicket to the shore, and took a walk or creep into the country for about half a mile— The briers and other vines render it very difficult to get along— The cane brakes extend only about 150 yards back from the river; beyond them, as far as I went was a growth of rattan— This is a vine that curls round the trees, and grows about 40 or 50 feet long— Some of it is an inch across at the root— There are a number of trees growing here that none of us are acquainted with the names of— A boat that lies a little below us, (or rather, a man belonging to her,) killed a rattle snake this afternoon 3 feet 6 inches long, with four rattles and a button—

25th The gale continuing, we spent the day here— Wrote to James Andrews—

26th This morning at day break, our captain said he felt the shock of an earthquake— It was so slight, however, if it was one, that none of the rest of us were awakened by it— The air was perfectly calm, but at sunrise the wind freshened again, and confined us here another day— Three Steam boats passed us, bound down the river—

27th At day break got under way, in company with about 50 other boats— Passed the 1st 2^d and 3^d Chickasaw Bluffs— came through a dangerous passage, called the Devil's Race ground—¹⁶ I went ashore to get some gravel & has to travel 14 miles— It has rained very hard nearly all day, and the rooves of the boats leaking, makes our situation very disagreeable— had two or three heavy squalls of wind— A boat loaded with cattle, stove at the 2^d Bluffs— distance 65 miles—

28th Got under way early, and came round a short turn in the river called the Devil's Elbow—¹⁷ Passed the 4th Bluffs— at 1 o'clock it came on to blow, and we landed at the lower end of the Bluff about 22 miles below Fort Pickering—¹⁸ State of Mississippi, an old frontier post— distance 58— miles— Pickering occupies a commanding situation, being on the edge of the Bluff, about 50 feet above the highest freshets— It has been evacuated about 9 years— There are about a dozen houses, inhabited by French— Several Chickasaw Indians were at the Fort— Their general appearance is not unlike our northern tribes on the borders of white settlements— the same squalid wretchedness, and the same passion for ardent spirits, marks the degraded state to which the progress of

¹⁶ Mentioned in [Cramer], *Navigator*, 162-63, published in 1818, but not in Samuel Cumings, *The Western Pilot*, 89, published in Cincinnati in 1836.

¹⁷ Mentioned by both [Cramer], *Navigator*, 163-64, and Cumings, *Western Pilot*, 88, 89, 91.

¹⁸ Fort Pickering was built by Captain Isaac Guion in 1797 under orders from General James Wilkinson. It was first named Fort Adams. John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880), 181, 184.

civilization has reduced these once hardy, brave, and independent children of the forest—¹⁹

29th At 3 o'clock A. M. put off. Came through the Grand Cut Off at 1 o'clock— This day we picked up a barrel of whiskey, which appeared to have been afloat a long time, being covered with slime— probably a part of the cargo of some boat that was stove in the ice last winter— fell in with two boats from Rossville, that had sailed 4 days before us— Came 72 miles and hove too a mile below the mouth of St. Francis River (Missouri)—²⁰

30th Got under way at 2 o'clock A.M. At 10 o'clock came to an outlet which had been choked up at the mouth with drift wood— A boat loaded with lumber had stove here a few days ago, and a number of men were getting her cargo on shore— Just as we came in sight of them, they had detached a mass of drift, of about an acre in extent, from the main body— It drove down with the current, and we had some hard rowing to keep out of its way— Came too at 6 o'clock, having run 73 miles

5th Mo 1st At 12, A. M. pushed off— passed the mouth of White river at 3 o'clock and entered on the Arkansaw territory— Passed the mouth of Arkansaw river 15 miles below— Came 72 miles and landed—

2^d Put off a quarter before 12— at 7 came to Point Checo [Arkansas], where we sent the skiff ashore for some sugar &c— In the afternoon it was cloudy and some rain— at night came too, and lay by for an hour, when as it cleared off, and the night was remarkably serene, the moon shining bright, we concluded to put off again (having run 83 miles)— kept on all night without any difficulty—

3^d Passed the mouth of Yazoo, (Mississippi) at 5 o'clock P M. In the evening it became foggy, and we came too at sunset, distance 119 miles The Spanish moss is found in considerable quantities along shore. It hangs in long clusters from the branches of the trees, and is of a dark grey colour— This evening, after landing, we heard several alligators talking. Their language resembles the grumbling of a bull—

4th. At 4 o'clock got under way— Passed Warrentown [Mississippi] (left shore,) at 7 o'clock Saw several cotton plantations:— The negro huts are generally built on both sides of a lane or street—log cabins, from 20 to 50 in number— Some of the Planters have very elegant houses, one story high, with piazzas all round, and full of windows— The season for planting cotton is the fore part of 3^d mo— It is now about 6 inches high— At 5 o'clock it came on to blow, and we came too— distance 61 miles—

5th Put off at day light— came through the Grand Gulph at 6 o'clock— This is a dangerous passage in low water— The river makes an abrupt turn to the

¹⁹ An instance of Teas' interest in the Indians. It is interesting to note that his son, Edward Y. Teas, spent two years as a missionary to the Indians of Kansas. *History of Henry County, Indiana*, 829.

²⁰ Teas was wrong. The St. Francis River empties into the Mississippi a few miles above Helena, Arkansas.

right, and on each side are whirlpools—the channel in the middle— Just above it is the mouth of Big Black Creek. On the Mississippi side are high banks— Saw some corn about 18 inches high. 20 miles below the Grand Gulf is the Petite or Little Gulf— 2 miles above is the mouth of Bayou Pierre— Came 57 miles, and landed at the house of a Cotton Planter, who treated us with hospitality, and made us a present of some sour milk. The river bottoms will yield from 1500 to 2200 pounds of seed cotton to the acre—cleaning it of the seeds and drying will reduce it one fourth— The harvest is in the 10th mo. . This is a fine country for stock, & the planters generally have from 100 to 200 head— There is such an extensive range, and the winters are so mild, that they will keep fat through the year without feeding. The cane brakes afford them excellent pasturage through the winter, being always green—

6th Started at 5 o'clock, and at half past 8 arrived at the city of Natchez 15 miles—

7th Having made sale of part of my cargo, we dropped down opposite the store where it was to be landed, and were run foul of by a boat which swept off one of my coops, and I lost about 75 fowls— The balance, about 50, I sold in a lump for \$11.00, and thus ended this *foul* speculation— The scarcity of money makes the market dull here There is considerable demand for pork, bacon, and a little for flour, but at reduced prices— pork from 7 to 8.50, bacon 5.75 to 8.00, flour 4 to 4.50, and lard 5½ to 8 cts—

11th Sold the whole of my pork out to day at from 7.50 to 7.62 Ea [?] This evening a Moorish Slave came on board, and I had a long conversation with him— He stated himself to be the son of a Moorish prince— that he was taken prisoner in an incursion he made with a small body of men, into the territories of a neighbouring chief, and that he was carried to Timbuctoo, and sold to a slaver, who brought him to the coast, and disposed of him to a Spanish ship, which brought him into New Orleans, about 10 years ago— The capital of his father's dominions he says, is Tombuc; a town on the Niger— He had heard of Mungo Park,²¹ but had never seen him. His account of the course of the Niger agrees with that of Park, that it runs from west to east— He retains the faith of his fathers; He appears to be well educated, writes and speaks the Arabic with apparent fluency and ease— I got him to write the Mahometan creed There is but one God— Mahomet is his Prophet, and Ali his priest." He is strongly tainted with the superstitions of his country— Among some other tales which he related with every appearance of believing in them, was one

²¹ Mungo Park was an English explorer who made an expedition to Africa in 1795 to discover the sources of the Niger River. He returned to England in 1799 after leaving Africa on a slaver bound for America. An account of his travels was published privately in 1798 and publicly in 1799 under the title, *Travels, in the Interior Districts of Africa . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London). Park left England in 1805 on a second expedition from which he never returned. William Carr, "Mungo Park," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900), XLIII, 218-21.

respecting the Niger and Senegal rivers— He says that the Niger rises in the west, and runs in a perfectly straight course eastward to its termination, which is in a large desert to the east, where it is swallowed up in the sand— that the Senegal approaches it & nearly midway between its rise and termination, comes within a few feet of forming a junction, and then runs off obliquely again that if a man were to drink of the waters of the Niger, he could not cross the Senegal, nor, on the other hand, if he should drink the Senegal, could he cross the Niger— That an impious man a few years before he left the country, had taken a cup with which he dipped water from both rivers at this place, and drank of it, but had no sooner swallowed the water, than his stomach burst open, and the waters returned to their respective rivers— The sacrilegious wretch died miserably. If a cup be dipped into both rivers, the water will adhere to that side of the cup next to the river to which it belongs, leaving a vacancy in the middle If a merchant, on approaching Timbuctoo, finds a small twig, or a few straws, it is a certain omen that he will dispose of his goods to good advantage— He lamented in terms of bitter regret, that his situation as a slave in America, prevents him from obeying the dictates of his religion— He is under the necessity of eating pork, but denies ever tasting any kind of spirits. He has one wife— He will not allow that the Americans are as polite and hospitable a people as the Moors— nor that they enjoy a tenth part of the comfort they do— and that for learning and talents they are far behind them.

6th mo 8th Having at last made sale of my cargo, I embarked this evening on board a flat boat belonging to a man with whom I had become acquainted at Natchez, and at a quarter before 9. P. M. took leave of the city, after a stay of four weeks, during which time I saw

"Little that I loved, and less that I admired,
"And all that I abhorred."—

The city of Natchez is situated on a bluff (on the left shore of the Mississippi,) which is above 200 feet above the river. It has been, till lately, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and is about half as large as Cincinnati—the streets wide and straight, and the houses well built—generally of brick— The public buildings are a Court House, Jail, Hospital, one bank, (State Bank of Mississippi,) and a small and very ill supplied market house— The situation of the upper town being so elevated, is very pleasant— The Hospital is a short distance out of the city, on a rising ground— It is a large 3 story brick building, calculated to accomodate 70 patients— It is intended principally for the reception of sick boatmen— There are now only 5 of this class there, and 4 have been buried from it since I came here—mostly with bilious fevers— At the foot of the bluff is a small river bottom, along which are built a range of houses where the Prince of Darkness is, I beleive, the only acknowledged superior— It is without exception, the most infamous place I ever saw—where villainy, hardened by long impunity, triumphs in open day— Towards the upper end of

the harbour, where my boat lay, it is not quite so bad—this part being occupied chiefly by stores and Commission warehouses—but the filth that is thrown into the river, and the almost total exclusion of a current of air by the steep bluff immediately back from the river, make it excessively hot and disagreeable, as well as unhealthy, living on board a boat— I had a pretty severe attack of the dysentery within a week after my arrival, which held me about ten days, but after I recovered, by being regular and temperate in my diet, avoiding unnecessary exposure to the sun in the heat of the day, and to the night air, with the blessing of Providence to crown all, I have enjoyed as sound a state of health as I ever did.—and so farewell to Natchez— The evening was beautiful—clear and still, and we drifted on pretty rapidly—

On the 9th at 8. A. M. passed the mouth of Homochitto river 30 miles from Natchez— 10 miles below is Fort Adams,²² an old frontier post, on the point of a high hill— The remains of a covered way down to the river, are still visible— There is a small village here— 20 miles below is the mouth of Red River. This is the largest of all the tributary streams of the Mississippi, excepting the Missouri. It heads in the province of Texas— 3 miles below its mouth is bayou Chafelier [Atchafalaya River], the largest outlet of any on the whole course of the Mississippi. It never returns to the river, but passing through the lower part of Texas,²³ discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It is said that this bayou was formerly a continuation of Red River— at this place it approached near the Mississippi, and that river, gradually encroaching on the neck of land which separated them, at length wore it away, and received the waters of Red river— There is a rapid current in the bayou, but a few miles from the river, it is choaked with drift wood, so as to be innavigable— flat boats keeping too near the shore in passing it, are sometimes drawn in by the current, and cannot be got out without cordelling— Came down 95 miles, and landed—

10th at 2 o'clock put off— Soon after day break entered Rackasie [Raccourci] bend— near the upper end of it, at a point on the left hand, the force of the current has undermined about 30 acres of land, and it is sunk perpendicularly till only the tops of the highest trees are now visible. It happened about a year ago. After passing Rackasie, we entered Tunica bend, in which the river gains half a mile in running 50— 12 miles below is Point Coupee Church, and a little below, on the opposite (left) shore, is Bayou Sara, at which place we landed about 5 o'clock. distance 45 miles—

11th Took a walk out to St. Francisville, half a mile from the river— This is a handsome village of about 150 houses, situated on a rising ground, and

²² A fort begun in 1798 and completed in 1799. It was named in honor of John Adams. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi*, 3 vols. (Atlanta, 1907), I, 728.

²³ Teas was mistaken. The Atchafalaya River empties into Atchafalaya Bay after passing through St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana.

appears to be a place of considerable business— There are about 20 houses at the bayou— Alligators are numerous along shore here—

12th Wrote home—

13th At 1 o'clock A. M. got under way and proceeded down to Baton Rouge 36 miles— arrived there at 8, after passing a number of handsome cotton plantations— This is a considerable village, situated on a rising ground on the left shore— There is a U. S. garrison kept here, and a large range of handsome brick barracks are erecting—²⁴

14th At 9 o'clock we got under way and ran all night— The country from here has the appearance of one continued village— the plantations have a front on the river of from 3 to 10 acres, and extend from 40 to 100 acres back— The front being so narrow, a considerable part of it is occupied with the planter and overseer's houses, negro huts, sugar houses and stabling; so that the river banks resemble the suburbs of a large city The condition of the negroes belonging to the French planters, (who are the principal settlers here,) is comfortless enough— Pork is scarce this year, and the only provision their masters give the negroes, is a barrel of Indian corn per month. (each man.)— By a late law of this state they are prohibited from working their slaves on the sabbath day—²⁵ till the passage of that law, the negroes had no respite from their labours— Some few of the planter's houses are neat, but in general they are very mean looking— From Baton Rouge the river banks are leveed all the way to Orleans, and there are some pieces of levee above

²⁴ The barracks were begun in 1819 and completed in 1825. They consist of four long white two-story buildings with colonnaded verandas, situated in such a fashion as to form a pentagon with the open side toward the river. The site was taken over by the state of Louisiana in 1861 but was returned to Federal control in the next year. In 1879 the garrison was withdrawn, and seven years later the lands and buildings were turned over to Louisiana State University. The barracks were used as dormitories for men until 1928 when they were converted into dormitories for women. After 1932 the University abandoned its old site altogether, and the barracks have now been converted into apartments. They stand on the bank of the river immediately adjacent to the Louisiana State Office Building and across the street from the skyscraper capitol. See Walter L. Fleming, *Louisiana State University, 1860-1896* (Baton Rouge, 1936), 436-41; Marcus M. Wilkerson, *Thomas Duckett Boyd: The Story of a Southern Educator* (Baton Rouge, 1935), 79, 284-85.

²⁵ Teas was somewhat in error respecting the time when slave labor on Sundays was prohibited. Section 1 of the Black Code of Louisiana, passed by the legislature of the Orleans Territory on June 7, 1806, provided "That the inhabitants shall leave to their slaves the free enjoyment of Sundays, and shall pay them for their labor on said day, when they will employ them, at the rate of fifty cents." Servants, employees of hospitals, carriage drivers, and those engaged in carrying provisions to market were exempted from the provisions of the section. *Acts Passed at the First Session of the First Legislature of the Territory of Orleans* (New Orleans, 1807), 150-51. The French version appears on p. 151.

15th We encountered a gale of wind which drove us ashore about 6 miles above Bayou La Fourche—

16th Got under way at day break— passed the Bayou— There is a village there [Donaldsonville], and a handsome church— 10 miles below is another, the handsomest I have seen on this river— (Contrell's Church) 18 miles below is Bona Cara [Bonnet Carré], and 18 miles below that is Red Church, the last on the banks of the river— Came too a little below the red Church, at the house of a planter, whose negroes and some from the neighbouring plantations, were forgetting their sorrows in the festivity of a dance— among the merriest of them was one who had an iron collar round his neck, with two small bars projecting as high as the top of his head, one on each side, and a chain passing from the collar down each side to his knees by which he was secured to staples in the floor at night— He had attempted to run away— Some of the negroes showed me several irons of different forms, in which delinquents are confined— Miserable as the condition of the negroes is, they have their day of relaxation, in which they appear to enjoy far more happiness than their masters— In the course of this, and yesterday's run, we saw several live oaks— The sugar cane is now about five feet high— There is a good deal of corn raised this year here— It is now in tassel—about 8 feet high—

17th At 12 o'clock A. M. Got under way— passed a number of orange groves— and at 8 o'clock saw the mast heads of the shipping at Orleans—about 4 miles distant—and at 9 landed at the upper end of the harbour. The city of New Orleans is situated on the left bank of the river about 100 miles above its mouth— It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, including the fauxbourgs or suburbs— in the centre of the town are many handsome rows of brick buildings, recently erected— There are a number of very stately buildings here, but many of them exhibit appearances of decay— Half a mile back from the river is the basin, a sheet of water equal to 2 acres, which communicates by a canal, or as it is called, a bayou, (St John) three miles long, with Lake Ponchartrain— There is a considerable trade in this quarter, carried on in small schooners and sloops— There are no wharves along the Mississippi— in consequence of the annual rise of the river, it is not practicable to have any— There are stages erected from the shipping to the shore, the plank and spars for which are supplied by the city— The streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles— They are cleaned by negroes (runaways) all of whom are chained, that is, have chains to their legs, which are fastened round their middle during the day, and secured to rings in the floor of the calaboose or prison at night— There are two burying grounds in the city, one for Catholics, and one for Protestants— In the Catholic particularly, there are a number of very costly tombs— Along two sides of it, is a range of vaults, three tier high, divided into compartments for single coffins— The price of interment in them is 100 dollars— They resemble ovens— When a corpse is interred, the mouth is walled up, and the inscription

placed over it— The sexton was digging two or three graves— About 18 inches below the surface, they come to water, and have to bale it out as they go lower— He had thrown up a number of bones in digging, which are buried in the bottom of the new dug grave— The manners of the people of this country are very disagreeable to a northern citizen, whose *dress* is not that of a first rate gentleman— they appear to make it a rule to treat none but fops with civility—

18th Engaged my passage on board the Ship Orleans, Capt. Grover— Got the proceeds of the cargo amounting to \$1800, turned into specie, and sent it to Cincinnati by Capt. Gill—preserving just sufficient to defray my expenses to Philada—²⁰

22d At 2 o'clock P M, we got under way, and dropped down— There are 56 passengers in the cabin, steerage, longboat, and on deck— A young man who steered two of Capt. Hittle's boats from Rossville, concluded to accompany me round, and we were fortunate enough to engage our passage early enough to secure the half of the long boat to ourselves— We have plenty of room, and in fair weather our situation is more comfortable than in the cabin— The other half of the boat is engaged by three men who, so far appear to be very agreeable company— The deck passengers are miserably accommodated, have to lie in the sun by day, and exposed to the damp dew by night— they are however, a low set, and we will have as little intercourse with them as possible. About 8 miles below the city is the battle ground There are no traces of it visible at present, the whole being under cultivation— 16 miles below the city is the English turn— Here is the quarantine ground— The steam ship Robert Fulton and a Dutch ship were lying here— Came four miles below, & anchored— The musquitoes, which abound along shore, and at Orleans rendered it impossible to sleep at night, were equally troublesome here— and we found no other method to obtain ease but walking about and brushing them off—

23d Weighed anchor at 6 o'clock, and beat down-wind dead ahead and came about 40 miles—

24th Dropped slowly down stream— the wind still ahead at sunset being within 9 miles of the Balize, we were drawn by the current into the Pass Loutre, one of the mouths of the river which is not navigable having a bar with only

²⁰ The evidence that Teas disposed of his cargo in New Orleans seems unequivocal and the subsequent entries in the journal do not lend support to the tradition that he stopped in Cuba. Edward Teas' account reads: "Being unable to dispose of his goods, he took passage from New Orleans to Cuba where as a last extremity he traded for tortoise shell which he shipped back to Philadelphia." *The History of Henry County, Indiana*, 829, reads: "He then loaded a flat-boat with bacon and flour and took it to New Orleans, and from there to the West Indies, where he sold his cargo and returned to Philadelphia." Unless Teas made other trips of which there is no record, these statements appear to be in error.

5 feet water at its mouth Let go our anchor immediately, and brought up about a quarter of a mile below the point or entrance.

25th Got out a hawser ashore, and with great difficulty, in the afternoon, aided by a light fair wind got her out— The current runs into this pass with great rapidity, and there is no counter current, but only a swell of about 2 feet, occasioned by the flood tide. A little above the pass into which we were drawn, is the North West Pass— After we got into the ship channel again, beat down to the Balize, and anchored in company with 5 or 6 sail who were waiting for a fair wind to cross the bar—

26 At 9 o'clock a fair breeze sprung up, hoisted a signal at our fore top gallant mast head, and in a few minutes a pilot boat came off to us— Weighed and stood out— There is 14 feet water on the bar, and the ship draws 11 feet 10 inches— we led the van— and though our keel ploughed up the mud so as to make her heel considerably, her head way was sufficient to keep her going, and in about 10 minutes we were fairly over— The rest of the shipping also got over The pilots' prices are \$1.50 per foot of water the vessel draws— Wrote home and to Philada. by the pilot— And now we are fairly in the Gulf of Mexico scudding with a light breeze, and royals set— The surface is very calm and the ship pitches very gently, but some of the passengers soon became sick— The rapidity of the current of the Mississippi is such, that for several miles out into the Gulf, the water retains its freshness, and also its muddy colour— It was not till after we lost sight of land, that we could perceive the water becoming green. At sunset there were 9 sail in sight—

27th The wind still continues light and we got out studding sails— made about 3 knots At noon were only 10 miles to the Southward of the Balize— Our course is S.S.W. to Cape Florida

28th At noon we encountered a squall accompanied with heavy rain Saw several porpoises—and large shoals of small fish— After the squall had subsided, the wind fell calm.

29th Passed the Ship Balize on her voyage to Orleans—

30th This afternoon Capt. Grover grained a dolphin— It was about 31½ feet long, and after being hauled up on the forecastle, it assumed the most beautiful colours I ever saw— When first struck with the grains, it was a deep green— from that it changed to shades of orange, pale green, and pink, and continued changing its tints till it was quite dead— It is tolerably good eating— The Wind to day is ahead— (that is, N.E.) At noon we were 350 miles to the Southward of the Balize—

7thmo 1st Saw numbers of flying fish, and shoals of a small kind called rudder fish, as well as Portuguese men of war, surrounded the vessel—

2d Being within about 150 miles of Cuba, where there is a probability of our being attacked by the pirates who infest the coast, the captain ordered all the small arms on board, (14 muskets) to be cleaned and prepared for action—

The ship carries one long six pounder— but with such a trifling armament, the probability of beating off an enemy, in case of an attack is very doubtful. Several of the passengers are sick, and one man appears to be almost past recovery— The wind to day dead ahead— no sail in sight—

3^d The captain grained another dolphin— large shoals of them are playing round our ship— This day we were put on our allowance of water, 3 quarts per man— One sail in sight astern, steering our course

4th Made out the sail in sight to be the Commodore Barry, of Philada, which came through the Balize with us— By an observation to day we were in lat. 26.43 north. longitude per Chronometer 85.15. West of Greenwich— Cape St. Antonio, the principal nest of the pirates, bearing due South, 50 miles distant— We are now in the most dangerous part of our voyage— three days of fair wind will carry us out of all danger of being plundered by these execrable villains—

5th The captain grained several dolphins to day— They surround the ship in shoals, in chase of flying fish and other small fry which abound in these waters— The flying fish frequently start from a wave, and fly 150 yards before they alight in the water— they are from 3 to 8 inches long with two long fins like the wings of a bird— The dolphins are so eager in the pursuit of them, that they sometimes dart entirely out of the water and catch them before they reach it again. The grains are a sort of harpoon, with four prongs, attached to a handle about 8 feet long with a small line to haul the fish up after striking him— The captain is very expert at striking them

6th At noon, the Commodore Barry being about 3 miles to leeward, we saw a schooner edging up to her— Our fears were immediately excited by the supposition that she was a pirate, but after speaking the Barry, the stranger bore away North, and was soon out of sight—

7th We have had a succession of squalls for these few days past, accompanied with heavy rain. the wind varying from South to E.S.E.— There is such a sea running to day, that it dashes over her bows— hove the lead, but found no bottom with a line of 80 fathoms, at 8 o'clock. A.M. at 12 sounded again, and found 52 fathoms—a bottom of grey sand. At 1 o'clock, it came on to blow a gale from S.E. took in our royals, topgallants, and studding sails— as the gale increased, and was driving us fast on the Florida shore, kept her close hauled and lay too— at 4 o'clock reefed the fore and main topsail, sounded again, and found 42 fathoms— The ship labours very much, but we are compelled to keep a press of sail on her, to prevent her from driving on shore— We are now on the Tortugas banks— It rained all day, and our situation is very uncomfortable—with the additional prospect of being driven on the Florida shore, where if we should even escape with our lives, we should have to traverse a considerable extent of swampy thicket before we could reach a settlement— However we were not reduced to that extremity; for a little after dark, the wind shifted, and we were enabled to lay our course—

12th After beating about till we were all tired, constantly baffled by head winds, we have at last got fairly into the Gulf Stream; and this morning the Island of Cuba was full in sight bearing due South 20 miles distant— During the 16 days that we have been at sea, we have only made 550 miles headway— Our prospect is, however better than it has been— As we shall have the benefit of a 3 knot current, we may consider the voyage as fully half completed. We kept pretty well off the shore, in order to avoid being seen by the pirates— The land we see is low country between Havana and Matanzas— While we were at breakfast we were alarmed at the cry of 'a sail ahead,' and soon saw a vessel which proved to be a brig ahead, and apparently bearing up for us— Our fears subsided, however, when we saw that she kept on her course to leeward of us— at 9 made her out to be a man of war brig. She showed English colours, but did not hail us. She passed us without speaking—

14th Our allowance of water was reduced to 5 pints to day— Made the Florida coast—

15th Doubled Cape Florida, and for the first time since being at sea, had a fair wind— Steered North by East—

16th The wind freshened this morning, and by noon we had run 256 miles from Cape Florida— We have now the cheering prospect of making the Capes of Delaware in 4 or 5 days—

19th This morning the sea changed its colour from a deep blue to green, an indication of our being out of the Gulf stream and in soundings— At 4 o'clock saw Cape Hatteras and the light house from the topgallant mast head— hove the lead, and found bottom at 75 [?] fathoms— The winds have been very light for several days past— A large shoal of porpoises passed us to day, bound south Flocks of birds about the size of swallows, called Mother Carey's chickens, have been in sight of us ever since we left the Balize. Sounded again at 5 o'clock, and found but 19 fathoms, though we were nearly 30 miles from the cape— The shoals which extend out from Hatteras, make this a very dangerous place in rough weather; for when a vessel strikes, the distance to the land is so great, that there is hardly a possibility of her crew reaching it alive— We had a light but fair wind, and with studding sails set, scudded merrily along, at the rate of 7 knots—

20th At noon we were in lat. 37.4 within less than 90 miles of Cape Hatteras— loaded the gun, to fire for a pilot, and waited in anxious expectation of seeing the wished for land— the wind still fair and fresh, and going from 5 to 7 knots— To our disappointment, however, the sun set without our seeing either land or pilot boats— It soon became cloudy, and the flashes of lightning which darted in rapid succession indicated a wet and stormy night— Nothing but grumbling and dissatisfaction was to be seen or heard— We had the prospect of a wet and stormy night, and of having to lie too or run out to sea till day light, when we had been so confident of having a pilot on board, and of being

inside the cape before morning, that several oyster suppers had been staked on it by the passengers— Most of them had turned in, to forget their vexation in sleep— I was standing on the forecastle talking with the watch, when he pointed to a dark spot in the water on our lee; we watched it for about a minute, when he called out, "Captain, a pilot boat, a pilot boat to leeward!" The effect was electrical— The sound of his voice had hardly reached the quarter deck, before the cabin, steerage, and deck passengers were on their feet, and as a flash just then gave us a full view of her, standing for us, within 10 or 12 yards of us, a burst of joy was heard from every one— She hailed us with two questions, where bound, and whether we had a pilot, which being answered, she ran round our stern, (we of course lying too), and a pilot came on board— After enquiring for vessels astern of us, the boat continued her cruise. At 11, the storm that had been threatening us, burst with all its fury— The wind, to our mortification veered round to N.E.— and beat us off shore— took in all the light sails and close reefed the topsails— At day break the wind lulled a little, but was still in the same direction— no land in sight— at 8 made the land, about 30 miles distant— and at dusk came to anchor above Lewestown—

22d Beat up to the highlands of Christiana, and anchored—

23d, at 2 o'clock let go our anchor at the quarantine ground— A boat came off to us with the port physician, who slightly examined us and took off two of the passengers, who were unwell with the fever and ague— After going on shore, he sent us off a batteau load of fresh break, milk, butter, & eggs, which were bought with an eagerness that made the boatmen laugh, used as they probably are to such scenes— but after being confined for some time to salt provisions and short allowance of water, fresh ones acquire a relish which people on shore have no idea of—

24th Came ashore to the Lazaretto, and after signing a bond not to enter the city or county of Philada within 15 days or till the ship should be liberated, I and my companion crossed the Delaware, and came to Joshua Nicholson's—

27th the vessel was liberated this day, and on the morning of the 28th I returned to Philada, after an absence of two years, two months, & 19 days— found my relations and friends generally well, and had a small portion of the overjoyful in meeting them. There have been a great many alterations and improvements in Philada since I left it—

9thmo 2d Took leave of the parties concerned, and sat off on my return— came to Darby—

4th Came to Wilmington

6th to Frenchtown²⁷ and at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 7th arrived in the

²⁷ Teas seems to have traveled overland to Frenchtown, Maryland, at the head of Chesapeake Bay since the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was not completed until 1829. See Alvin F. Harlow, "Chesapeake and Delaware Canal," in *Dictionary of American History*, 5 vols. and index (New York, 1940), I, 354.

S. Boat U. S. at Fell's Point, Baltimore— found my brother John & family all well

12th This day being the anniversary of the battle of North Point,²⁸ the finishing stroke was put to a monument erected in commemoration of that event, by placing a female figure, representing the genius of Columbia, on the top of it; a ceremony which was performed amid the thunder of cannon and all due military parade. There are several cases of yellow fever on Fell's Point—

14th at 4 o'clock A. M. took leave of Baltimore— came through Ellicottville, New Lisbon, New Market, Fredericktown, Boonsborough, and Jerusalem, to Hagarstown 72 miles— fare 6 dollars— Till within a few miles of Hagarstown, the land is miserably poor—

15th Sat off at 3 o'clock, and passed over an excellent, though mountainous, road, to Cumberland 65 miles. fare 6 dollars—

16th Crossed the Maryland line into Penn. on the U. S. turnpike a road which is far from answering the description I had heard of it— It is very rough, the stone bridges generally in a state of dilapidation, and the ruts in some places much too deep for a turnpike road— passed Smithfield and Monroe, to Union town 62 miles—6 dolls. crossed Laurel Hill, the last of the mountains.

17th came to Brownsville 12 miles, to breakfast thence to Washington 22, and arrived at dusk at Wheeling, 65 miles. From Brownsville the U. S. road is in much better order than east of it— Some of the bridges are handsomely built fare 4.50— from Balt. \$22.50— The Ohio is very low— There was a smart frost this morning.

20th I met here a man who came round from Orleans with me, and we embarked in a skiff for Cincinnati— crossed Letart's Falls on the 24th and after lying 2 nights in the skiff arrived at Gallipolis— found it a tedious mode of travelling— 27 and concluded to go on by land. sold the skiff, and embarked our baggage in a keel to Cincinnati. but it rained for 3 days made the roads so muddy that we concluded to go on by water, especially as the river had risen 22 feet— bot a canoe— came 20 miles 1st day 30th, and left her on the beach where next morning the fresh had taken her off— came on foot 12 miles over bayous mud and bushes a tremendous tramp, to Burlington [Ohio] bot another canoe, and on the 3d of Oct arrived at Cincinnati.

4th went up to Hamilton got there at dusk at 9 set off and after travelling

²⁸ The battle referred to was a skirmish between the Baltimore militia and the British regulars under the command of Major General Robert Ross on September 12, 1814. Ross was killed, but the British troops forced the raw American levies back from their position on North Point and approached the city though sustaining heavy losses in the process. They finally retreated without an assault, concluding that the capture of the city would not repay the probable losses. Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* [during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison], 9 vols. (New York, 1903-1904), VIII, 168-72.

all night arrived at Strattans on the 5th after an absence of 5 months & 25 days—having travelled 4978 miles by land and water—²⁹

Flour at Huntsville, (Alabama) of a very indifferent quality, 9 dolls. in paper currency 10 per ct. below par, but which will purchase cotton for the Cincinnati market at 14 cts per lb— Freight in keels from the mouth of Tennessee to the rapids 1 a 1½ cts— thence 70 miles by land to Huntsville & the interior ¾ a 1 cent— The road level & good in the summer— Pork & bacon will not do— The demand supplied from Tennessee— Flour has sold in Huntsville at \$24.—

S. Fine Ohio flour at Pensacola, E. Florida 8 a 9 dols— farther up the river, better prices Pork likely to do there— beware of trying

The Alabama cotton inferior in quality to that of Louisiana & Carolina about 3 a 4 cts lower— but suits best for manufacturers of coarse cloths—plaids shirtings, and other plain domestics— The difference in the quality rather owing to the inexperience of the Alabama planters, than any inferiority in the cotton itself— It is not so carefully cleaned of the seed &c, but is stronger than the sea-island—

Tow linen a pretty good article at Natchez and below for Slave's clothing— from 20 to 37½ cts— Thread assorted (white) 87½ to 1.00 per lb

A trip up Big Black, 50 miles above here (Natchez) in November, with an assorted cargo—hams (bacon), flour some pork, good potatoes, sour crout or pickled cabbage, to Alexandria, 60 miles from its mouth might be profitable—at least so sayeth the renowned Abraham DeFrance, U. S. Agent for the erection of public buildings at Columbia—

Capt. S. Hittle	Dr.
To a lantern at Lawrenceburg—	0.50
Pilotage over rapids of Ohio—	2.00
2½ lbs sugar at Yellow banks—	.50
2 " candles " 25 a —	.50
¼ " pepper — " 75 —	18 ¾
1 keg lard 32 lbs at 6 a	1.92
1 lb nails	12 ½
1½ pecks beans	31 1/6
1 lb coffee at the mouth of Arkansaw.	.50
2½ " sugar at Point Checo.....	.50
1 bbl flour	4.00

\$ 11.04 ½

Procurez pour la S. une mouchoir des epaules de Crepon de Canton— Aussi—

²⁹ This concludes the journal proper, but the added material on markets and prices and the shopping list of gifts for Teas' friends seemed to warrant inclusion.

une bonnet aussi convenable pour elle, une paire des souliers du couleur de thé,—et la pattern du bonnet.

Pour Madame S. des poemes de Fry.

" J. Nicholson deux cravats (cross barred) de H. Miller. Pour sa femme soie pour une bonnet—

(Presents)— Pour C Teas a bed tick &c— 1 doz knives & fourchettes— et la secret de tan et sand paper

Pour—Brown Les Oüvres de Milton

— Mademoiselle Endicot un paire des gants— Pour ma chere S. une pattern d'un coat— c'est á dire pour faire une habit par la— Pour des garçons de' Strat-tan's, des livres convenables pour elles— Procurez pour mon frere C— une paire des pantaloons qu il a laisser avec la Veuve Wilson. Del.

Book Reviews

The Mind of the South. By W. J. Cash. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941. Pp. xi, 429, xv. \$3.75.)

The problems that Mr. Cash attacks are the imponderables and the intangibles of southern history. Among them are the South's inveterate romanticism, its violence, its relative lack of class feeling, its weakness for rhetoric, its paradoxical combinations of hedonism and puritanism, of aristocratic tradition and democratic professions. These problems are more amenable to the methods of the novelist than to those of the historian, and Mr. Cash has fortunately chosen a literary and imaginative rather than a scholarly approach. He has not attempted to write intellectual history, and must be forgiven for ignoring some of the South's most important minds in writing about the mind of the South. In place of the novelist's protagonist or the intellectual historian's Important Mind, Mr. Cash sets up an ingenious figure of his own invention, "the basic Southerner" or "the man at the center." This "simple generic figure" is endowed with suitable sectional traits and characteristics and put to numerous uses. Like his cousins, the Noble Savage and the Economic Man, the Basic Southerner shares the hazards of all philosophical abstractions, but his creator does not take him too seriously and manages to keep him pretty well in hand. His traits, and those of the Old South, are the subject of the first quarter of the book. The remaining space is given over to the South since 1865.

The distinctive thesis of Mr. Cash's book is the continuity of the southern mind and to a lesser extent its unity. "The mind of the section," he reiterates, "is continuous with the past." He brushes aside impatiently the legend of the romanticizers that the Old South was "swept both socially and mentally into the limbo of things that were and are not" by the Civil War, and insists that "the extent of the change and of the break between the Old South that was and the South of our time has been vastly exaggerated." His emphasis is always upon "the ancient pattern" of the southern mind eternally shaping events to its own uses. Now this thesis will probably find cordial reception as a corrective. It is not only the romanticizers, but the professional historians as well, with their "period" books and courses, who must share the blame for neglecting important themes of continuity. The general effect of Mr. Cash's revisionist ideas should be invigorating and helpful to an extent.

The reservations of this reviewer, however, have to do mainly with this very

thesis of continuity. Certain curious consequences follow from Mr. Cash's insistence on his thesis. Partly they are due to overstatement. There are undoubtedly striking points of similarity between the paternalism of the plantation and that of certain textile towns of the piedmont, but these hardly warrant the statement that the factory is "essentially indistinguishable in organization from the familiar pattern of the cotton fields." All the complex economic and social changes following 1880 and the South's adoption of the Gospel of Progress seem to Mr. Cash "essentially superficial and unrevolutionary," wrought easily "within the ancient framework, and even sometimes contribute to the positive strengthening of the ancient pattern!" Progress, far from conflicting with the aristocratic ideal, was "in some measure the outgrowth of that ideal." The conversion to the whole pattern of New South ideology was "merely a revolution in tactics" to buttress "the ancient pattern"—"a sort of new charge at Gettysburg." Mr. Cash goes the whole way. He points to the skyscraper protruding absurdly over the skyline of southern towns and asks, "Softly, do you not hear behind that the gallop of Jeb Stuart's cavalymen?" The reviewer, for one, admits that no skyscraper he has yet seen has called up any such ghostly echoes.

The trouble would seem to be more than riding a thesis too hard. It goes back to Mr. Cash's dismissal of the basic agrarian economy of the Old South as having anything fundamental to do with the shape and character of the southern mind. As for "conscious loyalty to the agrarian way," the Southerner "had little or nothing," he asserts. Consequently he minimizes any change of mentality concurrent with the breakup of the ancient economy and the rise of a new one. This may be his difficulty also in interpreting Populism—always a sore subject for insisters on the South's unity. Unable to discover any sense of realism in the movement, he admits its leaders were "rebels" but "rebels, not against the social and economic set-up as such, but simply against the jobholding hierarchy of the established Democratic organization."

In the last quarter of the book, from the World War to the present, the "ancient pattern" gradually drops from view. In fact, Mr. Cash makes the point that the stresses and strains of the 1920's and 1930's have done much to alter the stream of continuity and threaten the artificial unity of southern society. Mainly sociological and economic, this section contains some brilliant analysis. The book as a whole, it is only fair to say, is enlivened by penetrating observation. Mr. Cash has boldly attacked the most difficult and obscure problems of southern mentality. He has labored with originality at his task and has written a stimulating book.

Scripps College

C. VANN WOODWARD

Letters of Robert Carter, 1720-1727: The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman. Edited by Louis B. Wright. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1940. Pp. xiv, 153. Illustrations, appendix. \$2.50.)

Robert Carter, born in 1663, lived at Corotoman in Lancaster County on the Rappahannock near Chesapeake Bay. Known to contemporaries as "King" Carter, he was one of the wealthiest and most powerful inhabitants of the Virginia Northern Neck in the first third of the eighteenth century. At twenty-eight he was first elected burgess, became speaker twice, and sat in the Council from 1699 to his death in 1732. In 1702-1711 and again in 1723-1732 he was agent for the Fairfax estate. At the time of his death the *Gentleman's Magazine* stated that he owned "about 300,000 acres of land, 1,000 negroes, and £10,000 in money," but the inventory of his estate listed only a little more than seven hundred slaves. The letters, some 110 in number, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, are "copies made by Carter's secretaries." All but fourteen were written from midsummer of 1720 to midsummer of 1721 when the bursting of John Law's Mississippi Bubble and the South Sea Bubble were rocking the financial world, and when privateers were preying on shipping off Virginia. Meanwhile, Carter, too shrewd to be caught by speculation, had—or thought he had—plenty to worry over: the possible glut of the market, higher profit rates charged by sea captains fearful of pirates, the loss he feared in trade through the death of the elder Micajah in the well-known firm of Perry—the letters from the merchants would come in "full of such bad news I don't know how to give them a proper answer." Carter's letters are bare, occasionally harsh, and at times show irritability. Although fair, he is not lovable whether writing to his merchants or reproving his extravagant young son at one of the Inns of Court. The editor includes a brief, interesting introduction and points to Carter as "a working gentleman." "The planter-businessmen, it is true," he says, "did not wear aprons and stand behind counters, but they bought and sold, and were mightily pleased when they could turn a neat profit, whether from the sale of tobacco in London, slaves in Virginia, or goods brought over to plantation stores from European market places." He says also: "Though these men were a proud and class-conscious group, they would have dismissed as nonsense any talk of the taint of trade. That was left to their poorer descendants in the nineteenth century." In fairness, leading ante-bellum nineteenth-century Virginian planters were no less working gentlemen as is proved by the diaries, daybooks, letter books, or ledgers and journals of Hill Carter, John Selden, James Bruce, and Thomas and William Massie. Hill Carter sold his surplus butter for years and "occasionally calves, lambs, pigs, timber, cordwood, anchor stocks, and even ice." James Bruce ran nine county stores, flour mills, and other projects. As to their being poorer, John Selden might sit down with fifty-two at his table; Thomas Massie gave each son a plantation and other property to the value of about \$37,000 in addition to leaving

\$20,000 on deposit, and \$50,000 in Richmond bank stocks; and Samuel Hairston of Pittsylvania County owned nearly 1,700 slaves. Any talk of "taint of trade" probably referred to that of wholesale city merchants, bankers, and manufacturers who did not live on the land; but the intimate social relations of the planters with these groups, including their ceaseless intermarriage, shattered any pretense to reality in talk of "taint of trade."

Historical Records Survey of Virginia

KATHLEEN BRUCE

Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U.S.N. By Hulbert Footner. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. Pp. ix, 323. Illustrations, maps. \$3.50.)

It has long been a matter of curiosity to this reviewer that the American people have been allowed to forget the exploits and public services of Joshua Barney of Baltimore. This robust sea dog of the breed of Drake and Paul Jones all but cried out for a biographer. His sea fights and captures and imprisonments and hazardous cruises match in number and in thrilling interest the adventures of naval heroes of fiction created by Cooper and Marryat and C. S. Forester. In 1832 a little-known memoir was written by a daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary Barney, and in 1924 a boy's book was written by Ralph D. Paine based upon Mrs. Barney's uncritical and inadequate volume. Historians have neglected this important naval captain. But Mr. Hulbert Footner, a writer of adventure-detective fiction and the author in 1939 of *Charles' Gift*, a book on the Chesapeake Bay country in which he has lived for years, was determined to rescue Joshua Barney from an undeserved obscurity. And this he has done in a fast-moving popular biography which will entertain all readers who like a good sea yarn of sailing-ship days. It will also give the historian some new sidelights on maritime activities during the American and French revolutions and the War of 1812.

Barney's adventures began when he went to sea at the age of thirteen. Two years later, master by accident of a leaky merchantman, he traded in Europe with profit, outwitted grasping officials, aided the Spaniards against the Dey of Algiers, and returned to Baltimore just in time to enter the new Revolutionary navy, a lieutenant at the age of seventeen. He distinguished himself against the British blockaders of the Delaware, made a most daring escape from Mill Prison in England, and in April of 1782, captain of the *Hyder-Ally* at the age of twenty-two, revealed the qualities of a great naval officer in his brilliant victory in Delaware Bay over the *General Monk*. A partisan of the French Revolution, he traded with Haiti, witnessed the uprising of the slaves, had several vessels captured by British privateers, and was almost hanged as a pirate in Jamaica for recapturing one of his own merchantmen. He went to Paris with James Monroe in 1794, and for several years cruised in West Indian

waters as a commodore in the French navy. At the beginning of the War of 1812 with his letter of marque *Rossie* he captured fifteen British prizes in forty-five days. As commander of the Chesapeake Bay flotilla he successfully defended the Patuxent approach to Washington until August of 1814, and then directed the gallant defense at Bladensburg of the marines and flotilla men, the only event of "The Bladensburg Races" that Americans like to recall.

All this and more Mr. Footner has narrated with gusto and with the skill of a professional storyteller. He is never guilty of pedantic stodginess, although at times he lapses into journalesque. He has drawn heavily upon Mrs. Barney's anecdotal memoir, but he has done a good deal of independent research. In his chapter notes he has listed most of the sources, published and in manuscript, which bear directly upon Barney. The historian, critical fellow that he is and should be, will find flaws. For example, since Mr. Footner abjures footnotes one is at a loss as to the particular source used, and one wonders here and there whether some of the direct quotations are uncritically taken from Mrs. Barney's memoir or are attributable to the author's talents for fictional dialogue. It is unfortunate that such a suspicion should occasionally arise, for on the whole Mr. Footner has done more spadework than most popular biographers and he has in lively fashion told a neglected story well worth the telling.

University of Virginia

BERNARD MAYO

Reverend Devil, A Biography of John A. Murrell. By Ross Phares. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1941. Pp. ix, 263. Bibliography, illustrations, map. \$2.50.)

The subject of the land and river pirates in the southern United States has ever been a popular one. Fragments of this chapter of American history have been written in magazine and newspaper articles, and several books have been written about these ruffians. Many of the early Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi papers carried brief accounts of the activities of robbers operating along the highways of the Lower South. Occasionally a warning appeared in these papers telling people of the communities in the path of the bandits to be on the lookout for the rascals, or that counterfeiters were distributing their worthless money right and left. Chief of these highwaymen was John A. Murrell. He was a Tennessee boy, the son of a wild, adventurous mother and a trifling preacher father. The boy got his first taste of blood when his mother robbed and murdered a peddler, and from this beginning he became a scoundrel among scoundrels.

Ross Phares has written the complete story of the sordid life of this heartless creature. He has investigated a vast amount of source material, and he has made judicious use of it in his book. Likewise, he has traveled, or at least he gives a definite impression of having done so, over most of the territory

involved. He has the ability to make his reader sense the geographical situation through which his characters are traveling. For instance, the account of the journey of Murrell and Virgil Stewart across Tennessee and Arkansas is vivid writing.

The account of the capture and trial of the conspirators in the proposed slave insurrection at Livingston, Mississippi, is a strange chapter in southern history. It is a colorful study in ante-bellum fear psychology and extrajudicial criminal procedure. Murrell's gang had the fantastic notion that it could bring about the universal uprising of the slaves, and that it could destroy the white masters and rule the country. In the trials at Livingston evidence was produced that plans were actually on foot for the capture of all the Mississippi country including the important city of Natchez. This scheme, however, was stopped short by the wholesale hanging of those implicated in the conspiracy.

While much of his gang was being destroyed by the hangman's noose in Mississippi, Murrell was languishing in the Tennessee penitentiary reading his tattered Bible and his lawbook. After having served almost all of a ten-year sentence, he was released from prison, but the old days were gone. The country had become settled. His gang was dispersed, and his plot stood exposed. From the gates of the penitentiary, the final trail of Murrell grows dim. Mr. Phares has run down many of the legends and rumors without reaching any definite conclusion as to what became of the famous highwayman. His story quickly became legend, and no one knows what the facts are.

Mr. Phares has done a good piece of writing. He has chosen his material wisely, but both he and his publishers have marred his book by allowing far too many typographical errors to get by them. Likewise, there are some careless grammatical slips. The names of two Tennessee counties are misspelled: "Murry" for "Maury" (p. 202), and "Bleadsoe" for "Bledsoe" (p. 243). The city of Natchez is mentioned on page 237 when it should be Vicksburg. There are some excellent woodcuts, an index, and a bibliography.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

The Road from Monticello: A Study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832.
By Joseph Clarke Robert. *Historical Papers of The Trinity College Historical Society*, Series XXIV. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. ix, 127. Appendices. \$1.00.)

This study is a short but careful examination of the last of the southern attempts to abolish slavery. The book opens with an explanation of how the Nat Turner insurrection intensified the already-formed desire of the people of Virginia to work out a solution to the problem of what to do about slavery. The action of the legislators as they strove to solve the complex question is then investigated. Conservatives and slaveowners generally opposed abolition; liber-

als and delegates from the nonslaveholding sections of western Virginia (led by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, slaveholder from the piedmont) favored emancipation; a small group of compromisers, who held the balance of power, approved of eventual emancipation but did not wish immediate legislative action. After two weeks of debate, in the course of which the institution of slavery was thoroughly discussed, the lawmakers decided that it was "inexpedient for the present legislature to make any legislative enactment for the abolition of slavery."

The attitude of the other states toward the debates is briefly summarized. In the free states Virginia's antislavery movement "aroused amazement and hope." The citizens of the slave states, with a few exceptions, seemed to feel that the less said about slavery the better.

The final chapter discusses the swing of Virginia public opinion toward conservatism after the debate; explains why the spirit of reform declined; examines Thomas R. Dew's *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1831 and 1832*; and shows how later exponents and opponents of slavery utilized the various arguments advanced in the debate.

Less than one half of the book deals with the debate. The remaining portion consists of well-chosen selections from the speeches of the legislators, and tables which list the delegates, individual and sectional slaveholdings, and votes on the principal motions. From the tables, and from two maps, the author shows clearly that the voting closely followed sectional and slaveholding lines.

Two common misconceptions are laid at rest: the idea that Nat Turner was inspired by inflammatory utterances which had appeared in William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*; and the legend that the motion to emancipate the slaves failed of passage by a single vote. The work is thoroughly documented—although there is no bibliography—and the index is adequate. The only criticism of *The Road from Monticello* is that it lacks fullness of detail.

Junior College of Augusta

ALBERT SIMPSON

Zachary Taylor: Soldier of the Republic. By Holman Hamilton. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941. Pp. 335. Bibliography, illustrations, maps. \$3.50.)

Mr. Hamilton, editorial writer of the Fort Wayne *Journal-Gazette*, has written an extremely intelligent and critical appraisal of Zachary Taylor, the soldier and the man. He presents his subject not as a tactical genius with a flare for dramatic leadership but as an able, stouthearted, self-sacrificing, frontier soldier, who at fifty-nine was "a relatively unknown brevet brigadier general concerned as much with plantation problems as with affairs of a military nature." After 1845 this plain, friendly man was catapulted into fame and the presidency by his victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista.

For almost forty years preceding the Mexican War, Taylor commanded in one capacity or another on the frontier, and it seems to the reviewer that the most important contribution of this volume is concerned with his peacetime activities as an officer in the United States army. Taylor himself grudgingly admitted that "the ax, pick, saw and trowel has become more the implement of the American soldier, than the cannon, musket or sword." The army conducted surveys, built roads and forts, made treaties, defended whites and Indians, dredged rivers, publicized the West, and acted in many civil capacities. Delicate negotiations which prevented armed conflict may not make exciting reading, but they did contribute greatly to frontier development. Army life, despite occasional romantic episodes, was hard, dreary, and monotonous. Taylor reflected typical officer attitudes in being able to see the Indian point of view, in hating whisky sellers, and in despising speculators and fur-trading companies. To him the American Fur Company was composed of "the greatest scoundrels the world ever knew."

The author recognizes the impossibility of presenting the complete truth of any military campaign, particularly where testimony is conflicting and politics are involved. He has full praise for Taylor, but always, as in the case of the Seminole and Black Hawk wars, he appears willing to give the enemies and rivals of "Old Rough and Ready" their due. He emphasizes Taylor's great capacity for inspiring unquestioning loyalty from his rank and file.

Some of the more erudite of the historical profession will object to the placing of footnotes, many of which are really stimulating, in the back of the book, and to the presence of such flippant expressions as "pundit of the Pilgrims," the "redskins were whooping bloody murder," and "Soon the jig was up. The beans were spilled." More serious is the biographer's apparent lack of knowledge of western causes of the War of 1812, first brought to notice by Pratt's *Expansionists of 1812*. The reviewer wonders why the United States, after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, "for the first time in history . . . held a clear title . . . to the entire Northwest," the justification for designating Fort Howard as "perhaps the most important military post in the United States," and if the United States Weather Bureau would substantiate the author's declaration that New Orleans in 1809 had "the hottest summer in twenty years."

It is to be hoped that the publishers and not Mr. Hamilton are responsible for the extravagant jacket blurb. It claims, for example, that "here for the first time the true romantic story of the courtship and marriage of Jefferson Davis and Zachary Taylor's daughter is revealed," when, as matter of fact, the highly impressive chapter devoted to this intriguing subject adds little to Walter L. Fleming's account in the Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*.

In spite of objections such as these, *Zachary Taylor* is a superior biography whose exhaustive annotation signifies years of painstaking research. It is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Hamilton chose to postpone until a second volume

the political campaign of 1848 and the story of Taylor's two years in the White House.

Claude G. Bowers has written a praiseworthy introduction in which he suggests that here is the definitive life of Taylor. The maps and illustrations are indicative of the attractiveness of the volume.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863. Volume IV, September 29, 1821-February 23, 1847. Edited by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1941. Pp. xxv, 548. \$3.25.)

In some respects this is perhaps the most significant volume that has appeared in this set. Of special importance is the fact that 235 pages are required for the printing of documents which belong to the period covered by the first three volumes and which have become available since Volume III was prepared for the printer. More than half of this new material falls within the period of Houston's second term as president of the Republic of Texas, and almost all of it comes from the hitherto inaccessible collections in the possession of his grandchildren. After reading it one is convinced that in releasing it at this time they have rendered an outstanding service both to the cause of Texas history and to the reputation of their grandfather. Not only does it throw new light on numerous events, individuals, and problems of the period, but it also quiets a vast amount of speculation as to whether it was being withheld because it was derogatory to Houston himself. When these documents are fitted into the gaps which their absence has caused in the pattern of Houston material previously available, the net result is a clearer impression of the man as he was, rather than as his enemies made him appear.

Equally important is the material presented in the remainder of this volume (pp. 235-548), covering the next three years beyond the date reached in Volume III. In as much as these three years embrace the last ten months of Houston's service as president, the climax of the annexation question under his successor, and the beginning of his long career as United States senator from Texas, one naturally hopes to find his writings of the period revealing his attitude toward the transition which was taking place. Nor is one disappointed. Here, for example, is new material which seems to contradict the hypothesis which Justin H. Smith stated thirty years ago (*The Annexation of Texas*, pp. 98-100, 373) that Houston desired Texas to remain independent. Here, too, is the answer to the charge of "blustering boastfulness" made by the present reviewer nearly twenty years ago (*The Expansionist Movement in Texas*, p. 118). Here, in short, is evidence which indicates that he consistently desired to see Texas become a part of the United States, and that he worked both directly and indirectly to bring this about on the most favorable terms possible for Texas.

With annexation accomplished, Houston became one of the United States senators from Texas, and within two weeks after taking the oath of office delivered an extended speech on the Oregon question (pp. 451-71) which may be considered as a forecast of the general character of his writings for the next thirteen years. In fact, his speeches during the first eleven months of his service as senator consume seventy-five of the last one hundred pages in this volume. At that rate, not less than two more volumes will be required to cover his Senate career alone, and for this reason it is gratifying to have the publisher's announcement that arrangements have been made to expand the set to seven volumes.

Vanderbilt University

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

American Slavery and Maine Congregationalists: A Chapter in the History of the Development of Anti-slavery Sentiment in the Protestant Churches of the North. By Calvin Montague Clark. (Bangor, Maine: The Author, 1940. Pp. xii, 198. \$1.50.)

It is clear from Professor Clark's monograph that most of the "Moderates" in the Congregational churches of Maine were effectively silenced or converted to abolitionism in the 1850's. After the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 came frank appeals to the Higher Law; as a consequence of the Kansas-Nebraska Act speakers at the State Conference of 1856 resolved "rather than submit to the extension of slavery and to have the system entailed upon us, to resist even unto blood" (p. 181). With such facts as these before him, Professor Clark believes that William Lloyd Garrison was mistaken in judging apathetic the northern churches.

The author, Waldo Professor-Emeritus of Ecclesiastical History in Bangor Theological Seminary, dedicates his book to the memory of Maine abolitionists. For the "Moderates"—a cautious, divaricating group made up of certain church leaders in the commercial cities, pastors who had sojourned in the South, and disciples of the American Colonization Society—Professor Clark has scant sympathy. He interprets the sectional controversy as fundamentally a great moral struggle; on the one side were the forces of good, on the other the forces of evil.

Quite rightly Professor Clark wishes to present the national political story as a background to his narrative, but not infrequently he defeats his purpose with ambiguities, erroneous implications, or outright mistakes as to facts. The author appears to be a stranger to the major works on the slavery problem which have been written in the last twenty-five years. First planned as a chapter in the proposed third volume of his *History of the Congregational Churches in Maine*, Professor Clark's essay under review has matured beyond the original concept in size, but hardly in perspective.

The reader is aided by the index, but baffled by several cryptic bibliographical footnotes. There was a near-tragedy when the name of Sumner's assailant was printed as "Rhett Butler" (p. 184) instead of Preston S. Brooks. Fortunately, the error was caught in time to be corrected with pen and ink.

Duke University

JOSEPH C. ROBERT

Lincoln Takes Command. By John Shipley Tilley. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xxxvii, 334. Appendices. \$3.50.)

Most historians of the South know the story of the Southerner who desired "An impartial history of the War Between the States from the Southern point of view." Such historians reading John Shipley Tilley's recent book may conclude that he has provided the first installment of such a history. *Lincoln Takes Command* is a detailed study of the Federal government's policy with reference to Fort Pickens and Fort Sumter throughout the secession crisis, and from it there emerges a picture of Confederate sincerity, forbearance, and peaceful intention, contrasted with Federal falsehood, duplicity, and oblique belligerence.

Mr. Tilley's study clarifies and emphasizes much that has long been neglected by orthodox historians, and his points are stated with vigor that is distinctly damaging to certain lax writers whom he refutes. In this connection one may cite his exposure of the disingenuousness of Joseph Holt (p. 153), and his treatment of the inconsistent missions of Gustavus Fox and of Ward Lamon to Sumter. In the opinion of the reviewer, his most significant contribution is his irrefutable proof of the fact that Lincoln knowingly violated the truce which Buchanan had established at Fort Pickens. Nicolay later denied that Lincoln was aware of the terms of the truce, but Tilley destroys this alibi. As a corrective to the Lincoln legend, therefore, this study is a distinct contribution.

Unfortunately, however, the author's talent is not coupled with freedom from bias, nor with a wide familiarity with source materials, and, as a result, his narrative constitutes an indictment rather than a history. His partiality toward the Confederacy appears in his repeated insistence upon the peaceable inclination of the secessionists—as if there were virtue in their desire to get clear of the Union without fighting. Similarly, in any case where Lincoln's action can be construed in diverse ways, the author presents the more damaging interpretation. Where others detect ineptitude, inexperience, and hesitation in Lincoln's deeds, Mr. Tilley finds adroit chicanery and wily stratagem.

Most of Mr. Tilley's readers will know how to discount his point of view, but they are likely to be seriously misled by his neglect of pertinent sources. This assumes vital importance in connection with his treatment of the generally accepted story that Lincoln reluctantly decided upon an expedition to Sumter because a shortage of provisions made surrender the only alternative to supply. Previous historians have agreed that a letter of Major Anderson, written Feb-

ruary 28 and delivered March 5, with a covering note by Secretary of War Holt, first acquainted Lincoln with the privation at Sumter. Mr. Tilley notes, as was noted sixty years ago in the *Official Records* (Vol. I, Ser. I, p. 191), that Anderson's letter is not to be found. He pursues the subject by a correspondence, through the Assistant Librarian of the Montgomery Library Association, with the Acting Superintendent of the Reading Rooms of the Library of Congress. This yielding nothing, he infers that no message of such a tenor was ever sent, and that "it was not the privation at Sumter which caused Lincoln to send his armed fleet to Charleston." The reader is left to suppose that Thornton Lothrop, Rhodes, Nicolay and Hay, Ida Tarbell, Muzzey, and Gideon Welles acquired the "privation" story by fabrication or some equally unacceptable process, and that no original source exists to validate such a story. Tilley ignores these items: (1) letters of Anderson, February 26 and March 1, numbered in such a way as to indicate that another letter had intervened; (2) a statement of Buchanan that a letter from Anderson, read in cabinet on March 4, occasioned great surprise to Holt and "every other member of the cabinet"; (3) Holt's letter to Lincoln, March 5, which accompanied Anderson's letter, with the comment that it was "of a most important and unexpected character"; (4) an entry in Edward Bates' Diary, March 9, stating that he had been informed of Anderson's opinion that Sumter had but twenty-eight days' provision; and (5) Lincoln's message to Congress of July 4, 1861, relating that on March 5 there was placed in his hands a letter of Major Anderson, stating the opinion that "reinforcements could not be thrown into the fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions."

These documents do not conclusively prove the validity of the "privation" story. The disappearance of Anderson's letter remains a mystery; the narratives of some secondary writers remain unsupported. But Mr. Tilley should not write on the Sumter episode without awareness of these sources, and, if aware of them, he should not keep them from the knowledge of readers who are asked to accept a revolutionary thesis.

The Rice Institute

DAVID M. POTTER

West Point in the Confederacy. By Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. (New York: G. A. Baker and Company, Inc., 1941. Pp. xxxii, 491. Bibliography, tables. \$3.50.)

Of the graduates of West Point who served in the Confederate armies, all are now dead. This fact, together with the passing of much of the bitterness engendered by the great conflict of the 1860's makes it possible to review the military careers of these men with greater objectivity than was manifested in Cullum's *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (1891), which dismissed each of those who had taken service with the South with some such note as "Joined the Rebellion against the United States in 1861."

The volume at hand is a compilation of the individual prewar and Civil War records, and where obtainable brief notices of the subsequent careers of the survivors, of the 304 West Point graduates who served the Confederacy. Among these were eight generals, fifteen lieutenant generals, thirty-nine major generals, and eighty-six brigadier generals, as well as the President of the Confederacy himself. Seventy-two West Point men died in the service of the South: thirty-five on the field of battle, thirty from wounds or illness, one accidentally at the hands of his own men, one from suicide, two in duels with fellow officers, one from assassination, and two from unknown causes. A list of the graduates who fought with the Confederacy showing their respective class standing fails to reveal any relation between either behavior or scholarship at the Academy and subsequent capacity for leadership or skill in generalship. Lee was second in his class, it is true, but Kirby-Smith and Longstreet graduated near the bottom of their classes, and Jefferson Davis stood twenty-third in a class of thirty-three.

After reading this volume one cannot fail to be impressed with the significant role in the South's fortunes played by the lack of co-operation displayed by West Pointers who served in its armed forces. The sorry spectacles revealed in such episodes as the Davis-Beauregard-Johnston controversy, the conflicts between Bragg and his generals, Stonewall Jackson's treatment of A. P. Hill, and the violent recriminations that characterized the postwar memoirs of certain commanders, all of which are here set forth anew, give color to the author's suggestion that these acts of unfriendliness and jealousy "not improbably contributed to the downfall of the Confederacy."

Unfortunately, the work is marred by numerous errors. It would be interesting to know the authority upon which rests the statement that "Every Southern State was represented in the Union Army by one or more regiments, not including those composed entirely of negroes" (p. 15). D. H. Hill retired to Davidson College, not "Dickinson College" (p. 191) after his demotion in 1863, and Stephen D. Lee's death occurred in 1908 rather than 1868 (as stated on p. 378). The statement "no facts known" regarding the duel between William R. Calhoun and Alfred Rhett (p. 312) overlooks Rhett's pamphlet describing this incident with accompanying documents. A little research would have brought to light the fact that Andrew Jackson, '58, of whom it is said "After the War, nothing is known of his career" (p. 360), was a grandson of the President by that name and that for many years after the war he lived quietly at the Hermitage. An uncalled-for slip in the bibliography allocates to *Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd* (1935) a work by Gustavus W. Smith published in 1892. Such faults must detract from the reliability of the volume and prevent its attaining the reputation which a handbook of this sort deserves.

Camp Morton, 1861-1865: Indianapolis Prison Camp. By Hattie Lou Winslow and Joseph R. H. Moore. Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, Volume XIII, Number 3. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1940. Pp. 225-383. Illustrations, appendices. \$.75.)

On April 17, 1861, Henderson's Grove—long a favorite picnic ground at the outskirts of Indianapolis—was hastily transformed into a training camp for Indiana volunteers. The new cantonment center was named Camp Morton. All available buildings, including open stalls, were converted into quarters for the officers and men, while new structures were built of green lumber. Bedlam reigned as military and state officials sought to relieve the congestion which grew steadily worse with each succeeding day.

This was the situation when in February, 1862, Governor Oliver P. Morton received a request to house 3,700 Confederate prisoners taken in the engagement along the Mississippi River. The responsibility of caring for these prisoners of war at first given to Captain James A. Ekin, but it was Colonel Richard Owen, a successor, who is more appropriately identified with Camp Morton. Colonel Owen formulated what appear to be very humane and lenient rules for the prisoners (pp. 263-65), rules which amounted to virtual self-government. At a later date some ex-Confederate prisoners had executed a bust of Colonel Owen (now placed in the Indiana statehouse). Under it appear the words: "Tribute by Confederate prisoners of war and their friends for his courtesy and kindness."

The best period of Camp Morton was unfortunately over by 1863, after which "the records," write the authors, "contain a sorry record of inspectors' complaints and recommendations, and orders from the Commissary General of Prisoners in which permission for improvement was always balanced by the strictest exhortation to economy" (p. 314). A reorganization, however, took place during 1863-1864 under Colonel Ambrose A. Stevens, and it was marked by some improvement in sanitation and accommodations toward the close of the war. Nevertheless, there were numerous attempts at escape.

This interestingly written account is based upon a wide variety of state and Federal documents, newspaper materials, letters, and other sources. The pages are well documented and at the end of the book are useful appendices. It is a valuable addition to the prison literature for the war between the North and the South.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death. By Otto Eisenschiml. (New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940. Pp. xii, 415. Illustrations, maps. \$3.00.)

Four years ago Mr. Eisenschiml raised the question: *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* It was an exciting inquiry, appreciatively characterized in this *Journal*

as "a good detective story" (IV, 113-14). In it the theory was suggested that the murder was the culmination of a Radical plot, directed by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. The many strange circumstances attending the deed, and the effective silencing of all persons with knowledge of it, were presented as integral parts of the complex pattern of conspiracy.

The book occasioned a considerable stir in some quarters, but the historical profession displayed only mild interest in it as a contribution to history. It was observed that, though a number of new facts had been uncovered, the startling thesis was admittedly based on inference derived from circumstantial evidence; that the argument was developed by indirection—largely by innuendo—and was not inherent in or sustained by the facts presented; that, indeed, there was not a shred of positive and direct evidence to support it; and that it ran counter both to important known facts and inherent probabilities.

Although Mr. Eisenschiml pronounced such criticism impertinent, irrelevant, and immaterial (*Reviewers Reviewed: A Challenge to Historical Critics*), his latest volume, bringing to some nine hundred pages his published research in this rather narrow field, provides little reason to modify the earlier judgments. Presumably his subject now has been thoroughly investigated, and, it should be said, much industry and ingenuity have been shown in establishing the evidence. The result has been to point up a number of interesting questions and to present a variety of new facts, but it does not appear that very much has been added to our understanding of either. The meaning of the many peculiar happenings which have engaged the author remains, at least to this reviewer, about as uncertain as ever.

In large part, the present volume serves as an appendix for the numerous odds and ends incidental to the subject matter of the previous one. It therefore lacks the compelling interest of the earlier volume, though skill is shown in exploiting such dramatic value as the material possesses. But there can be little unity of theme in dealing with such a variety of topics as the several schemes to kidnap Lincoln, the identification of Booth's body, a detailed analysis of the character and treatment of Mrs. Surratt, a re-examination of the conspiracy trial in the light of later testimony of the participants, a renewed description of Stanton's character and "reign of terror," and an extended account of the return and trial of John H. Surratt.

Some of this is repetitious and much of it adds little or nothing to the earlier book. The most substantial part, to which nearly a third of the space is given, concerns the apparent reluctance of the government to bring John Surratt to trial and the desperate but futile effort to secure a conviction in spite of an inadequate case. Perhaps the most interesting part is embraced in the two chapters which make a thorough examination of the perennial controversy over the fate of Booth, the conclusion being that the burden of proof lies with those who think he was not the man killed. Least convincing are the three chapters which

present Mrs. Surratt as the victim of "severe and brutal" treatment though not of "specific physical tortures" during her imprisonment, and subjected to almost incredible inhumanity in a fiendishly successful effort to silence her. Why such refinements of cruelty were thought necessary to still her voice if, as the author is convinced, she knew nothing of the assassination, is not explained. Stanton continues to be looked upon as the key figure in everything sinister (pp. 131, 134 ff., 155, 189 ff., 256 ff.), but one is inclined to feel, at times, that Mr. Eisenschiml has created more mysteries than he has solved.

Central Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago

F. ROGER DUNN

Alabama's Tragic Decade: Ten Years of Alabama, 1865-1874. By John Wither-
spoon DuBose. Edited by James K. Greer. (Birmingham: Webb Book
Company, 1940. Pp. xxvi, 435. Bibliography, illustrations, maps, appendix.
\$3.50.)

This is a new type of book which sets a high standard in literary perfection as well as content of material covering one of the state's most vital decades. It was a happy thought when Professor James K. Greer conceived the idea of producing so valuable a book by process of co-operation between himself and the former John W. DuBose, long-time columnist for the Birmingham *Age-Herald*.

Alabama's Tragic Decade, reminiscent of Bowers' *The Tragic Era*, presents in DuBose's own blunt, forceful language and in twenty-nine well-chosen chapters, the story of Alabama's hectic struggle for restoration to normalcy between 1865 and 1874. Normalcy meant the overthrow of Carpetbag government and a return to pure democracy under George S. Houston in 1875. The volume is rich in the history of almost every phase of the state's life. The author delineates in capable fashion the economic, social, military, and political conditions and activities pertinent to these ten momentous years. It was a decade of contest between Scalawags and Carpetbaggers on one hand and the "decent" citizenry of Alabama on the other hand. It is a drab story of bitter political rivalry; exorbitant taxes, fraud, embezzlement, murder, immorality; a story of a state stripped of its property and wealth, with its native citizens hog-tied by unwelcome guests; a decade under the heel of alien embezzlers and robbers. Particularly able and explicit is the author in matters pertaining to finances, to fraudulent endorsement of railroad bonds, and wild orgies of proposed railroads. The book is a story of loot, graft, usurpation by Scalawags and Carpetbaggers; a story of Negro legislators, of state bankruptcy imposed by aliens; a story of plural voting and fraudulent elections, of Reconstruction conventions, of dual governorships and legislatures; a story of national hatred toward a "conquered colony" in which property valued at \$400,000 sold for \$600.

Incidentally, the astute, though not always flattering DuBose, furnished excellent biographies of hundreds of participants in the tragic decade.

Dr. Greer himself was master of a difficult situation in whipping into attractive format DuBose's articles. Greer's voluminous and authentic footnotes as well as choice of titles and length of chapters; his cogent pictorial illustrations and maps; and his splendid appendix, comprising a chronology of events for the decade considered, are indispensable to the value of the volume.

Mercer University

JOHN B. CLARK

The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880. By Alruthus Ambush Taylor. (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. Pp. ix, 306. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

The epic of the South's travail during the fifteen-year period following Appomattox is a fairly well-known story. Reconstruction, like most crucial phenomena of history, has been periodically amplified and reamplified, interpreted and reinterpreted. A valuable contribution to the increasing knowledge of this turbulent era is an intensive examination of integral elements of Reconstruction in a restricted area. In this sort of investigation Professor Taylor of Fisk University has figured conspicuously with monographic treatments of the role of the Negro in the readjustment of various southern states.

Tennessee furnishes the locale for Professor Taylor's most recent study. Although the course of Reconstruction events in the Volunteer State was not markedly different in general contour from that of her "erring sisters," she has a few decided claims to distinctiveness. She had a strong Union element, particularly in her eastern counties. Her border position exposed her to frequent and extensive seesaw operations of Yankee and Rebel armies. She furnished the birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan. She had a vital tie to the Union government in Andrew Johnson. Last, but not least, she had something utterly unclassifiable and without parallel in Parson Brownlow.

Professor Taylor launches his story with a brief background picture of the Negroes' situation at the beginning of Reconstruction. He then devotes himself to a narration of the experiences and vicissitudes of Tennessee's colored population in the various phases of their activity. In Tennessee, as elsewhere, there was a tendency of the freed field hands to flock to the towns and Federal encampments; of well-meaning outlanders to make an overnight transformation of a simple, enslaved people into full-blown articulate citizens; and of equally well-meaning and equally unrealistic natives to restrict emancipation to a shibboleth. Likewise there were decimating ravages of disease resulting from undue congestion of freedmen, from improper and inadequate nourishment, and from sudden disruption of established mores; and recurrent flareups of violence and death when smoldering racial prejudice and conflict were touched by some of the numerous sparks emanating from the general conflagration of the period.

But this, like most periods of chaos and adjustment, was not one of utter

cultural and economic sterility. Professor Taylor shows that Tennessee Negroes made definite progress in realms of education, religion, recreation, and economic opportunity. And, as has been previously shown, Radical Reconstruction, bad as it was in many of its aspects, was responsible for some of the progress made by both Negroes and whites.

The author's documentation shows an extensive use of both primary and secondary sources. There is an apparent striving for objectivity throughout the study. In fact, it seems to this reviewer that an overstraining for complete detachment on the author's part gets him into his most serious difficulty. In the first place, it renders the narrative heavy and lifeless. Then, it so impoverishes the account of interpretation as frequently to leave for the reader hardly more than a well-chosen and logically arranged series of opinions and statements of fact gleaned from other sources. There is altogether too much hesitancy to evaluate and reluctance to interpret the material which is presented.

University of Mississippi

B. I. WILEY

New Haven Negroes: A Social History. By Robert Austin Warner (New Haven: Published for The Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 309. Illustrations, maps, table. \$3.50.)

The Negroes of New Haven, numbering 207 in 1791 and 5,302 in 1930, receive sympathetic and detailed treatment in Dr. Warner's volume, sponsored by The Institute of Human Relations. Aware that particular events in the Connecticut city may be understood only in the light of national developments, the author includes background material of generous proportions. Because of this fact, and because New Haven, while no exact "Middletown," is a fairly representative northern center, the work is of more general interest than the title suggests.

The recurrent theme is the mutation in the economic and social status of the New Haven Negro. In the vocational field the characteristic modification has been the supplanting of Negro cooks, waiters, and barbers by newly-arrived foreigners. And colored craftsmen have suffered severely from technological changes. The social status of the northern Negro in the pre-Civil War era improved with each new victory for the antislavery forces. According to Dr. Warner, militant abolitionism "was tantamount to a total denial of caste and an advocacy of amalgamation" (p. 53). After the Civil War and Reconstruction, however, reaction set in and the effort to erase color lines slackened.

Every chapter contains thought-provoking and readable matter. Consider, for example, the sketch of cultural and trade relations between New Haven and the South, the hint as to the importance of Negro servants in teaching aristocratic manners to the newly rich, and illuminating comments on the West Indian antecedents of many New Haven Negroes. Integrated into the pattern of the

dissertation are suggestions concerning civil disabilities of the Negro in the North, an outline of the fascinating *Amistad* affair (on which the abolitionists capitalized so successfully), and a correlation between the Southampton Insurrection and the rejection of the Negro college plan. Of particular interest to students of southern history is Dr. Warner's treatment of the antislavery movement in Connecticut and of the plantation tradition as a determining factor in the behavior of southern Negroes who moved to New Haven.

Outright errors of fact are negligible, but some of the generalizations will be questioned by critical scholars. For instance, historians familiar with the motivation of many Northerners who attempted to keep the territories free might not agree with this statement: "By and large, the antislavery movement was an effort to lower the barriers which prevented the Negro group from sharing in the benefits of the expanding economy of the United States" (p. 36). Dr. Warner's somewhat injudicious survey of the American Colonization Society indicates conversion to Garrison's point of view concerning that ill-fated organization. The author apparently confuses judicial interpretation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments (p. 160); and there are sundry inconsistencies in footnoting; yet the presentation in general shows scholarship and care.

The Negroes of New Haven could hardly wish for a more sensitive and friendly chronicler. Any lapses from objectivity arise more often from a warm intolerance of the circumscribing institutions of the past than from a predisposition to condemn the slaves and their descendants. Current shortcomings of the New Haven Negroes are explained in terms of their peculiar and disadvantageous place in the society of yesterday and today.

Duke University

JOSEPH C. ROBERT

Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes. Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration. Edited by Virginia Thorpe. Foreword by Guy B. Johnson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940. Pp. xx, 274. Bibliography, illustrations, appendix. \$3.00.)

The Gullah Negroes of tidewater South Carolina have been described in so many books and articles that a person unacquainted with the Georgia-Carolina coastal country is likely to get the impression that these black folk are the only ones in the low country of interest to the cultural anthropologist. Such, however, is not the case. All along the coast of Georgia from Savannah to St. Marys are scattered areas of black people closely resembling the Gullah except for their dialect. These Georgia "Geechee" Negroes in many instances talk very much like others of their race in any southern state, but their cultural kinship with Africa is more apparent, so apparent that the Savannah Unit of the Georgia Writers' Project found in these people material for an interesting and valuable study of cultural survivals.

Georgia did not become an open market for slaves until about the middle of the eighteenth century. The trade flourished until past the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus Georgia was being supplied with Africans when a large part of the older South was well furnished with native-born slaves. Consequently the older Negroes of the Georgia coast have retained many of their primitive superstitions and folkways and thus offer a fruitful field for research.

The method of investigation was largely the interview. More than a hundred carefully selected older people were questioned about their folkways and beliefs. Their answers were recorded verbatim and then comparisons were made with similar folkways and beliefs among African tribes. A high correlation was found to exist between the two, and it was discovered that in many cases little change had occurred in the transition from Africa to the coast of Georgia. Standard works in the field such as Basden's *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, Campbell's *In the Heart of Bantuland*, and the works of Herskovits were used in making the comparisons.

The arrangement of the material is commendable. The anthropological notes and comments are put in footnote form in the appendix where they may conveniently be referred to by the student. The lay reader who is not interested in cultural survivals from a technical viewpoint is thus spared distracting interpolations. The glossary is inadequate, but the photographs by Malcolm and Muriel Bell largely compensate for any slight deficiencies the volume may possess.

Armstrong Junior College

J. P. DYER

The Negro in Our History. Seventh Edition. By Carter G. Woodson. (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. Pp. xxx, 673. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

For about twenty years Dr. Woodson's book has been a standard reference work and a standard text for Negro high schools and colleges. It has gone through six editions and sold 40,000 copies. Carrying the story of the Negro in Africa through his experiences in slavery and freedom in America, the book has contributed largely to the development of racial pride. That this has been done at the expense of fairness to the southern whites is perhaps both natural and pardonable. The author is ever-conscious of the neglect and unfairness which white men's books have accorded the Negro.

Considering the value of the book, it is highly unfortunate that this seventh edition neither brings the narrative up to date nor incorporates the conclusions of recent scholarship. The best edition, which added considerable new material, was published in 1932. The nine intervening years have made many changes, some superficial and some profound, in the Negro's place in history. The New Deal, the Tenant Farmers Union, and the new agitation over lynching have all

brought fruit in the past decade. The Negro has made new strides in art, literature, and education. Yet none of these things are as much as mentioned in this "further revised and enlarged" edition. Paul Robeson's name appears in the text, but not in the index. Ethel Waters, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Gaines Case, and *Green Pastures* are ignored. Dillard University, which has been in successful operation for six years, is mentioned as "to be developed." The references make no pretense of being up to date: only the early volumes of the *Journal of Negro History* are cited, and the *Negro History Bulletin* is barely mentioned. The only apparent revisions are in a few figures, and an occasional vague sentence. Even the author's picture needs bringing up to date. Dr. Woodson, now a fine-looking representative of his race, is no longer the callow youth who appears on page 543. Although it may be true that "the time is not yet ripe for the publication of a comprehensive treatment of the American Negro," the narrative might at least have been brought up to the present. It is to be hoped that an "eighth" edition of so valuable a work will soon be forthcoming.

University of Wisconsin

W. B. HESSELTINE

Charleston, An Epic of Carolina. By Robert Goodwyn Rhett. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1940. Pp. vii, 374. Illustrations, map. \$5.00.)

This posthumous volume of a lawyer, bank president, mayor, and president of the United States Chamber of Commerce is advertised as "an interpretative history of this city-state, written with a sense of proportion and perspective that is enlightening." The reader who hopes to find this book such a work will be disappointed with the conventional treatment and the summary statement of the facts of such familiar incidents as the settlement of Charleston, the conquest of the pirates, the battle of Fort Moultrie, the nullification wrangle, the secession movement, and the defense of Charleston harbor, and with the devotion of almost a third of the entire book to Charleston and South Carolina during the Revolutionary and Civil wars. Fully one fourth of the book, including chapters on the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, the New England Federalists' opposition to the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Dred Scott decision, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and the John Brown raid, is for the most part irrelevant. One might wish that the author had included more of city politics and urban problems, of the relationship between the ruling families of Charleston and those of the rest of the state, of the economic interdependence of the city and the hinterland, and of Charleston during the period 1783-1860 than the brief chapter, "Charleston as a Center of Culture," a conglomerate selection of facts pertaining to art, architecture, literature, and science.

The book contains neither bibliography nor documentation, except the few citations in parentheses in the text, but it is apparent that the author used

few primary source materials, such as the Pinckney, Cheves, Miles, and Memminger papers, the public records of the city and state, and the numerous pamphlets and nearly complete files of newspapers in the Charleston Library Society. In quoting Hugh Swinton Legaré, he cites Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought* rather than Legaré's published *Writings*. With the exception of one or two recent monographs, such as Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier*, he seems to have depended chiefly upon Oldmixon, Ramsay, Trevelyan, McMaster, and Bancroft. There is little in the first three hundred pages which is not easily accessible in good secondary works in most libraries.

The last section, "Recovery" (1865-1936), is by far the best part, for it is with this period that the author, born in 1862, was most familiar. There are interesting and enlightening, although by no means definitive, chapters which treat of Reconstruction in Charleston; the Courtenay administration and the beginning of the "New Era"; the movement of men and money away from the city due to unfavorable railroad rates, interior banks, western cotton, upcountry textile mills, and Tennessee and Florida phosphate deposits; the struggle for commercial and industrial opportunity, 1894-1936; the development of a new economic life and of the suburban areas; and the recent literary renaissance.

The format of the book is attractive, the index good, the style simple and intelligible. There are a few typographical errors. The layman may read it with profit and pleasure, but the professional historian will still feel the need of an exhaustive and comprehensive history of this unique, important, and always fascinating city.

Newberry College

CLARENCE MCKITTRICK SMITH, JR.

Editor in Politics. By Josephus Daniels. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xix, 644. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

This is the second volume of the autobiography of Josephus Daniels. There are fifty "stories" (chapters). None of these is quite so good as some of the preceding volume; but there is compensation in that the relation of no one of them to the life of the author is annoyingly remote. The writing is again simple in style and marked by such southern qualities as appreciation of the commonplace, fondness for anecdote, humorous self-revelation, and an occasional intensity of stubbornness when condemning to perdition some inconvenient view or its proponent. One hundred and eighty-seven illustrations, mostly photographs of North Carolina worthies, contribute heavily to the usefulness and folksiness of the book.

The volume begins with 1893, when the author became principal clerk in the Department of Interior under journalist Hoke Smith, and ends just before a journey to Washington of greater national interest in 1913. Little of national interest is here recorded save the writer's important and recognized part in the

nomination of Bryan in 1896. "During these twenty years," he says, "I was almost wholly State-minded," which meant that "I fought for democracy, both with a big 'D' and a little 'd', and against monopoly in any and every form." His weapon was the *Raleigh News and Observer*. For this notable paper, hitherto edited by the scholarly and conservative Captain S. A. Ashe, he regularly supplied news, editorials, and general policy. To this proud position he had come in 1894 through the financial sponsorship of General Julian S. Carr ("Bull Durham" magnate and philanthropist) and the assistance of one hundred "picked men" interested in "the political and material welfare of the State." It was a time of violent and personal politics, and Editor Daniels did his full share of mudslinging and "hounding." In consequence he was hung in effigy, sued for libel, and jailed for contempt by a Federal judge; and he narrowly escaped assassination on one or two occasions. But he also became a power in state politics though he held no office and some say could not have been elected to one.

In the author's apt summaries and characterizations the student of North Carolina history will find much light thrown on events and men. He will be amused at the writer's rather awkward retreat in the hookworm matter. He may appreciate without sharing the indiscriminating detestation of "Buck" Duke and Marion Butler, political manipulator and apostate. He will note with astonishment the slight attention to the important industrial developments then in progress. And reading the author on such matters as those connected with the names of John Spencer Bassett and Bishop Kilgo of Trinity College and President Taylor of Wake Forest, he may conclude that the last state of the "Editor in Politics" is no better than the first.

Wake Forest College

C. C. PEARSON

Lanterns on the Levee, Recollections of a Planter's Son. By William Alexander Percy. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941. Pp. x, 348. \$3.00.)

That the South is experiencing a literary renaissance may be questioned, but certainly there is an increasing number of ranking productions flowing from southern pens. This book of revealing memoirs is foremost among recent American autobiographies. The author at fifty-five years of age portrays a rich and full life with multiple details, yet there is a restrained reserve throughout *Lanterns on the Levee*. All are welcomed to the front porch of this planter's soul but no one is admitted to the inner chamber.

Here is a local history of Greenville and Washington County, Mississippi. But more than that it is a history of the Delta and of the planter aristocracy which once controlled this area. This planter class, most of whom lost their wealth and property in the War Between the States, is apparently approaching extinction. There is an expressed faith in the agrarian "aristocrats of tomorrow"

(p. 20)—an aristocracy which has been portrayed by contemporary novelists such as Ellen Glasgow in *Barren Ground* (New York, 1925) and Gwen Bristow in *This Side of Glory* (New York, 1940). No hope is held for the poor whites and the aliens who have infested Percy's homeland.

Before publishing this book its author, in four volumes of verse, had established himself as Mississippi's best contemporary poet. In this volume he successfully bids for recognition as a personal historian, sociologist, and a teller of tales. He is as close an observer of the world about him as his neighbor David L. Cohn. In portraying the plantation Negro, the writer approaches the accomplishment of Roark Bradford, who is, incidentally, another neighbor.

The southern planter's confidence that his class governs for the best interest of all the people is stated repeatedly. The author admits doubting the fitness of poor whites (p. 20), Negroes, and women (p. 274) for suffrage. Although the Percys have not habitually sought public office, the writer's father, LeRoy Percy, was elected by the Mississippi legislature to the United States Senate in 1910. This fifty-seven-day legislative battle became of national interest when George Creel's article, "The Carnival of Corruption in Mississippi," appeared in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. One wishes for a fuller treatment of this election than is found in the chapter—"The Bottom Rail on Top."

As chairman of the Flood Relief Committee of the American Red Cross in 1927, Mr. Percy had charge of administering to sixty thousand homeless Mississippians—a task for which his work during the World War on Hoover's Belgian Relief Commission well fitted him. The narration of this tragedy is full and objective. Especially informative is the story of the realization of flood control as a national project. This account adds a human touch to the problem as presented in Arthur D. Frank's *Development of the Federal Program of Flood Control on the Mississippi River* (New York, 1930).

From his father Mr. Percy inherited Trail Lake, a 3,343-acre cotton plantation, unencumbered. In 1936 Trail Lake was worked by 149 families and yielded 1,542 bales of cotton. Twenty-five of these families were renters paying the owner one fourth of their crops for rent. The other 124 families who received one half of the produce made a gross average income of \$491.90 per family and produced for the owner a gross income of \$60,995.60. The taxes on the plantation were \$20,460.00 which left a net income of \$40,535.60. To one who was reared on a farm the calculated 150 maximum days labor for these croppers appears to be at least 50 days too low (p. 279). The plan suggested (p. 283) of having the Federal government withhold benefit payments from planters who do not have a written contract with their workers and who fail to carry out these provisions as determined by a government inspector deserves further study.

The book cannot be criticized for having no index because it was not written for the research scholar. The inclusion of several well-chosen pictures would

have been a worthwhile addition. The few errors noted are unimportant and detract little from this revealing and delightful book.

Berry College

GEORGE C. OSBORN

Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt. By Edwin Mims. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii, 362. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.00.)

Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt is an interesting biographical story. The author deals with the long and eventful career of the most significant southern educator and educational statesman of a half century. The book is a clear statement of facts and sympathetic interpretations. To ascertain, state, and interpret the significant facts in such a career required just such intimacy with his subject as the author enjoyed. The reader gets the distinct impression that Professor Mims has sifted his facts, stated them with clearness and precision, and has been sound in his interpretation. An intimate association of fifty years was none too long a period for one to find in the mind and heart of Chancellor Kirkland the powers and processes which distinguished him among contemporary educators. The author has fathomed that mind and that spirit, however, and has interpreted what he found there.

This book describes what sound liberal education may do with the human mind when its natural endowments are ample, happily balanced, and wisely directed. It tells how a scholar, happiest when in the association of a great mind and with deeper questions of life, develops into a constructive statesman and man of action. The crusade for sound educational standards, the successful conflict against those who would circumscribe the University, the building of a great medical school, and the laying of broad and deep foundations for a great university center are the high spots in the Chancellor's career. The author is at his best in dealing with those phases of his subject.

The defects of the book are few and should be classed as trivial. The reader at times wonders if the author felt pressure to get along with his book; otherwise it is difficult to account for his writing, "Now he pathetically asks whether she could not send him a young chicken by postcard cooked as only she could cook it." Many of the direct quotations might better have been paraphrased. The significance of the Chancellor's triumphs in constructive statesmanship might stand in bolder relief if his adversaries and their positions were more sympathetically stated.

Hendrix College

THOMAS S. STAPLES

Georgia: A Guide to Its Towns and Countryside. American Guide Series. Compiled and written by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Georgia. Sponsored by the Georgia Board of Education. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940. Pp. xxviii, 559. Bibliography, illustrations, appendices, maps. \$2.50.)

This book, as its name implies, is a travel guide to be judged on its merits as such. It is prepared for vacationists and natives in search of information concerning travel, and fills a longfelt gap for tourists, who, hitherto, have looked upon the Empire State of the South as a mere highway to beckoning regions beyond. It serves to show these that Georgia has a lure all her own: interesting historic and scenic spots that are well worth seeing and are lovely nooks in which to sojourn.

The volume is organized into four parts, following in general the format for the *American Guide Series*. Part I contains factual information concerning Georgia's people, her geographical setting, economic, educational, historical, political, religious, and social life; her press, literature, and radio; even legend, tradition, and anecdote are here and there thrown in to season the whole with romance, and to that extent it weakens the book as a guide. For, as concerns practical value, Part I might well have been cut in half: essays like those on music, literature, and art will bear considerable condensation. Most travelers are "get-information-quickly" seekers and have little patience with long-drawn-out narrations.

The best features of the book are Parts II and III. In the former much useful information is recorded about railroad and bus stations, air terminals, local busses, streetcars, fares, traffic regulations, accommodations, and similar matters, pertaining to the state's six major cities. There are maps, well worked out, that reveal the plan of each, with a key to all important places, and the routes leading out to the nearest important cities designated. Points of interest in each town and its environs are, in true guide style, briefly described, as also are those in towns listed in Part III, which outlines some thirty automobile tours through the state,—giving mileage, numbers of the national and state highways, descriptions of the roadbeds to be traversed, careful notations of historic and scenic places, drives and trails, as well as picnic, boating, and fishing areas along the way. In Parts II and III, rather than in Part I, there should have been (and to a certain extent there is) injected tradition, legend, and story, in order that these might become associated directly in the mind of the tourist with the place to which they belong.

A chronology of the state and a brief, classified bibliography constitute Part IV. The book has a good index and is well printed for the most part in a clear readable type, with smaller type for the less important data. One hundred and seven photographs add to the attractiveness of the book, but it is to be deplored that these are inserted seemingly without plan; a more telling effect would have

been secured had they been placed on the same page or at least as close as possible to the verbal pictures they illustrate. There are eleven good maps. Besides those of the cities already mentioned, there are two maps of the state; the very fine large one, neatly folded in a pocket, has an index to its towns and a key to its highways, trails, and its hunting and fishing grounds.

Georgia State College for Women

AMANDA JOHNSON

Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Sponsored by the North Carolina Historical Commission. *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, Volume XXIV, Number 2. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. 204. \$1.25.)

The Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina was founded in 1928 by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, with the manuscripts of the defunct North Carolina Historical Society as a nucleus. During the past decade and a half Dr. Hamilton has been traveling extensively through the South, discovering the basic materials for the history of this section, and persuading the owners to put them in the custody of the University to insure their permanent preservation and to make them accessible for research.

According to the preface of the *Guide*, the manuscripts in the University of North Carolina Library number "at present approximately 1,500,000 pieces and 2,625 volumes that have been accessioned and arranged by collection and approximately 500,000 letters and documents and several thousand volumes as yet unaccessioned." This great collection is especially rich in materials from the states east of the Mississippi during the ante-bellum and Civil War periods; but there is considerable material on the eighteenth century and on the period since 1865. Among the larger bodies of papers (numbering 10,000 items or more) are the Allston-Pringle-Hill manuscripts of South Carolina, those of Braxton Bragg Comer of Alabama, the Pettigrew Family of North and South Carolina, Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, and the Southern Education Papers of Charles W. Dabney and others. Smaller in bulk but fully as suggestive of significant phases of southern history are the papers of J. F. H. Claiborne, C. G. Memminger, N. R. Middleton, John A. Quitman, Edmund Ruffin, James Barron, and Mrs. James Chestnut—to name only a few. It is obvious from a cursory glance at any page of the *Guide* that every aspect of southern history is well represented, together with abundant material on events and problems national in scope. As the names mentioned above indicate, the manuscripts of many distinguished Southerners are now available for more extended and intensive research. The records of little-known and obscure in-

dividuals, however, also constitute an important part of this Collection. The daily round of the common man, his casual observations and occasional opinions, are preserved here from many walks of life. If political and economic historians find a wealth of material at Chapel Hill to arouse their enthusiasm, social historians can enjoy a prolonged field day.

The *Guide* contains 809 groups of manuscripts, arranged alphabetically by name of collection, with inclusive dates, number of items, and name of donor or depositor. A concise description of each collection is given, enumerating both general and specific subjects treated in the papers and in many cases concluding with selective lists of correspondents. On the whole, this information is satisfactory and as detailed as one might expect in a work of this kind. As a reference tool, however, its value is to be gauged in large measure by the index. In this respect it fails lamentably. The index is restricted to proper names, although it is obvious that subject headings are indispensable. Of what value is an index to southern historical manuscripts without references to agriculture, to cotton and other crops, or to slavery, followed by many subheadings? Likewise in this index there can be no subheadings under such important entries as names of states, Civil War, Reconstruction, Negro, etc. By inadvertence, it would seem, a few subject entries have crept in—e.g., "Whig politics," but item No. 11 on the Whigs of the 1840's is not included. Inconsistencies and carelessness in checking are much in evidence. One finds "University of North Carolina," but "Virginia, University of"; "Columbia University" follows "Columbian Institute"; and "Onslow Precinct, Bath County, N. C.," in the text becomes "Onslow County, N. C." in the index. Although it purports to be a name index, names of donors of manuscripts apparently were not considered as worth including. It is surprising that the index to this publication is so inferior to that of the *Guide* to the manuscripts in Duke University, both of which were compiled by the Historical Records Survey in the same state.

In a very real sense, the *Guide* to the Southern Historical Collection may be regarded as a tribute to the untiring efforts of Dr. Hamilton in preserving such abundant treasures of southern history. It is most regrettable that the WPA, in failing to emulate him in their work of compilation, has not provided a master key to the Collection but has condemned the user of the *Guide* to many hours of hapless fatigue.

University of Virginia

LESTER J. CAPPON

A Calendar of the Ryder Collection of Confederate Archives at Tufts College.

Prepared by The Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. (Boston: The Historical Records Survey, 1940. Pp. v, 165. mim. \$1.00.)

On April 2, 1865, the North Western Sanitary Commission of Chicago requested that the Reverend William H. Ryder of St. Paul's Universalist Church

of that city be given every courtesy in the collection of "Arms, Trophies, and Curiosities" at Washington and Richmond, for display at their "Fair." Mr. Ryder reached the former capital of the Confederacy while conditions were still chaotic, and among the rubbish littering certain government buildings found a variety of archival material which eventually found its way to Tufts College. Here it was buried for years under a gravel pile in the basement of one of the halls. Two years ago it was rediscovered.

This collection, recently calendared by the Historical Records Survey, comprises 218 items. The first and last pages of 62 of these have disappeared; consequently they are without date or signature and cannot easily be traced in the *Official Records*. The pertinent question regarding this collection is that of its historical value and whether its content can be found elsewhere and in more accessible places. Of the 156 items which have date and author attached, 33 were searched for in the *Official Records* and 25 of them were not found. Likewise the 14 dealing with Ryder's mission were not located in that publication, but they are of no particular value. The 62 items without signature or date are largely devoted to regimental and brigade movements and should be of some interest to those interested in such things.

Among the papers here calendared, however, are some which contain useful information and which are missing from the *Official Records*. One (No. 9) from Camp Barton, Virginia, states that as early as September, 1861, the troops there had received no pay for "over four months," that their dissatisfaction was so great that "many threaten to go to their homes," and suggests the appointment of a paymaster "'who will work'"—the implication being that the fault was one of poor administration rather than one of lack of public funds. (The double quote marks (") mean that the review quotes the words of the calendar; the quote marks within quote marks (") that the calendar quotes the original direct.) Among the nondated and nonsigned papers is one (No. 181) which states that throughout the war the troops never had been paid with "'anything like promptness'" and that many desertions had resulted. Another (No. 158) of these nondated and nonsigned reports deals with profiteering in flour. It declares that the necessary commodity was cheaper in Richmond than in Lynchburg and Petersburg, and that commission merchants in the capital had sent consignments to Petersburg "with much profit to the owner, although two commissions and expense of additional transportation were incurred."

This calendar seems to outline the content of the originals at sufficient length, and there is an adequate index. The expense of the venture does not appear to be a waste of public funds.

Southern Methodist University

H. A. TREXLER

Historical News and Notices

Members of the Southern Historical Association are reminded of the seventh annual meeting which will convene in Atlanta, Georgia, November 6-8, 1941. Headquarters will be at the Biltmore Hotel. Cochairmen of the Committee on Local Arrangements are Ross H. McLean, Emory University, and Philip Davidson, Agnes Scott College.

PERSONAL

Several appointments have recently been made which are of interest to members of the Southern Historical Association. John D. Barnhart, former associate professor of history at Louisiana State University, has accepted a position in the history department at Indiana University. He is also to edit the *Indiana Magazine of History*. E. Wilson Lyon, former professor of history at Colgate University, has been elected president of Pomona College and will begin his work there in the autumn. During the summer he is teaching at the University of Missouri. Wendell H. Stephenson, managing editor of the *Journal* and professor of American history, has accepted an appointment as dean of the college of arts and sciences at Louisiana State University. Berlin B. Chapman, Fairmont West Virginia State Teachers College, will become assistant professor of history this fall at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. The Archivist of the United States has announced that Roscoe R. Hill, chief of the former Division of Classification since May, 1935, has been appointed chief of the Division of State Department Archives. P. L. Rainwater has assumed his duties as acting chief of research and information of the Mississippi Unemployment Compensation Commission. Gaston L. Litton has accepted the position of librarian of the University of Panama. He is on leave for one year from his duties as an assistant archivist in The National Archives. Other appointments include Barbara Rowe, as instructor in history at John B. Stetson University; Charles B. Clark, as a member of the social science department at West Georgia College; Raymond H. Corry, as junior historical aide at Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park; and Glenn N. Sisk, who has been appointed to fill a temporary vacancy in the history department at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Herbert A. Kellar, director on leave of the McCormick Historical Association of Chicago, on April 7 became head of the new Experimental Division of Library Co-operation in the Library of Congress.

The Committee on Grants of the Hayes Foundation announces the approval of the following applications for grants for the year 1941-1942: Festus P. Summers, West Virginia University, for a study of the life of William L. Wilson (renewal); Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College, for a study of the life of Zebulon Baird Vance (renewal); Charles C. Tansill, Fordham University, for a study of the political career of Thomas F. Bayard, 1869-1885; Selig Adler, University of Buffalo, for a study of the influence of George F. Edmunds on national affairs from 1866 to 1891; Nannie M. Tilley, Duke University, for a study of the bright-tobacco industry, 1861-1929; Allen W. Moger, Washington and Lee University, for a study on Virginia in transition, 1880-1914.

The Hayes Foundation will be glad to receive inquiries and applications for grant appointments for the year 1942-1943. The period for application expires January 15, 1942.

Thomas D. Clark has been granted leave by the University of Kentucky during 1941-1942 to continue research on the southern country store since 1865. Leon F. Sensabaugh, Birmingham-Southern College, will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1941-1942. He is the recipient of a Rosenwald Fellowship for travel and study in South America. A Rosenwald Fellowship for 1941-1942 has also been awarded to Christiana McFadyen, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, for study at the University of Chicago. Ward L. Morton, University of Arkansas, will spend the winter of 1941-1942 in Mexico doing research. Funds have been provided by the Institute of Latin American Studies.

The following promotions have been announced: Charles E. Smith, Louisiana State University, professor of history; Ollinger Crenshaw, Washington and Lee University, associate professor of history; and Ward Morton and Austin L. Venable, University of Arkansas, assistant professors of history.

Summer appointments not previously listed are as follows: G. Leighton LaFuze, John B. Stetson University, who taught at the University of Florida; Marvin L. Skaggs, Campbell College, and R. W. Lee, Mars Hill College, at Wake Forest College; Thomas P. Govan, University of the South, at Emory University; Ashby Hammond, who received his Ph.D. degree in history in June from the University of North Carolina, at Brooklyn College.

Dr. Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., who has been on leave of absence from Emory University during 1940-1941, has been granted a year's extension of leave. During the present year he has been serving as vice-president of Brenau College, Gainesville, Georgia. He will continue in that capacity during 1941-1942.

The usual sections of "Historical News and Notices" devoted to activities of historical societies and bibliographical compilations have been omitted from this issue to make room for a list of research projects in southern history. News items other than "Personal" submitted for this issue will be held over for the November number of the *Journal*.

RESEARCH PROJECTS IN SOUTHERN HISTORY

Compiled by FRED C. COLE and SANFORD W. HIGGINBOTHAM

This compilation of research projects in southern history is based on questionnaires mailed to the members of the Southern Historical Association, deans of graduate schools, and others who were suggested in the answered forms. Several projects in southern history noted in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, With an Appendix of Other Research Projects in History Now in Progress in the United States and in Canada* (1940) were not recorded in the replies to the *Journal* questionnaires, and with the permission of the *American Historical Review*, publisher of the *List*, are reprinted here. Items which were previously listed in the "Research Projects in Southern History," in *Journal of Southern History*, IV (1938), 544-58, and in "Research Projects in Southern History, First Annual Supplement," *ibid.*, V (1939), 581-86, are not re-entered. Masters theses and WPA projects are not included.

The arrangement is chronological under subject headings except for the alphabetical order of "Biographical" studies. The progress of the project is designated by the following abbreviations: Con. (contemplated), Prog. (in progress), Fin. (finished), Prin. (in press). Except in instances where complete data were unavailable, the approximate time before completion and the probable length in octavo printed pages is indicated. Names of universities and colleges are italicized.

GENERAL

1. History of Florida to 1860. Prog. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee, Florida.
2. Human landscaping of Old St. Augustine, 1565-1842. Prog. 400 pp. Katherine S. Lawson, St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science.
3. History of the Everglades of Florida. Prog. 600 pp. 1 yr. Diss. (*North Carolina*) Junius E. Dovell, Orlando, Florida, High School.
4. A history of the St. Johns River. Prog. James Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *Rollins*.
5. Historical notes on Charlottesville, Virginia, 1761-1900. Prog. 3 mos. Glenn C. Smith, *Virginia*.
6. The South Carolina back country, 1765-1808. Prog. 400 pp. Robert L. Meriwether, *South Carolina*.
7. The history of Granville County, North Carolina. Prog. Diss. James R. Caldwell, *North Carolina*.
8. The history of Orange County, North Carolina. Prog. Diss. Ruth Blackwelder, *North Carolina*.
9. North Carolina history since 1815. Prog. 400 pp. 3 yrs. Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina*.

10. A study of the social, economic, and political history of the Acadians of Louisiana. Prog. 450 pp. 1 yr. Diss. Wilton P. Ledet, *Chicago*.
11. A history of Texas. Prog. 600 pp. 6 mos. Rupert N. Richardson, *Hardin-Simmons*.
12. The Chickasaw Nation of Indians. Prog. Diss. Gaston L. Litton, *Georgetown*.
13. Historic spots in Oklahoma. Prog. 275 pp. 3 mos. M. L. Wardell (Prepared by a WPA research project), *Oklahoma*.
14. The cradle of the Confederacy. Prog. 400 pp. 2 yrs. Clanton W. Williams, *Alabama*.
15. Cuba and the American Civil War. Con. 250 pp. 3 yrs. Duvon C. Corbitt, *Candler*.
16. Georgia during the Civil War. Prog. 400 pp. 3 yrs. Diss. (Duke) T. Conn Bryan, *Georgia Military College*.
17. The New South. Con. 4 yrs. William B. Hesseltine, *Wisconsin*.
18. A half century of southern historical scholarship. Prog. 50 pp. 1 yr. Wendell H. Stephenson, *Louisiana*.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY

(See also Nos. 2, 31, 34, 36, 37, 114, 132, 137, 138, 139, 141, 145, 146, 210, 211, 214, 215, 231, 232, 237, 238, 243, 244, 245, 248.)

19. Maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay in colonial times. Prog. Diss. Arthur P. Middleton, *Harvard*.
20. The theater in colonial Virginia. Prog. 200 pp. Robert H. Land and W. R. Richardson, *William and Mary*.
21. British land policy in the American colonies, 1713-1775. Prog. 300 pp. 2 yrs. Raymond A. Plath, *Wisconsin*.
22. A study of the population of colonial Florida. Prog. Diss. Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr. *California at Los Angeles*.
23. The founders of Georgia. Prog. 300 pp. H. B. Fant, The National Archives.
24. Early economic and social development of British West Florida, 1763-1769. Fin. 250 pp. Clinton N. Howard, *California at Los Angeles*.
25. Colonel Richard Bland, Virginia, and the Stamp Act, 1764-1766. Fin. Glenn C. Smith, *Virginia*.
26. East Florida as a British province, 1763-1774. Fin. 450 pp. Charles L. Mowat, *California at Los Angeles*.
27. The Continental Congress. Fin. Edmund C. Burnett, Carnegie Institution.
28. The influence of the indebted planters of the South upon the American Revolution and the formation of the Federal government. Prog. 250 pp. 18 mos. R. L. Hilldrup, *East Carolina Teachers*.
29. Virginia commerce during the American Revolution. Prog. 200 pp. 1 yr. Diss. Walter Coakley, *Virginia*.

30. Henry de Tonty and the Arkansas Post. Prog. 6 mos. Norman W. Caldwell, *Ozarks*.

POLITICAL

(See also Nos. 10, 76, 89, 90, 113, 120, 129, 131, 266.)

31. Virginia land grants, 1607-1800. Fin. 250 pp. Manning C. Voorhis, *Virginia*.
32. Political importance of Methodism in American history. Prog. Shelby E. Southard, *Alabama College*.
33. History of prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1940. Prog. 350 pp. 1 yr. D. J. Whitener, *Appalachian State Teachers*.
34. Early American political thought, 1750-1825. Prog. 300 pp. 2 yrs. Marcus B. Mallett, *Virginia*.
35. Administrative institutions in Florida, 1781-1821. Prog. 200 pp. 1 yr. Duvon C. Corbitt, *Candler*.
36. Maryland in the critical period, 1783-1789. Prog. 3 mos. Diss. Philip Crowl, *Johns Hopkins*.
37. The political economy of James Madison. Prog. Diss. Douglass G. Adair, *Yale*.
38. The government and urban problems of the city of Charleston, S. C., 1783-1861. Prog. 300 pp. 1 yr. Diss. (Duke) Clarence McK. Smith, Jr., *Newberry*.
39. State aid to internal improvements in South Carolina prior to 1860. Prog. 300 pp. 1 yr. Diss. John M. Webb, *Duke*.
40. Virginia politics, 1789-1830. Prog. 250 pp. 18 mos. Diss. Harry Ammon, *Virginia*.
41. The Burr-Wilkinson conspiracy. Prog. 500 pp. I. J. Cox, *Northwestern*.
42. Territorial Florida, 1818-1845. Prog. Diss. Sidney W. Martin, *North Carolina*.
43. Origins of the Whig party in North Carolina, 1815-1836. Prog. 300 pp. 3 yrs. Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina*.
44. Background for social science in Carroll County, Georgia, 1825-1941. Prog. 400 pp. James C. Bonner, *West Georgia*.
45. The Whig party in Georgia—a study in ante-bellum sectionalism. Prog. Diss. (Chicago) Helen Greene, *Georgia State College for Women*.
46. The Whig party in Georgia, 1825-1853. Fin. 350 pp. Paul Murray, *Georgia Southwestern*.
47. Newspapers as political organs in ante-bellum Tennessee. Prog. 2 yrs. Diss. Morrill B. Donald, *Vanderbilt*.
48. The expansionist movement in American politics, 1848-1861. Prog. Diss. Basil Rauch, *Columbia*.
49. A local study in the idea of progress and southern imperialism, 1845-1861. Prog. 300 pp. 6 mos. Diss. C. Stanley Urban, *Northwestern*.

50. New Mexico and the sectional controversy, 1848-1865. Prog. Diss. Loomis M. Ganaway, *Vanderbilt*.
51. South Carolina and national politics, 1852-1860: a study of secession. Prog. 300 pp. 3 mos. Harold M. Schultz, *Duke*.
52. Early history of the Federal court for the Indian Territory now Oklahoma. Fin. Mabel D. Holt, *Oklahoma A. & M.*
53. The disruption of the Democratic machine, 1857-1861. Prog. 300 pp. 2 yrs. Roy F. Nichols, *Pennsylvania*.
54. The election of 1860. Prog. Diss. Ollinger Crenshaw, *Johns Hopkins*.
55. The opposition to secession in the South, December, 1860, to April, 1861. Prog. Diss. Clifford L. Lord, *Columbia*.
56. The Whig tradition in the Solid South, 1860-1900. Prog. Daniel M. Robison, *Vanderbilt*.
57. Politics in Maryland during the Civil War. Fin. Diss. Charles B. Clark, *North Carolina*.
58. Adam Gurowski and the American Civil War. Prog. Diss. LeRoy H. Fischer, *Illinois*.
59. Reconstruction in Guilford County, North Carolina. Prog. 20 pp. 3 mos. Bernice E. Draper, *Woman's College, North Carolina*.
60. Reconstruction in Tennessee. Prog. Diss. Thomas B. Alexander, *Vanderbilt*.
61. The Union League clubs in the South. Prog. 1 yr. Diss. Susie Lee Owenn, *New York*.
62. The political significance of Reconstruction after the Civil War for American nationalism: a study in American political theory. Prog. 200 pp. 6 mos. Luther J. Lee, Jr., *California*.
63. The careers in the New South of the leaders of the Confederacy. Prog. Diss. George R. Bentley, *Wisconsin*.
64. Georgia under the Bourbon triumvirate of Gordon, Colquitt, and Brown. Prog. 2 yrs. Judson C. Ward, Jr., *Birmingham-Southern*.
65. The Bourbon period in Alabama. Con. Diss. Allen J. Going, *North Carolina*.
66. The Republican party in South Carolina since 1876. Prog. 250 pp. 2 yrs. James W. Patton, *Converse*.
67. The agrarian revolt in Alabama. Prog. Diss. Oron P. South, *Vanderbilt*.
68. The Republican-Populist fusion period in North Carolina. Prog. 2 yrs. Christiana McFadyen, *Woman's College, North Carolina*.
69. The statehood question in Oklahoma. Prog. Mabel D. Holt, *Oklahoma A. & M.*
70. The senatorial career of Huey P. Long. Prog. 2 yrs. M. S. Cushman, *Concord State Teachers*.

BIOGRAPHICAL

(See also Nos. 23, 25, 37, 41, 58, 63, 64, 70, 151, 161, 235, 236, 244, 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 263, 265, 267.)

71. John Armfield, slave trader, promoter, churchman, and educator. Prog. 300 pp. 2 yrs. Isabel Howell, *Vanderbilt*.
72. The life and career of Barnard E. Bee. Prog. 300 pp. 2 yrs. R. L. Bieseley, *Texas*.
73. Jonathan McCally Bennett. Fin. 350 pp. Harvey M. Rice, *Ohio State*.
74. Thomas Hart Benton. Prog. Diss. Cleo A. Noel, *Missouri*.
75. The theology and social ethics of Albert Taylor Bledsoe. Prog. Diss. John B. Bennett, *Duke*.
76. Three North Carolina Blount brothers in business and politics, 1783-1812. Fin. 300 pp. Diss. (*North Carolina*) Alice Barnwell Keith, *Meredith*.
77. William Augustus Bowles, director general of Muscogee. Prog. 250 pp. 1 yr. Duvon C. Corbitt, *Candler*.
78. Early days in Virginia: recollections of Governor Thomas Brown. Prog. 250 pp. 3 mos. James E. Walmsley, *State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia*.
79. The Byrd family in America. Prog. 400 pp. 4 yrs. William D. Houlette, *Iowa*.
80. Life of John C. Calhoun. Prog. 400 pp. 3 yrs. Gerald M. Capers, *Tulane*.
81. George Washington Campbell: statesman of the Old Southwest. Fin. 225 pp. Weymouth T. Jordan, *Judson*.
82. Henry Clay. Prog. Vols. II and III, 1,000 pp. 3 yrs. Bernard Mayo, *Virginia*.
83. Hugh Davis: planter of ante-bellum Alabama. Prog. 350 pp. 2 yrs. Weymouth T. Jordan, *Judson*.
84. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. Fin. 900 pp. Rembert W. Patrick, *Gainesville, Florida*.
85. A life of J. D. B. De Bow. Prog. 400 pp. 4 mos. Diss. (*Harvard*) O. C. Skipper, *The Citadel*.
86. William B. Duncan, cattleman and soldier. Prog. 300 pp. 18 mos. Ike Moore, *San Jacinto Museum of History*.
87. Arthur Pue Gorman: Maryland senator. Fin. Diss. John R. Lambert, Jr., *Princeton*.
88. William J. Hardee, "Old Reliable" of the Confederacy. Fin. 60 pp. T. Conn Bryan, *Georgia Military College*.
89. Public career of Benjamin Hawkins. Fin. Merritt B. Pound, *Georgia*.
90. A study of the career of Governor W. W. Holden. Prog. Diss. Samuel F. Telfair, Jr., *Columbia*.
91. W. W. Holden, Prog. 2 yrs. Elliott O. Watson, *Greensboro*.

92. The Houstouns of Georgia. Prog. 400 pp. 6 mos. Edith D. Johnston, Savannah, Georgia.
93. Biography of Thomas Jefferson. Prog. 1,500 pp. 5 yrs. Dumas Malone, *Harvard*.
94. Thomas Jefferson and music. Prog. 400 pp. 6 mos. Mrs. Helen D. Bullock, *Virginia*.
95. Thomas Jefferson: book collector, bibliophile, critic. Fin. 350 pp. Diss. (*Virginia*) W. H. Peden, *Maryland*.
96. A Natchez enterpreneur and sportsman: William T. Johnson, free man of color. Prog. 100 pp. 2 yrs. Edwin A. Davis and William R. Hogan, *Louisiana*.
97. Robert M. Jones, Choctaw tycoon. Prog. 450 pp. James D. Morrison, *Eastern Oklaboma A. & M.*
98. Life of Richard Henry Lee, 1732-1794. Prog. 400 pp. 18 mos. John C. Matthews, *King*.
99. Benjamin Watkins Leigh. Prog. 20 yrs. Monroe Leigh, Jarratt, *Virginia*.
100. Public career of John Letcher. Prog. W. G. Bean, *Washington and Lee*.
101. The career of Francis Lieber. Prog. Diss. Frank B. Friedel, Jr. *Wisconsin*.
102. Life of George W. Littlefield. Prog. J. Evetts Haley, Houston, *Texas*.
103. David Meade of Virginia and Kentucky. Prog. 400 pp. 2 yrs. Diss. Mrs. Helen D. Bullock, *Virginia*.
104. Life of James Monroe. Prog. 500 pp. 5 yrs. William B. Hatcher, *Louisiana*.
105. John Trotwood Moore. Prog. Diss. Claud Green, *Georgia*.
106. Senator John Tyler Morgan and the Nicaragua Canal. Prog. 1 yr. Diss. Sidney T. Matthews, *Johns Hopkins*.
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