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## Charles Campbell: Early Life and Works (1807-1847)

William Howell Cryer

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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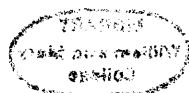
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CHARLES CAMPBELL: EARLY LIFE AND WORKS (1807-1847)

17

by

William Howell Cryer



Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
of  
The College of William and Mary  
for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
1947

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## PREFACE

Charles Campbell (1807-1876), Virginia historian, has been a long-neglected figure connected with Virginia's history. When the total of his contributions to the recording of that history is surveyed, it is even more surprising that he has not been given sufficient publicity for the part he played. Campbell was primarily a collector, for he was deeply interested in anything that pertained to the past, and when he discovered an aged letter or document left by some Virginia worthy, his delight was almost naive. Many of his vacations were spent in visiting the historic plantations, old graveyards and landmarks along the lower James river, and he was able to gather and preserve a remarkable amount of genealogical data, traditions, and material on Colonial life and the American Revolution. Campbell's antiquarian interests seem to have been formed early, and his interest in genealogical matters became an absorbing one, particularly in relation to those Virginia families from whom he was descended. His journals were filled with tombstone inscriptions, lists of portraits found at "Berkeley," "Westover," "Shirley," and other notable Virginia houses. Much of this material he later printed in the pages of The Southern Literary Messenger and in his own history, The Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, which was published in 1847. The Reverend Philip Slaughter, of Culpeper, Virginia, spoke of the long talks he had with Campbell about legends and traditions of Virginia and called him "a

Virginian in every fibre of his soul."<sup>1</sup>

Members of Charles Campbell's family said that nearly every moment of freedom from his daily work was spent with his books, in polishing up some piece of writing, or in clearing up and authenticating some obscure point of history. His mother remarked that he was never idle--always teaching, reading or writing.<sup>2</sup> He liked to write with his family surrounding him, for their chattering never seemed to discompose him in the least. It was said, also, that his memory was remarkable and that he forgot nothing.<sup>3</sup>

In a fine tribute to Charles Campbell, after his death, the Reverend Philip Slaughter made an all-revealing statement that he was surprised to find under Campbell's plain garb and modest mien so large a heart and a mind so richly stored with historical lore.<sup>4</sup> The plain and unassuming exterior of Campbell seemed to have misled many. His charming social graces, his rare faculty of putting others at ease, his cheerful bits of humor, and the classic phrases he used in conversation brought him ready listeners and made him a welcome guest in many homes. The letters and frequent invitations found in the Campbell Papers are proof enough of this. He has been likened to

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1. Obituary of Charles Campbell: "A Tribute to the Memory of the Late Charles Campbell," from The Petersburg Index; this is a clipping found in box 7, Campbell Papers, in the Library of the College of William and Mary.
  2. Sketch of Charles Campbell's life by Robert A. Brock: The Richmond Daily Dispatch, September 7, 1876.
  3. Letter from Mildred Moore Campbell to Robert A. Brock of Richmond, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.
  4. "Tribute to the Memory of the Late Charles Campbell," a clipping, undated, from The Petersburg Index; box 7, Campbell Papers.

Charles Lamb, the "gentle Elia," and the fact that he was ill-fitted for rough contact with the world is shown in his correspondence and in his journals.<sup>5</sup>

Charles Campbell's friends were legion, and his personal and business contacts brought him in touch with many whose names are known to us today as men of distinction and accomplishment. Among the many personal friends and acquaintances through mutual interest in history were Thomas Ritchie, Bishop William Meade, William Maxwell, Thomas H. Wynne, Hugh Blair Grigsby, Lyman C. Draper,<sup>6</sup> Henry C. Barnard, Jared Sparks, Edmund Ruffin, John Esten Cooke, the Reverend William S. Plummer, and a host of others. Some of these he aided in their historical work, and Campbell's generosity with his knowledge and data was attested by Bishop Meade in his work on the old churches and families of Virginia. Campbell's connection with the Alexander family (the Reverend Dr. Alexander's sister had married his uncle, Samuel L. Campbell) was the source of a great deal of delightful intercourse with its different members. Dr. James M. Alexander was his tutor in Princeton for a short time and always his appreciative friend.

In the following pages it is the intention of this paper to unfold the man, Charles Campbell, as he appeared in his private correspondence, and to reveal the difficulties, pains of composing, and stages through

5. Sketch of Charles Campbell's life in The Richmond Daily Dispatch, September 7, 1876, by Robert A. Brock.

6. See: Lester J. Cappon, ed., "Correspondence Between Charles Campbell and Lyman C. Draper, 1846-1872," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Volume 3, No. 1, January, 1946.

which he passed in writing his various works. This account is based almost entirely on the letters and materials found in the Campbell Papers in the Library of the College of William and Mary. These papers are the collections which Campbell accumulated throughout his life and contain hundreds of letters, newspaper and magazine clippings, a few original documents of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods in American history, and a number of letters and obituaries of Campbell which members of his family added after his death. The entire collection is divided into ten boxes, and the footnotes in this paper contain references only to the box in which the letters cited are found. It is important to note that the majority of Campbell's letters which are cited are rough copies kept by Campbell in his letter book. Exceptions are the letters to Jared Sparks, which are found in the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University, and the letters to members of his family.

Through the kindness of Harvard University Library, microfilm copies of the letters from Campbell to Jared Sparks in the years 1839 to 1848 were made available and have been used for a number of references in this paper.



## Chapter I

### THE FORMATIVE PERIOD, 1807-1833

Charles Campbell was born May 1, 1807 at "Porter Hill", Petersburg, Virginia, to John Wilson Campbell and Mildred Walker Moore Campbell. His father was a native of Rockbridge County, Virginia, and for many years he was a prominent book-seller of Petersburg, where the family had moved in 1806.<sup>1</sup> At one time he was the Federal Collector of Customs for Petersburg. John W. Campbell had been licensed to preach, but delicate health and extreme natural diffidence created difficulties, and thought he could be more useful in a private capacity.<sup>2</sup> He was said to have been a man of great intelligence and wide reading, and his modest and unobtrusive traits seem to have been inherited by his son Charles. In 1813, John W. Campbell's History of Virginia to 1781 was published at Philadelphia by himself and M. Carey, and this interest in history must have played a great part in developing his son's talents along that line. The father was a student at Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, and although nothing is known of his record there, he must have been a hard-working student, to judge by his later letters to his son, Charles.<sup>3</sup> Mildred Walker Moore gave to her son a fine heritage, both in family background and in native intelligence, for she was a granddaughter of Bernard Moore, of "Chelsea" in

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1. Letter from Mildred Moore Campbell to Robert A. Brock of Richmond, dated July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.
  2. Paper written by Mildred Moore Campbell, undated; box 5, Campbell Papers.
  3. Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, 1749-1888 (Baltimore, 1888), page 53: 1789-1800.

King William County, Virginia, and his wife, Anne Katharine, daughter of Governor Alexander Spotswood. Mrs. Campbell, a woman of wit and learning, taught in the Petersburg Classical Academy in the 1840's, an unusual occupation for a woman of her background in ante-bellum days.<sup>4</sup> Her family connections were to provide Charles Campbell with many good friends and companions in later years as well as to stimulate his interests in genealogy and history. The Carters of "Shirley" were his mother's relatives, and from her sister, Mary Fairfax Moore Keller, was descended the gifted Helen Keller. Two other children were born to the Campbells, Alexander S. Campbell and Elizabeth Campbell, later Mrs. Maben, the affectionate "Aleck" and "Betty", whose letters threw a great deal of light upon the character of their brother.

Charles Campbell attended the usual variety of English schools, one of them at Philadelphia, during a temporary residence of his father there. For three years he was under the tutorship of his first classical teacher, the Irishman, Peter Cooke, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and "a good scholar but a cross-grained, disagreeable man," according to the words of Mrs. Campbell.<sup>5</sup> In January, 1823, Campbell entered the Sophomore class of Princeton—the College of New Jersey—when he was not quite fifteen years of age.<sup>6</sup> The two years spent here were to provide Charles with a number of lasting friends and to give him

4. Edward A. Wyatt, Charles Campbell, Virginia's "Old Mortality" Southern Sketches, ed. by J. D. Eggleston, no. 5 (Charlottesville, Va. 1936) page 4.
5. Letter from Mildred Moore Campbell to Robert A. Brock, of Richmond, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.
6. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, dated Petersburg, January 12, 1823; box 6, Campbell Papers.

the foundation for his study of the law. At such an early age, Campbell naturally felt uncertain and nervous about what lay ahead of him, and in one of his journals he wrote:

In preparing for College I was alarmed by an exaggerated notion I had taken up of the grandeur of a college the learning of its' professors, the proficiency of its' students & the rigors of its' discipline. As the time of my departure drew nearer I became more uneasy I coned over my Homer & looked forward with anxious apprehension.... The first peal of the College bell sounded in my ears like the knell of doom....For a time I was like Cowper afraid to look above my shoe-strings....I felt desolate & alone. Time the great comforter rolled on the sky soon brightened & the period passed at College may be remembered as a sort of oasis in life....<sup>7</sup>

During the two years spent at Princeton, Campbell did not suffer for want of advice and guidance from his father and mother, for their letters to him were full of such things, as is natural with parents, and they furnish amusing and interesting glimpses into the life of the Campbells--father, mother, and their children--during this time. In one of the first letters which John W. Campbell wrote to his son, he cautioned him to take care and keep out of bad company, and if his tutors were not skillful, then he had only to be the more industrious to acquire as much knowledge without instruction as others would gain with it.<sup>8</sup> The discouragement Charles felt at first seemed to cause his father some concern, and in a letter of May 27, 1823, Mr. Campbell said that his son's displeasure and discouragement were very nearly what he had expected. "As you do not go there however to cut

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7. Scrapbook containing memoirs, undated; box 1, Campbell Papers.

8. Letter from Jehn W. Campbell to his son, January 12, 1823; box 6, Campbell Papers.

a figure but to acquire what will be useful to yourself thro' life it is not of much consequence whether you are among strangers or acquaintances...You may lay it down however as a certain consequence that if you succeed well in your studies & maintain a correct & firm moral deportment you will command the respect & esteem of all whose good opinion is worth having...If your company is not agreeable to others it is frequently owing to a want of amiableness & civility & softness of manner a tax which we ought all to pay to society if we expect in return the same treatment."<sup>9</sup> The father added that he remembered well when he went to Washington College there were several young men who, on their entrance there, were looked down upon by their fellow students, but before the expiration of one session the "cub-bears," as Mr. Campbell called them, left far behind their companions who had so misjudged them. Charles Campbell must have been criticising his instructors, for his father told him in conclusion that he should respect his tutors and not take up an opinion against their talents except upon the very best grounds.

The autumn of 1823 brought a visit from his father, for Mr. Campbell had to go to New York on business and had planned to spend a week or so in New England, taking Charles with him. Whether this week's trip was taken or not does not appear in the letters, and Mrs. Campbell decided that it would be a bad season of the year to bring Charles to Petersburg. Evidently, this was vacation time. Before this time,

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9. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, May 27, 1823; box 5, Campbell Papers.

Campbell had joined the American Whig Society,<sup>10</sup> a debating club at Princeton, and his mother wanted to know when he would make his first speech.<sup>11</sup> At the end of the session Charles wrote his father he had spent one hundred and eighty dollars during the session (an amazing contrast to college expenses today!) and mentioned a new policy at Princeton of separating the various scholars, which he thought unfair, for, although he had been placed in the first grade, some good students were placed with "desperate scholars" in other grades.<sup>12</sup> The year 1823 closed for Campbell with his mother's recommendation that he read "Watt's on the Mind," for she thought it would please and improve him.<sup>13</sup>

Little concerning the year 1824 can be found in the Campbell Papers except for October 13, 1824, Campbell was in Philadelphia, evidently on a visit.<sup>14</sup> His father had a number of business acquaintances in that city, and he usually recommended that his son go there to buy any clothes needed or to buy his books.

The next year was to see the completion of Campbell's course at Princeton, and evidently it began by being a busy time for him, as his mother wrote to him in January that she had not heard from him in some time, but she was "inclined to put the best construction on your silence

10. Catalogue of the American Whig Society, 1845, Princeton, N. J. (found in box 3, Campbell Papers).
11. Letter from Mildred Moore Campbell to her son, August 25, 1823, box 8, Campbell Papers.
12. Letter from Charles Campbell to his father dated Princeton, N. J., September 28, 1823, box 6, Campbell Papers.
13. Letter from Mildred Moore Campbell to her son, December 5, 1823; box 8, Campbell Papers.
14. Letter from Charles Campbell to his father, October 13, 1824; box 6, Campbell Papers.

--that you are very busy studying!"<sup>15</sup> He must have been too extravagant in spending money during this time, also, for his father commented on his expenses and corrected him, ending by saying "but experience in life will teach many things that are not learned at College."<sup>16</sup> Campbell graduated in September with high honors, and his mother, years later, said she did not remember whether he took first honors, but she thought he did. The class salutatory was delivered by him, in Greek, so we know that he ranked among the first of the graduates.<sup>17</sup> Campbell remarked in a letter to an unidentified friend that their commencement was said to have been superior to any for some years back. However, and perhaps this was only modesty speaking, the speakers of his class were characterized as "only decent", and "Latin and Greek were shamefully mangled."<sup>18</sup>

After Campbell's graduation he returned to his home in Petersburg, and his next problem was: what to do with himself? At first, he was melancholy, and he felt little spirit or energy in entering the cares of life. "I am far from possessing the confidence of youth so commonly reprobed by censorious age nor have I much reason to anticipate the smiles of Fortune & delights of prosperity."<sup>19</sup> His highest aim was to

15. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to her son, dated Petersburg, January 25, 1825; box 6, Campbell Papers.
16. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, Petersburg, September 21, 1825; box 6, Campbell Papers.
17. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Robert A. Brock, Warrenton, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.
18. Letter from Charles Campbell to \_\_\_\_\_, dated Petersburg, October 10, 1825; box 6, Campbell Papers.
19. Letter from Charles Campbell to \_\_\_\_\_, dated Petersburg, October 10, 1825; box 6, Campbell Papers.

enjoy the pleasures of a literary life secure from the sufferings of poverty and the noise, tumults and intrigues of public life. This seemed the most advisable plan. However, he had no fixed opinion on the subject. He disliked professions most cordially, "but necessity has no laws."<sup>20</sup> About this same time a letter from an unidentified person spoke of how they looked back on their college career, of how they sometimes stretched themselves on their cots in number eight and laughed at philosophy, professors, themselves and everything else.<sup>21</sup>

The remainder of the year and almost the entirety of 1826 were spent at Petersburg and in various trips about Virginia. In a diary of two and a half pages in one of his journals, beginning April, 1826 and ending June 1, 1827, Campbell recorded trips to City Point with Mr. Ruffin (probably Edmund Ruffin), a trial for slander he attended, and a six weeks trip to Charlottesville, Lexington, Natural Bridge and Hampden-Sydney. On the latter trip he visited the University of Virginia (where he heard Bonnycastle and Key lecture) and the home of Thomas Jefferson at sunset, which he described as "magnificent view-- perfectly enchanted--saw grandson of Jefferson--."<sup>22</sup> This diary records his arrival at Winchester about the first of December, and there he was enrolled in the law school of Henry St. George Tucker, where he studied until May, 1827. At the time he entered, there were two hundred

20. Ibid.

21. Fragment of a letter, undated, unaddressed, no salutation; box 6, Campbell Papers.

22. Diary of 2½ pages, April, 1826 to June 1, 1827 in Scrapbook no. 9; box 1, Campbell Papers.

students in the school, and Campbell's diary mentions that "Godwin's books (were) prevalent &c."<sup>23</sup>

One of the earliest insights into the character of Campbell during these years may be found in a letter from John H. Lee, of Orange County, Virginia, to Campbell, dated December 26, 1826: "From the tenor (sic) of your letter I perceive your habits of thinking and speaking of the "bagatelles" of the fashionable world have not materially changed since we were wont to canvass them under the classic shade of old Nassau...and methinks in yours I see the same unsophisticated confidence & candour which you were ever ready to express to your friends--The you express yourself now like a philosopher, and seem to scorn the fascinations of beauty & female attraction."<sup>24</sup> Female attractions seemed to have been stronger for Charles than his friend thought, for early in January, 1827 Mrs. Campbell wrote to her son to ask who it was he was "so near falling in love with." She hoped he would try to keep out of the way of Cupid's dart until he was at least twenty-one, and then "the lady must be pious & good tempered and her family must not be afflicted with insanity or scrofula, she must not be your cousin &c &c &c."<sup>25</sup> His mother was worrying needlessly, for Campbell remained single for almost ten years longer.

Before the end of the session, John W. Campbell advised his son to continue longer than the regular course of lectures, as a private

23. *Ibid.*

24. Letter from Jno. H. Lee to Charles Campbell, dated Orange County, December 26, 1826; Lee Family Folder, box 1, Campbell Papers.

25. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Charles Campbell, dated Petersburg, January 15, 1827; box 8, Campbell Papers.



student, if he thought it would be greatly to his advantage, for there was no good lawyer in Petersburg with whom he could study. His father wrote, "I had some conversation with Watkins Leigh when he was last in Petersburg upon the subject of Judge Tucker's law school of which he spoke very highly--It is probable however that after attaining one course you may be able to finish by close reading at home without assistance from anyone."<sup>26</sup> Charles agreed with his father and decided it would be preferable to return to Petersburg. "The Judge has offered to attend to the studies of any that wish to spend the summer here; there will probably be 6 or 8 left. There are so many of us crowded into this house that we read but little. We are just finishing the law lectures & then will take up those on Equity & the term will be ended with a general examination."<sup>27</sup> This letter concluded with an estimate of expenses for the course. The total of \$186.00 was divided into \$75.00 for tuition, \$10.00 for books, \$75.00 for board, \$6.00 for washing and \$20.00 for travelling expenses, to which was added sums for clothes, incidental items and pocket money. Later in the session, Campbell wrote to his father that the Judge's family had been sick, but the lectures had been going on regularly since court. "They are now on the subject of Equity much easier & more interesting than those on law...The advantages here are Excellent but have not been fully improved by the

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26. Letter from John W. Campbell to Charles Campbell, Petersburg, February 20, 1827; box 5, Campbell Papers.

27. Letter from Charles Campbell to his father, dated Winchester, February 27, 1827; box 5, Campbell Papers.

class."<sup>28</sup> Campbell's interest in politics was first shown here, and perhaps it was the atmosphere of Henry St. George Tucker's household which sponsored and encouraged it, for in this same letter he told his father he had seen the report of "your honorable Jackson Committee." "I am too obstinate to be convinced even by that erudite & logical production. It seems however you say no more than that you prefer Jackson to Adams. Not that you think Jackson preferable to any other. I am glad that you have this much modesty left. The hue and cry is raised & spread that Jackson is the sole person that can oust Adams."<sup>29</sup> Campbell was to change these Federalist-Whig views, and later he became an ardent member of the Democratic Republican party.

In the last letter written to him at Winchester, Campbell's mother mentioned for the first time, in writing, her interest in her son's religious life, for she hoped that he and his sister, Betty, had "embraced the offer of Salvation and have reconciled yourselves to God through Our Savior Jesus Christ...That would give me more pleasure than anything else in the world."<sup>30</sup> Campbell seems to have been a sincere and devoted Christian throughout his early years, but his mother's wish for his affiliation with the Church was not realized until 1859, when he became a member of the Tabb Street Presbyterian Church in Petersburg.

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28. Letter from Charles Campbell to his father, dated Winchester, March 18, 1827; box 5, Campbell Papers.

29. Letter from Charles Campbell to his father, dated Winchester, March 18, 1827; box 5, Campbell Papers.

30. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to her son, Petersburg, May 2, 1827; box 8, Campbell Papers.

Campbell returned to Petersburg on June the first, and his diary recorded his seeing John Quincy Adams in Washington on his way home.<sup>31</sup> At home, Charles seems to have continued enough reading in the law to have secured a license to practice, for his mother wrote Robert A. Brock of Richmond, after her son's death, that "he was licensed to plead Law—he rented an office got law books and we had high hopes that he would be an eminent lawyer but Such was not the will of God."<sup>32</sup> Just at what time Campbell became a licensed lawyer, or where his office was located, we do not know, but in a letter of September 21, 1828, to his mother, who was then visiting at New Haven, Connecticut, Campbell said he would like to meet her in Princeton at commencement, but he could scarcely raise money enough to take him to his court, much less there. "I am so sleepy-headed & as good-for-nothing as ever. As usual making resolutions every night & breaking them everyday. I begin to fear that my indolence is Entirely incorrigible,"<sup>33</sup> he wrote, and he also asked his mother to send to the bookstore of Bliss and White in New York for the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth numbers of Malte Brun's Geography.

The Virginia Constitutional Convention met in Richmond in October, 1829, and Campbell was drawn to it naturally, through his interest in law and in the outstanding Virginians who were delegates. In later years

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31. Diary in Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.  
 32. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Robert A. Brock, dated Warrenton, Fauquier County, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.  
 33. Letter from Charles Campbell to his mother, Petersburg, September 21, 1828; box 8, Campbell Papers.

he wrote a sketch of this convention in which he told of his seeing some of the eminent men there and stated that he attended the meetings himself for two weeks. At one of the sessions he was found prostrate at the door of the convention hall. He was taken up and bled, and the next day he went home nervous and miserable in body and in mind. From that time he gave up his law practice, shut up his office and never went back.<sup>34</sup>

Campbell's family did all they could for him in the way of medical aid and loving care. Finally, they decided to send him to White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, to take the waters and rest as much as he could. Evidently, he set out on this trip in August, 1830, for in that month he wrote to his mother from Lexington, Virginia, that he had not suffered much from fatigue, and at times he thought he was benefited by the journey. He described his opinions as varying with his feelings--sometimes sanguine and cheerful then despondent and despairing. For the first time he mentioned a peculiar headache which was to haunt him the rest of his days and eventually to cause him to lose his mind. This he described as a peculiar irritation of the nerves of the head and a tickling or crackling sensation in the head, which had been rather slight, and once or twice he had been entirely free of it. He was unable to travel alone, but he hoped to make some sort of arrangements at the Springs. Evidently he was travelling by horseback, for his horse had become lame and his progress toward White Sulphur had

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34. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Robert A. Brook, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.

been delayed somewhat.<sup>35</sup> When he reached the Springs he wrote that his health had continued very wretched and fluctuating and that his sufferings in body and mind he could never describe. He continued:

To detail & repeat my distressed anxieties & fears is useless—I am now staying at a house 3 miles from the springs....I have been advised to take the waters here moderately--& have drunk a few glasses a day, 3 or 4--it affects my head in a very strange manner....I think I have discovered that my state is very much in some respects as it was when I went to Halstead--& I am astonished to think that I have entirely neglected his remedy....I wish all my law books sold Except--Tuckers' Lectures--which were presented to me by the Judge....<sup>36</sup>

The state of his distressed mind was revealed somewhat in the nature of his handwriting, for in this letter it was poor and careless, in contrast to his usually orderly and regular type of writing.

The trip to the Springs seemed to do Campbell no good, and his mother wrote in 1876, "We heard of a person who could cure him. I took him myself but he was only better for a Short time--he grew worse & worse. At length Dr. Robertson advised his father to Send him to some Asylum his father Sent him & in a year he returned well."<sup>37</sup>

The next two years Campbell spent in resting and in concentration on restoring his health, and the information to be found on his life during this period is very meager. In 1831 he was unrecovered, evidently, for, in a letter to John W. Campbell, Henry St. George Tucker wrote of his deep regret at hearing the account of the health of his "highly

35. Letter from Charles Campbell to his mother, Lexington, August 25, 1830; box 8, Campbell Papers.

36. Letter from Charles Campbell to \_\_\_\_\_ (his father?), dated Near White Sulphur Springs, September 6, (1830); box 5, Campbell Papers.

37. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Robert A. Brock, July 26, 1876; box 5, Campbell Papers.

esteemed young friend, your son Charles...If he will come to Winchester I shall be happy if he will make my house his home, & I promise him instead of a course of law—a course of Exercise—and that not fatiguing. Exercise to the point of fatigue is as pernicious as the worst diet."<sup>38</sup> Two years later Mr. Tucker wrote again to Charles' father, "I had the pleasure to receive your letter this morning and learn with very sincere gratification the restoration of my young friend Charles to his former health. I regret that he will abandon his profession, though it is probable a life of more bodily activity may suit him better. I shall therefore hasten to communicate your & his wishes to Mr. N. Robinson with whom I have the pleasure of a slight acquaintance...I beg you to remember me kindly to Charles and to assure him of the deep interest Mrs. Tucker and myself have always taken in his happiness and prosperity."<sup>39</sup>

It was in the latter part of 1833, perhaps, that Charles Campbell discovered by chance the Bland manuscripts dealing with the period of the American Revolution, when he was at City Point, Virginia. In the introduction to The Bland Papers, published in Petersburg in 1840, Campbell told how he chanced to overhear a conversation between the landlord of a tavern at City Point and a gentleman of the neighborhood, in which they mentioned that there were some old manuscripts of Colonel Theoderick Bland, Jr., at "Cawsons" nearby. When Campbell inquired, he found that "Cawsons" was only a short distance from City Point, so he

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38. Letter from Henry St. George Tucker to John W. Campbell (Winchester, Virginia, 1831); box 4, Campbell Papers.  
 39. Letter from Henry St. George Tucker to John W. Campbell, dated Woodberry, September 29, 1833; box 4, Campbell Papers.

walked there. When he told the lady of the house of his antiquarian interests, she brought down a bundle of letters of Revolutionary worthies from the interstices of the eaves of the porch, where they were nicely pigeonholed. The shortness of time allowed him merely to glance at this parcel, when a little mulatto boy, key in hand, conducted him to a small, new outhouse in one corner of the yard. Inside was a capacious wooden chest full to the brim of papers lying topsy-turvy. One of the first he saw was a letter from General Washington, dated at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Many of the letters were mouse-nibbled, rat-eaten, stained, torn and faded. He had time to examine only a few of them. It is easy to picture Campbell's delight and excitement over this wonderful discovery and to imagine his dismay when the stage horn sounded, and he had to leave "Cawsons". He wrote further, in the introduction that shortly afterwards he left Virginia for a few years, so he was not able to realize his desire to inspect these papers leisurely at that time. At the beginning of the next year, Campbell started his varied travels, which took him away from home and Virginia until the latter part of 1837, except for one short visit. He must have thought often of those papers he had left behind. It was seven years before he was able to publish the manuscripts in the form he wanted.

## Chapter II

### THE SEARCH FOR HEALTH AND HAPPINESS (1834-1837)

Campbell's main concern, now, was to find some sort of stable employment and something suitable to his tastes and to his educational background. In one of his letter folders, undated, he jotted down his thoughts and feelings, which revealed a good deal of the inner man. It was necessary that he should go into some sort of business, he wrote, and, although his inclination was toward literary pursuits, a sedentary life of reading and writing would not suit his health. After some years of active life, if his health and circumstances would justify it, he might "essay some literary business." He thought it was best for him "to go upon the James River work" if he could get a place, for in that way he would avoid many disagreeable associations and recollections, and the active life would benefit his constitution. It was true he did not know much about engineering, but he had the advantages of a good, sound education. Should the situation prove disagreeable to him, after a year or so he could move to some other work or try some other mode of life. If the project should fail, at least he would have the satisfaction of having done what he could. As a guide to his dealings with prospective fellow workers, he must remember to maintain a discreet and cautious reserve of manner, and he must avoid as far as possible all references to his personal concerns, except those of an indifferent character.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Paper found in Campbell's letter folder, box 7, Campbell Papers.



Campbell found a place surveying for the construction of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad, evidently through the assistance of Otway B. Barrant, a prominent citizen of Norfolk and most likely a friend of Campbell's father.<sup>2</sup> The new duties were those of a "redman", or assistant to one of the surveyors. That Campbell took his new job seriously was shown by five pages of notes, in one of his scrapbooks, entitled "Engineering--Railroads," under which he recorded a "Formula for laying off Ditches," a "Table square Measure" and countless other odds and ends of information on the subject.<sup>3</sup> On January 4, 1834, he was at Ballard's farm in Southampton County near Suffolk, Virginia, when he wrote to his sister, Betty, that he was in fair health, and he had received letters from home and from H. Barnard and Dr. Lee of Hartford.<sup>4</sup> His later correspondence with Henry Barnard, of Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut, gave much useful information on his writing activities, and the friendship between the two lasted many years. When or how Campbell met the prominent educator is not shown in the correspondence Campbell left behind him. Later in January, Campbell was located at Jerusalem in Southampton County, where he appeared to be well-satisfied with his employment and in good health. His family worried, however, that he would suffer from being exposed so much, perhaps far from any shelter, and they had heard that the smallpox had broken out near Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

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2. Letter from Campbell to Otway B. Barrant of Norfolk, dated Petersburg, December 19, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.
  3. Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.
  4. Letter from Campbell to his sister, Betty, dated Ballard's farm, Southampton County, January 4, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.
  5. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, dated February 26, 1834; box 5, Campbell Papers.

During this time, Campbell's first known printed contribution appeared in April, 1834 in Edmund Ruffin's new magazine, The Farmer's Register, under the title of "Marl on Nottoway River." This was in the form of a letter, dated "Railroad, Southampton, Va., Feb. 16th, 1834." He enclosed to the editor a specimen of marl he had found on the bank of the Nottoway, near Savage's farm, a week or two before, and finished the letter by saying, "During the last month I have had the pleasure of wading near half the time in swamps--frequently while frozen over. However, it was no great matter, when my boots had holes enough in them to draw off the water."<sup>6</sup> This letter seemed to set the wheels in motion, for Edmund Ruffin wrote in March to Campbell, "I wish you would put in force your notion of writing something for the F. R. a review of Oberlin, applicable solely to his engineering & economical labors & showing the powerful influence that the mind & energy of one poor man had, would be interesting & useful, & suitable to your present pursuits, as well as mine."<sup>7</sup> Ruffin urged Campbell to write about his travels, for he could make known to people some natural features of the United States which had not been told before in print. He recommended especially an article on the Dismal Swamp.<sup>8</sup> Campbell contributed a number of sketches to The Farmer's Register

6. Farmer's Register, Volume 1, page 701; number 11, April, 1834. While this letter was not signed by Campbell, it has been identified by Dr. Earl Gregg Swen in his analysis of contributions and contributors to The Farmer's Register in Volume 11, Bulletin of the Virginia State Library.
7. Letter from Edmund Ruffin to Charles Campbell, dated Petersburg, March 13, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.
8. Ibid.

over a period of ten years or so. That he was most interested in the magazine was shown by his letters to his family asking them to send him copies while he was living in Alabama and Tennessee. Members of the Ruffin family were close friends of the Campbells, and Edmund Ruffin gave constant encouragement to Charles' talent for writing.

Perhaps it was mere brotherly pride which caused "Aleck" Campbell to write in April to his brother, "I expect you have become a pretty good engineer as you have been set over a devission of the road already....Pa is afraid that place will be unhealthy in the summer if so you can take a trip with (us) if we should go."<sup>9</sup> Campbell was in the mood for the trip by that time, for he was increasingly dissatisfied with his work, and it was not long before he gave it up altogether. He wrote to a cousin in North Carolina that the country he was in was very dreary and secluded from all that was agreeable to him and that he was involved in all that was repulsive and odious. He was convinced that occupation alone could alleviate the oppressed mind. He told her he was not sure how soon he would abandon his railroad life, thus disappointing the expectations of his stability and purpose and displaying a new evidence of indecision and imbecility. He thought the source of his indecision was a nervous disease, "the most painful & the most inveterate known to mankind."<sup>10</sup> Indecision, instability and dissatisfaction with his mode of life were to haunt Campbell until he settled

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9. Letter from Alex. S. Campbell to his brother, April 4, 1834; box 5, Campbell Papers.

10. Letter from Charles Campbell, Isle of Wight County, Va., to his cousin, Lavinia McPheeters, of Raleigh, N. C., April 7, 1834; box 4, Campbell Papers.

down in Petersburg in the latter part of 1837. Until that time, he seems to have been driven, by some force he did not understand, to move from place to place in search of a locality which ideally suited his demands. Perhaps this fault in character was doubly bad in a man of twenty-seven, but the nature of Campbell's affliction and the state of his health seems to have been responsible for some of this.

Campbell left the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad and went back to Petersburg, where he turned again to writing. In the May number of The Farmer's Register, his article-letter, "The Tornado," was printed. This was dated May 10, 1834 at Petersburg and signed "c.". The usual signature of Campbell's articles was "c. c.," but occasionally he signed his full name. This particular article, or letter, described the whirlwind at Petersburg. It went further than a mere description of the effects of the wind by quoting from a "Cyclopedia" data on whirlwinds and water-spouts. The "Cyclopedia" Campbell used was evidently Malte Brun's Geography, for he mentioned Malte Brun on the causes of tornadoes, and at the end of the article he gave his authority for his observations: "vol. 1, Physical Geography".<sup>11</sup> Perhaps this was the Malte Brun he had asked his mother to order from New York for him in 1828. Campbell showed, at an early date, his propensity for citing authorities for the majority of things he wrote. Not all historians and writers of his period were as thorough and accurate as Campbell. About this same time Campbell thought of contributing to the newly-established Southern

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11. Farmer's Register, volume 1, page 763: number 12, May, 1834.

Literary Messenger in Richmond, and in answer to a letter of Campbell's, Thomas W. White, the editor, wrote that he would be glad to receive contributions from Charles and publish those found worthy of inserting in the Messenger. In reference to payment, Mr. White wrote that it was customary to pay by the printed page, but he did not yet know how much it would be.<sup>12</sup> Evidently Campbell was spurred by the need of money as well as by his interest in writing.

One of the outstanding moments in Campbell's life came when he left Virginia in August of 1834 for a tour of the Northwest and the West in search of health and a suitable place to make his home. This trip was to bring changes he never expected. He wrote from on board the "Hornet at sea", August 7, to his sister, Betty, that he had become tired of Richmond while he was waiting for his ship to leave, so he had walked to "Amphill" for a visit. On Saturday at one o'clock he had gone aboard ship, and at the time of his writing they were off the coast of New Jersey and expected to reach New York the following morning. From New York City he planned to go to Albany, Buffalo and to the "Falls of Niagara", then by steamer across Lake Erie to Detroit, where he would take the stage to Chicago. He had had a touch of seasickness, but the voyage had been a pleasant one, for they were very companionable aboard and "the watchword is 'vive la bagatelle'". I have dubbed several of the crew—and they now pass by the names of Commodore—ex-emperer—Don

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12. Letter from Thomas W. White to Campbell, Richmond, July 17, 1834; Correspondence with editors of Southern Literary Messenger folder; box 1, Campbell Papers.

Miguel the grand musician & I am le Docteur--for having administered 2 pills to the ex-emperors-imperial consort."<sup>13</sup> He went on to say that travelling was the best medicine for him, and he believed that if he had stayed in Virginia he would have grown much worse in health "A should have been disturbed by a great many imaginations--which I hope now to leave behind me." When Campbell next wrote to Betty (who was at Princeton visiting Mary Rice, the daughter of the Reverend B. H. Rice) from Buffalo, New York, on August 15, he expected to leave the next day by steamboat for Detroit, where he arrived August 17.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note the dates of Campbell's letters for the time it took him to travel from place to place. Besides the picture of the conditions of travel during the 1830's, Campbell's letters, recording minute descriptions of the places and people he saw, now furnish us with a colorful, graphic view of the times in which he lived.

At Detroit, he hoped to meet with persons looking for a settlement in Illinois, "And if I should not--on account of my head-ache or other reasons--stay in Illinois--I may turn to Missouri--Where are many Virginians--or to Tennessee if Mr. Henley thinks that advisable."<sup>15</sup> The Mr. Henley he mentioned was Arthur Hazelrigg Henley, husband of his mother's sister, Evelina Moore, who lived at "Chota" plantation in East Tennessee. Campbell left Detroit on August 18, and when he wrote to

13. Letter to Betty Campbell, August 7, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

14. Letter to Betty Campbell from Buffalo, N. Y., August 15, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

15. Letter to Betty Campbell from Detroit, Michigan, August 17, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

his mother from La Porte, Indiana, on the 22nd, he was within seventy miles of Chicago. He had been waiting two days for the stage, which ran only once a week. "The country for a day & a half after leaving Detroit is a wilderness of woods & very flat, & the road the worst possible. After that, the road & face of the country improve, until one enters a charming open-prairie country thinly wooded."<sup>16</sup> The prairie resembled his idea of the view of a nobleman's park and grounds in England, with its gentle slopes, open glades and clumps of trees. "It looks like an old country cleared hundreds of years ago."<sup>17</sup> His intentions were to buy a small farm at \$1.25 an acre or perhaps to settle on new lands and obtain a preemption title. If he could not locate there, he might "fall back on East Tennessee and set up school" near Mr. Henley's. His preference was a free state, not because he liked the manners of the people but because he abhorred the institution of slavery. When he reached Springfield, Illinois, he estimated he would have travelled nearly two thousand miles at a total expense of seventy-five or eighty dollars.<sup>18</sup>

The settlers travel for the most part in spring & fall--& there are now very few on this route--I should not commend this "circuitous-tortuous meandering route". The direct route by Cincinnati is preferable for conveniency--& expedition & is at least as cheap--if not more so. However it is something to have seen the country I have passed through....I think of walking out to-day to see the deer-prairie--which is said to be a curious sight--an avenue leading from one prairie

16. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from La Porte, Indiana, August 22, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell, La Porte, Indiana, August 22, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

into another--looking like a door & hence called--by the French--  
prairie de la porte....<sup>19</sup>

Before he reached his aunt's home in Blount County, East Tennessee, on September 19, Campbell had seen Chicago, Springfield, Illinois, and Louisville, Kentucky, and his mind was stored with a rich fund of materials, on which he was to draw for many of his later writings.

Campbell realized he must settle down to some way of making a living, but he wavered from one thing to another and sought advice from Mr. Henley, his family, and friends. He seemed to be unable to make his own decisions, and his mother wrote that he had better try engineering, in which he had had experience, until he made enough money to buy a farm, "but what would you do with a farm ploughing & hoeing are right hard work."<sup>20</sup> However, Campbell agreed with Mr. Henley to stay with him and teach only his children at first, with a moderate compensation. If other scholars could be found, then the school would be enlarged.<sup>21</sup> To his brother, Campbell wrote:

I am you see at last a Country schoolmaster on a small scale--with somewhere between 5 & 6 scholars. All which as you must perceive is perfectly sublime!

I am quite contented--the position is romantic--wild--sequestered-- & I find here my desideratum--quiet, seclusion obscurity.... if these should not charm away the "maladie nerveuse" why then you know I can write a novel which will be fulfilling an old threat.... I expect to accompany our Cousin Elisabeth--to-morrow--(Saturday--paradise of schoolmasters & scholars! --) to clover-hill dale as field--or plains

19. Letter to Betty Campbell, La Porte, Indiana, August 23, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

20. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to Charles, September 17, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

21. Letter from Campbell to his mother, "Ghota", September 20, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.



I forget which--where resideth our Cousin Sarah.... Mr. Henley at my suggestion would like to enquire the price &c of the cottensed oil machine or hulling machine--. how much the patent for the use of one individual will cost--as he thinks somewhat of trying the Experiment out here....<sup>22</sup>

The prevalent urge of the 1830's to move to newer and richer western lands had taken hold of John W. Campbell, too, for he wrote his son, Charles, that he felt a strong inclination to move to Illinois, and he intended at least to visit that state, if he could conveniently accomplish it. He had no doubt that the Southwest, particularly Mississippi, offered far greater inducements to those whose only object was to make money, but he did not think he would like that country on many accounts. "I was in hopes you could have made an arrangement with Mr. Smith & joined him on the Railroad--the' I cannot but feel glad that for the present, you have found a resting place for the sole of your feet in so agreeable a family."<sup>23</sup> Aleck added a postscript to his father's letter to say that Mr. Buffin would print Charles' "Review of Oberlin" in the November issue of The Farmer's Register.

At what time this review was written is not known, but most likely Campbell wrote it while he was travelling in the West, before he reached "Chota". The "Review of the Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban De La Roche"<sup>24</sup> was most readable, interesting and well-written. Campbell quoted freely from the Memoirs to illustrate his statements and opinions, and the entire article moved with an ease and

22. Letter from Campbell to his brother, "Aleck", "Chota", September, 1834; box 5, Campbell Papers.

23. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, October 2, 1834; box 5, Campbell Papers.

24. Farmer's Register, volume 2, number 6; November, 1834; pages 370-374.

grace unusual in a writer of Campbell's limited experience.

Unfortunately, Campbell did not remain long at "Gheta", for he became so dissatisfied there that he moved temporarily to "Hard Times", the plantation of his mother's brother, Dr. Spotswood Moore, in Blount County, Tennessee.<sup>25</sup> He was anxious for fear his mother would think he had some sort of quarrel with his aunt's family, but the truth was he had grown restless and tired of that one spot, and he had decided to move on to Alabama where his Keller relations lived. He left by stage for Tusculum, Alabama, on November 26, and in a fragment of a diary in one of his scrapbooks he recorded his impressions of the trip in short, abrupt phrases:

stage Madisonville - Athens - Pikeville - Sequoia Valley - Walden  
ridge - Cumberland Mountain - Crossed in night alone - rainy - dark -  
ground frozen driver scared - strange horses &c.  
...Bolivar pretty girl at tavern ... travelled day and night rough  
roads - very cold - alone - entered Alabama  
Stony-rough-in woods-Huntsville ... public square McAdamsized - pretty  
place - well built houses - picturesque - stage Sunday morning - Belipse -  
Triana ... Somerville - 2 days - to Courtland in stage thence next  
morning on rail-road to Tusculum ...<sup>26</sup>

Campbell spent a month alternately at "Glencoe", the plantation of his aunt, Eliza Moore McDonald, and "Ball's Grove", the home of Mary Fairfax Moore Keller.<sup>27</sup> During this time he met the Reverend Mr. Wetherby, Presbyterian minister at Tusculum, who encouraged him to apply for a place in one of the schools nearby. Mr. Wetherby wrote to Somerville, recommending Campbell for the place of superintendent.

25. Letters from Campbell to his sister from "Hard Times", November 25 and 26, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

26. Fragment of a diary, Scrapbook number 9; box 1, Campbell Papers.

27. Ibid.

of the male academy there. In answer, the Reverend J. H. Gillespie said he was anxious that Charles visit them, for he was convinced that Somerville was one of the most eligible spots for a classical school in the northern part of the state, and success depended on the kind of a teacher they had. The usual tuition was twenty dollars a session for classical scholars, and twelve dollars and a half for all others.<sup>28</sup> Campbell wrote in his diary, "I invited to visit S - did not - engaged the academy - rainy spell - 10 or 12 days - rheumatism in my arm and legs - Returned to Tusumbia Christmas night - rheumatism so intense obliged to dismount and wade in mud for relief - sleet blowing full in my face - Cheeks insensible, rheumatism induced by a wetting in a swollen creek. Which had to swim ~~and~~ Avoided dinner party at Glancee."<sup>29</sup> The good news of his new place Campbell announced to his family the day after Christmas, and he wrote that the former teacher at Somerville had had an income of \$1,200 a year, with thirty-five scholars, nearly all of whom were "Classical". Charles asked for some periodicals, "such as the Museum Blackwoods &c", for they could come to him by mail. "You would find me still the same quarulous, hypochondriacal fellow - yet a little cynical too at times - and so nervous that when I once begin to laugh - I keep on laughing. And I am apt to look at my own misfortunes and troubles in a ridiculous light - So that I may say - I should not be near so merry - if I was not so unhappy."<sup>30</sup>

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28. Letter from the Rev. J. H. Gillespie to - (evidently Mr. Wetherby) dated Somerville, December 12, 1834, in letter folder; box 7, Campbell Papers.

29. Diary in Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.

30. Letter to Betty Campbell, "Glancee", Alabama, December 26, 1834; box 8, Campbell Papers.

Campbell was to begin teaching on February 1st, and from "Glencoe" he wrote his mother he was worried about his competency to teach matters to which he had not turned his attention for several years, but what he should make of it was more than he could tell.<sup>31</sup>

Somersville to which I am about to repair is an insignificant village - County seat of Morgan and about four miles from the Tennessee River. It is on elevated ground not far from a small mountain which I cross in going there. It is said to be quite healthy. It is nothing but a hollow square-frame houses and the court house - a paltry wooden structure in the centre - about 100 yds out of this square stands my schoolhouse - a log-house - a chimney at each end.<sup>32</sup>

Campbell moved to Somersville the latter part of January, and in his expense account book recorded, "Jan'y 28th - agreed with Capt. McKensie for board and furnishing room - washing - having bed made up - for 3 months at rate of \$1.50 per annum 45.00 Rented office from Hardock McK for 3 months at rate of \$4 per annum 12.00.<sup>33</sup> This was for board at the tavern and lodging in the office.

Arrangements were made for an assistant to take charge of the English department, and Campbell opened school with sixteen students, seven of whom were "Classical". Six others were engaged, and he expected to have forty or fifty boys in all before the close of the session, which would end in June.<sup>34</sup> John W. Campbell sent his son the needed books he had in stock in his own bookstore, and those he was not able to supply he ordered from his agent in Philadelphia. There were

<sup>31</sup>. Letter to Betty Campbell, "Glencoe", January 19, 1835; box 8, Campbell Papers.

<sup>32</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>. Scrapbook number 9; box 1, Campbell Papers.

<sup>34</sup>. Letter to Betty Campbell, Somersville, February 7, 1835; box 8, Campbell Papers.

several Somerville merchants who traded in that city and Charles sent additional lists of books by them when they went north to buy their goods.<sup>35</sup>

Campbell must have been a good teacher from the beginning, for he took his duties conscientiously and studied carefully the various systems of teaching in use during the 1830's. His journals were filled with notes on how to present certain subjects to a class, with exercises in English, mathematics, and geography, and countless pages of tests in which the students supplied the necessary words for blank spaces in given sentences. The best picture of this first session of his academy was given in a letter to his brother, Aleck:

You ask whether in discharge of new office I have had to use the flagellum or fenna - to which I have to reply in the affirmative -. There are 51 - attached to the school - and at a rough guess - I should say I have used the Apparatus aforesaid about a dozen times - and I have suspended two, one for a week - the other for 10-days.... 8 or 10 are young men - one of them a Captain of Militia and several much stouter than I -. I have a class in Caesar - 5 in number - in Viri Roma 2 - in Virgil 2. We have read part of Hist. Tac-. The Catalinarian War in Sallust - part of Viri Roma - first book of Caesar - 1st Aenid of Virgil - Greek and Latin Grammar.... read Grimshaws U.States- Write daily - and spell - compositions weekly - 2 speak everyday and all together once a month - roll is called 3 times a day. Cyprian - an hour - have studied a greater part of Woodbridge's Geogr-. Commence review to-morrow - examination and exhibition - that is speechification to be the last day of June - after which will be vacation of one month.

I have started a little manuscript newspaper - of which I am Editor proprietor - printer - and carrier - and the scholars Contributors - I call it the Somerville Weekly Advertiser - the people are quite amused at it and it is in great demand....<sup>36</sup>

In response to a letter from Henry Barnard of Hartford, Connecticut, Campbell wrote that his literary activities had been non-existent for

35. Letters to John W. Campbell from Somerville on March 6 and March 29, 1835; box 5, Campbell Papers.

36. Letter to Aleck Campbell, May 31, 1835; box 5, Campbell Papers.

some time and during the tour he took the summer before he had not felt like writing "description, sentiment or anything else".<sup>37</sup> At the end of his session in June he hoped Barnard would come to see him, although he would find him a "melancholy fellow afflicted with headaches & in abundance".<sup>38</sup>

John W. Campbell still had his eye fixed on the West, and he urged his son to give an account and opinion of Alabama, although he thought he preferred Illinois, but he was undecided whether he would move at all. Campbell wrote his father that he thought money was more readily made in Alabama than in Virginia, but prices were also higher in the newer state. "Mr. Keller gave about \$20 - an acre and that is perhaps an average price of good land now.... The population is miscellaneous (many Virginians-) shrewder and better informed I think than in lower Virginia.... My aversion to slavery is fixed - but it presents itself in as mild a form here as in Va..."<sup>39</sup>

When the session of the academy ended in July, Campbell went to "Glencee" to spend his vacation of one month, and he occupied his time in visits with relatives who lived nearby, in dancing and in attending pretty girls at various parties. Some of the young ladies "set their caps" for him, but he seemed to think it his business "to make love to all the Yankee teachers".<sup>40</sup> Campbell was happy and contented at

37. Letter to Henry Barnard, February 7, 1835; box 1, Campbell Papers.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Letter from John W. Campbell to his son, January 28, 1835 and letter from Charles Campbell to his father, February 14, 1835; box 5, Campbell Papers.

40. Scrapbook no. 14, pages 51-69: "The Life of Miss Lavinia Maria Moore", by "C.C."; box 3, Campbell Papers.

"Glencoe", which he described to his mother as a beautiful plantation. The house stood on a gentle slope just at the foot of a small mountain. From the front porch he could see the whole plantation stretched out in luxuriant corn and cotton. The plantation looked much like one in Virginia, he thought, with "cots yellow in stacks cotton and corn- the soil is evidently newer - fresher and more productive than in Va."<sup>41</sup> Uncle Dick, the aged mulatto gardener at "Glencoe", told Campbell he could remember "Wallis's Wars" (the American Revolution) and that "Wallis" (Cornwallis) had jumped over a house in North Carolina on a big black horse.<sup>42</sup>

The last session of his school was not profitable, Charles wrote his mother while he was at "Glencoe", but he had higher hopes for the next term, as there were prospects of an increase in the number of scholars. He intended to discontinue the services of his assistant, and he thought of employing one of the students for that place.<sup>43</sup> These were trying times for Campbell, because the following session was not as the first one, and he rapidly became more discontented. "The school was at first as full as I wished - but it has fallen off considerably since - and I am doubtful about abiding any longer than the present session."<sup>44</sup>

41. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from "Glencoe", July 11, 1838; box 8, Campbell Papers.

42. Scrapbook no. 14, pages 31-68; "The Life of Miss Lavinia Maria Moore", by "C.C."; box 8, Campbell Papers.

43. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from "Glencoe", July 11, 1838; box 8, Campbell Papers.

44. Letter to Betty Campbell from Sumnerville, October 24, 1838; box 8, Campbell Papers.

The only piece of writing which Campbell succeeded in having printed during his stay at Somerville seems to have been "Scraps From Old Authors Respecting Virginia". This article appeared in The Farmer's Register for November, signed "G. Campbell, Somerville, Ala. Sept. 10, 1835".<sup>45</sup> It was composed of notes on the natural history of Virginia, prices current there in 1703, and lists of Indian words taken "principally from the old histories of Smith, Beverley and Stith".<sup>46</sup> There was no attempt to mold these notes into a continuous narrative or a polished piece of writing, for they were simply various odds and ends.

In January, of 1836 Campbell went back to "Glencoe". Evidently he had given up his school at Somerville, for he wrote his mother that he was waiting for a "providence" from home sufficient to enable him to get into some sort of business again. "My notion is to go to Mississippi but my health is not good and I have no very clear purpose in view at present.... Mr. Kaller has sold his plantation and stock - and hired out his negroes untill September next when he expects to move to Mississippi.... As to returning to Va - I have no expectations of the kind - my step is Westward now".<sup>47</sup> For the time being Campbell occupied himself with hunting game with his cousins and with an endless round of visiting. These were stirring times in the Southwest, and he showed his interest in the Texas Revolution in a letter he wrote to his father:

The news of Houston's victory and capture of St. Anna was received in Tusculum with an illumination - A feu de joie &c. About a fortnight

45. Farmer's Register, volume 3, no. 7, November, 1835: page 435.

46. Ibid.

47. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from "Glencoe", February 13, 1836; box 6 Campbell Papers.



since I observed a crowd in the streets and found it was occasioned by the arrival of two young volunteers from Texas - who had escaped the massacre at Goliad of Fanning's regiment to which they belonged. One of them proved to be a former student of mine at Somerville - who had quit school to go to Texas - his name is Brooks....<sup>48</sup>

For six weeks Campbell taught in a school in Tusculum, and it has not been possible to identify this school or find out any information other than a list of the books used there.<sup>49</sup> He wrote his sister, Betty, that he gave up this school because it was unfavorable to his health, and he was unoccupied, with nothing better to do than "tinker up" an old rifle for squirrel hunting. "My unsettled life and uncertain prospects are sufficiently unpleasant - but with so frail a tabernacle of clay as mine - what better fortune can I expect? If I could have continued teaching here I would probably have succeeded Mr. Weatherby in his school here - as he is to take charge of a female school the next session and there is no other male teacher here. But school-keeping and the headache are two of the most incompatible things in the world."<sup>50</sup>

John W. Campbell was perturbed over his son's instability, and he suggested in a letter that Charles try to find employment in editing a publication like The Southern Literary Messenger or The Spectator. He recommended that it be a literary paper exempt from politics and

48. Letter to John W. Campbell from "Glencoe", May 21, 1836; box 5, Campbell Papers.

49. This list included: "Juvenile Reader, Peter Parley's Geography, Pleasing Companion, Grimshaw's Hist. U. States, Blair's Rhetorick, Abridgement -, Latin Grammar, Adams', Walker's Dictionary, Comstocks Nat. Philosophy, Cicero's Orations, Greek Testament, Spelling book, Bible, Smith's Grammar, Olney's Geography." Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.

50. Letter to Betty Campbell from "Glencoe", June 17, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

news. He was glad to know that Campbell had written several hundred pages of manuscript in the past few months, and he thought it would be well for his son to prepare something for the press. It was his idea that fiction would pay best of all, and as he was in correspondence with the two largest publishers in the United States (he did not mention their names), he could be of great help to Charles in publishing whatever he wrote.

The Southern Literary Messenger, owned and edited at this time by Thomas W. White, printed Campbell's first contribution to it in May of that year.<sup>51</sup> This was "The Prairie", signed with "C.C.", a signature which became a most familiar symbol to readers of the Messenger and of The Farmer's Register. "The Prairie" was a delightfully-written, smoothly-flowing article in a romantic style, and Campbell's choice of words, particularly adjectives, was most pleasing. He told of his travels in the peninsula of Michigan and through the prairies of Indiana and Illinois, which answered his conception of lawns, parks and pleasure grounds in England. Those were almost the identical words he had used in a letter to his mother while he was travelling in that section of the country in 1834. He went on to describe, in this article, the lakes, woods, animals and flowers of the prairie, where "Each flower, leaf, and blade of grass, and green twig glistens with pendulous diamonds of dew."

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51. Letter from John W. Campbell, June 17, 1836; box 5, Campbell Papers.

52. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 2, no. 5, May, 1836, page 354.

Campbell had not forgotten the Bland manuscripts which he had found at "Cawsons" in 1833, and in a letter to his mother he asked her to tell Mr. Ruffin there were a number of "old Dr. Bland's MSS" at John Meade's near City Point, "letters of Genl Washington - Jefferson &c - which he ought to publish under title of Bland Papers or have published in the Lit. Messenger."<sup>53</sup> To Edmund Ruffin he sent another article for The Farmer's Register, "The West", which was signed "C. Campbell, Glencoe, Alabama, April 4, 1836."<sup>54</sup> In this piece, he divided his remarks into a discussion of agriculture in the West, in which he described the processes and difficulties of clearing a western plantation for planting, and emigration to the West. The latter heading included the obstacles of pioneer life, the current of emigration, and the peopling of the valley of the Mississippi.

After several months spent at "Glencoe", Charles decided to return home to Virginia, for his health had not improved, and he believed he could not make a success of teaching. The most revealing chronicle of this period was a memoir, written in one of his journals, in which he described minutely the events and inner conflicts he suffered from the time of his leaving "Glencoe" to the death of his first wife. He had not heard for some time from his Hanley cousins in Tennessee, and as he was very fond of one of them, he decided to visit them before he returned to Virginia. "Ah what happiness and what misery I would have missed had I chosen another route"<sup>55</sup>, he wrote, evidently some years later. He

53. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from "Glencoe", February 13, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

54. Farmer's Register, vol. 4, no. 1, May, 1836, pages 42-43.

55. Memoirs in one of the journals, box 8, Campbell Papers.

travelled part of the way by steamboat, which at length ran aground, and "went the rest of the way partly on horseback - partly in a stage - the most miserable vehicle, horses and driver I have ever seen - partly in a wagon and lastly on foot."<sup>56</sup> He stopped at the house of a wealthy squire, who talked endlessly on the subject of horses and races, and he had the pleasure of catching several glimpses of the squire's daughter, "who was quite pretty and an heiress."<sup>57</sup> He later came to know the squire and his daughter rather well. After leaving here, he was struck with the beauty of the mountains, the "river bottoms covered with fine crops of corn - the banks of the stream fringed with trees - and grown up with a luxuriant vegetation of tall grass and tender cane and shrubs and vines and flowers."<sup>58</sup> As he approached his aunt's house he imagined how he would surprise his cousins, "who soon all came to welcome me; I was covered with dust - my beard long and some of them said I looked like a sailor-boy returned home after a voyage."<sup>59</sup>

After some weeks, his Aunt had a quilting match, and two young ladies from the plantation across the river, one of whom he had seen two years before, were there. "During the quilting week I became captivated with her beauty and loveliness. I was constantly at her side - and used to be at her corner of the quilt."<sup>60</sup> It was not long before Campbell asked her to marry him, and she assented. "The day that I

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56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Memoirs in one of the journals, box 5, Campbell Papers.

60. Ibid.

addressed her formally - I was with her half the day - she appeared in a homespun dress. She agreed to marry me and I not content with a simple assent, made her repeat the engagement and renew the pledge - over and over again - perhaps twenty times."<sup>61</sup> The young lady was Elvira Callaway, an orphan of seventeen or eighteen, who lived at the family home with her brother, Thomas, and sister, Lucinda.

When Campbell wrote his mother of his approaching marriage, he was not particularly flattering in his description of Elvira as, "she stoops a little - ratherish good looking than otherwise - worth \$ I don't know exactly how many. In all other particulars not remarkable - a homespun little woman plain as a pikestaff with no particular fault except that she thinks me a pretty clever - fellow which you know is a grand mistake."<sup>62</sup> Campbell's sister, Betty, wrote in return, "You are such an odd fish that I began to think you would never marry - I have a great curiosity to see your choice - but as I said this afternoon, if my dear Charlie's wife was as ugly as mud and as cross as X that stile I would love her for his sake."<sup>63</sup> They were married in a private wedding on September 13th, and the next day they started on their trip to Virginia. The journey to Petersburg took seven days, and it was an unpleasant one with "Crowded stages, loss of sleep, hot days - chilly nights in the mountains bad roads untill we reached Old Virginia and then clouds of dust - All this was bad enough, and after so rough a sail we were very

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61. Ibid.

62. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from "Chota", August 23, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

63. Letter from Betty Campbell, September 1, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

willing to come to anchor here."<sup>64</sup>

From Petersburg, Campbell wrote to Henry Barnard that he expected to spend the winter in Petersburg, but beyond that he had no plans at that time. In this letter he told of his recent marriage: "At a wild Eagle's nest among the mountains - I took unto myself a wife from among the daughters of those Canaanites - which said wife is now seated across that is to say on the other side of the table at which I am writing - steadily plying her needle and never dreaming that she is the subject of my pen."<sup>65</sup> His health was not much better, he wrote, and he had not been in good trim for writing, "but being naturally of that turn and having no other resource against melancholy - although the remedy aggravated the tendency that way - I have written a good deal that is for me - some part of which with a vanity common to young men I am disposed to publish, not however without the advice of one or two friends."<sup>66</sup> He had not decided about printing his work, but if he should go north on such an errand he wanted to meet Mr. Barnard and subject the affair to his criticism. "The MSS is in the hands of my father who is far from being sanguine in favor of book-making - having tried it himself."<sup>67</sup> Later, Campbell wrote to Barnard that he had abandoned the idea of going to New York to have something printed, but he hoped to meet his friend sometime during the winter.<sup>68</sup>

64. Letter from Campbell to Arthur H. Henley of "Chota", dated Petersburg, October 25, 1836; box 5, Campbell Papers.

65. Letter to Henry Barnard from Petersburg, September 26, 1836; box 1, Campbell Papers.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Letter to Henry Barnard, November 2, 1836; box 1, Campbell Papers.

Perhaps the manuscript Campbell mentioned in this letter was the embryo of his Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, published in 1847, or it may have been the manuscript of a novel found among his papers, which was written in a highly romantic, amateurish style, and never printed as far as we know.

Now that he was married, it was imperative more than ever that Campbell settle down and lead a stable life, and his stay in Petersburg seemed to be filled with endless letter writing concerning prospects for places of employment. "I wish as soon as an Apportionment of the Estate (Elvira's father's estate) can be made, to take a tour through some parts of the West - perhaps the Western district - or Illinois or Missouri, to select a home. If I should settle in a State North of the Ohio - it would be necessary I suppose to sell the whole of Elvira's property - but if not - it would be necessary to keep one tract of land and the negroes."<sup>69</sup> Another letter was concerned with his idea of buying the patent for the cottonseed-oil machine for Tennessee. "I still think it a capital enterprise for young men to embark into, but the subject is attended with some difficulties."<sup>70</sup> These were patent difficulties. A Mr. Flumar had the patent right to the machine of all the principal cotton-growing territory in the Union, and Campbell wanted to buy the patent for Tennessee. Evidently,

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69. Letter to Arthur H. Henley (one of the executors of Elvira's father's estate), October 25, 1836; box 5, Campbell Papers.

70. Letter to Otway B. Barrand of Norfolk, dated Petersburg, December 19, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

Campbell dropped this scheme because it demanded too much capital investment for in later letters he did not mention this subject again.

The Reverend W. S. Plummer, friend of the Campbell family and Presbyterian minister, who had left his Church in Petersburg for one in Richmond, gave Charles as much help as he could in the way of recommendations to prospective employers. He wrote to Campbell in December of that year that he had attended to the matter (?) Charles had asked him to attend to, and the result would be found in Mr. White's letter.<sup>71</sup> Evidently, this was Thomas W. White, editor and publisher of The Southern Literary Messenger in Richmond, for Mr. Plummer advised Campbell not to send any piece on which he had not done his best. He must have been trying to establish himself as a regular contributor to the Messenger, which he succeeded in doing the next year. In one of Campbell's Scrapbooks, under the heading "Sent to the Messenger Decr. 20th 1836", was found a list of thirty-five articles Campbell wrote, and twenty-seven of these were printed eventually.<sup>72</sup>

Campbell wrote again for The Farmer's Register, and this time it was "Mode of Exactly Representing Leaves", written at Petersburg, November 28, 1836, and published in January, 1837. It was in the form of a letter to the editor, in which he referred to the introductory part of "Mrs. Lincoln's Botany", where he found a recipe for taking the impressions of leaves. He described the process and then referred

71. Letter from the Rev. W. S. Plummer, December 12, 1836; box 8, Campbell Papers.

72. Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.



to experiments of his own with printer's ink in making impressions.<sup>73</sup> It seems that Campbell was interested in almost all subjects, and this article is additional proof of the breadth of his interests and the flexibility of his mind.

The year 1837 was to prove a most eventful one for Campbell in the way of personal tragedy and finally in the finding of a "resting place for the sole of his foot", as his father had so aptly phrased it two years before. Charles and his wife often discussed their plans for life, and they could not decide whether she should remain in Petersburg until he located a home, whether they should settle in Tennessee, Alabama or Missouri or whether they should go to the Ohio country. Campbell wanted Elvira to stay in Virginia, but when the time came for him to leave for the West, she would not consent to be left behind.<sup>74</sup> They returned to Tennessee in February, travelling day and night over the mountains. They suffered a great deal from the cold and travelled over wretched roads in crude mail carts without springs and packed full of trunks and mail bags. When they arrived in Mount County, they went to live with Thomas Callaway, Elvira's brother, in the family home. Betty Campbell wrote to Charles after his return, "We were glad to hear that the jolting did not put an end to your little wife.... The last part of your journey must have been very unpleasant - but as it was only a day or two, it mattered not."<sup>75</sup>

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73. Farmer's Register, vol. 4, no. 9, January 1, 1837, pages 531-532.

74. Memoirs in one of the journals, box 5, Campbell Papers.

75. Letter from Betty Campbell, February (27, 1837 ?), box 8, Campbell Papers.

Campbell occupied himself with reading or writing and sometimes gardening. He had planned a course of reading for Elvira, beginning with several histories which she had read while they were in Virginia, and her latest book was a history of Greece, on which he examined her after their work was done. Campbell recorded in one of his journals how he sometimes whiled away time with a very good accordion which his mother had given his wife.<sup>76</sup> Mildred Campbell wrote her son to play his Uncle Spotswood (Dr. Spotswood Moore of "Hard Times", Blount County) some sweet tunes on the accordion, and she wondered how the accordion had survived the long, jolting trip, "but I don't suppose you have much time now for things like that."<sup>77</sup>

Thomas Callaway and Campbell talked a great deal of going to Missouri together, and at one time they had definitely decided to go, but the plans had to be changed at the last minute. A negro of Callaway's was accidentally shot at a horse race in the neighborhood, and there was great excitement among the family relatives, some of whom were rather rough and uncouth, it seems. The whole thing was revolting to Campbell, and at length it weighed on his mind with unpleasant results. It distressed his wife to hear him express so vehemently his disgust for the scenes he had witnessed and the "wretched sort of people" with whom he was thrown in contact. He said he could not stand it any longer and he would go to his aunt's home, "Cheta". Before

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<sup>76</sup>. Memoirs in one of the journals; box 5, Campbell Papers.

<sup>77</sup>. Letter from Mildred M. Campbell to her son, April 7, 1837; box 8, Campbell Papers.

he had "cooled off" from this affair, there was a quarrel between him and Thomas Callaway and Arthur Henley, his uncle, executors of Elvira's father's estate. Campbell thought he had been treated badly, and bitter words passed between him and Callaway. "I am naturally passionate - long ill health has heightened the nervous irritability ten-fold - in a word my brain is like a handful of gunpowder - it explodes at a spark - and for this reason I sought retirement, seclusion, peace - I wished to escape excitement."<sup>78</sup>

He and Elvira left Callaway's house and settled in a miserable log cabin not far away. Campbell recorded in his journal that the day they moved was one of the most painful in his life.<sup>79</sup> The land belonged to Elvira and was part of the "Toqua" tract of 1,284 acres - the Callaway property. Campbell had been offered earlier two thousand dollars for Elvira's part of the tract (642 acres), but he had turned down the offer because he had thought of building log houses and settling there.<sup>80</sup> The place where they moved was located on a small creek and seemed to be poorly fitted for farming. The privations they endured were doubly hard for Elvira, and soon they found a better location, where they had a family of negroes to help them. "We live in a couple of log cabins (but one of them has no floor yet) which I put up on a hill about a  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the river;... At present we live in the most primitive style imaginable, finding great difficulty in

78. Memoirs in one of the journals; box 5, Campbell Papers.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell from her son, March, 1837; box 5, Campbell Papers.

procuring the bare necessities of life - having a family of eleven (negro slaves) and of them only one working hand - the other being hired out for the year."<sup>81</sup>

In April, Campbell's first major contribution to The Southern Literary Messenger, "The Tuckahoe Colony of Virginia", was printed.<sup>82</sup> He made a number of incorrect statements in this article, which he later had to defend from criticism. He said that in 1605 Captain John Smith came to Virginia and remained there three years. Also, he placed the year 1502 as the date of a settlement of French Huguenots in South Carolina. Otherwise, "The Tuckahoe Colony of Virginia" was an accurate, well-written piece. Captain John Smith, he thought, "writes like a soldier; his style is rough, uncouth, confused; but as an authentic record of facts, this quaint work is of very high value". He used Robert Beverley's history of Virginia as a basis for some of his statements, "and Jefferson observes that Beverley is as much too concise and unsatisfactory as Stith is prolix and dull.... Henning's Statutes at Large, the Pandect of Virginia, is a mine of historical materials".<sup>83</sup> Connected with this article were some notes on "Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown", and the "Convention Virginia (of 1829-1830)".<sup>84</sup> These were simply notes on the places he had seen, and they were not woven together or organized. He mentioned that some of the books in the Library of the College of William and Mary had

81. Letter to Aleck Campbell from "Toqua", July 29, 1837; box 5, Campbell Papers.

82. Southern Literary Messenger, volume 3, April, 1837, pages 235-238.

83. Ibid.

84. William and Mary Quarterly, volume 21, series 1, pages 136-137.

been donated by Governor Spotswood. In speaking of the Virginia Convention of 1829-1830, he stated that he had attended the debates of this body a fortnight, in the Capital at Richmond, and he gave the names and personal descriptions of some of the distinguished men of the Convention.

To Thomas W. White, Campbell wrote in June that the last issue of the Messenger contained the first number of the paper he had sent, "which with the vanity of a young writer I was pleased to see".<sup>85</sup> However, in printing, paragraphs were made of sentences which were not intended to stand alone, and Campbell thought this resulted from his not having been in the habit of writing for the press. He hoped his friend, Mr. Flusser, would take the trouble to divide the paragraphs of the remaining pieces. Before he left Virginia, he had prepared the order in which he wanted the articles published, but, due to the manner in which they were written, it might be inconvenient for the Messenger to follow that order.

Campbell still had in mind a trip to Missouri, and earlier in the year he had written to his cousin, William Campbell, of St. Charles, Missouri, and to a former citizen of Petersburg, Thomas Batte of Naylor's Store, in the same state. Campbell wanted to move to Missouri in the coming fall, and Thomas Batte wrote that he was hesitant about advising anyone in such a move:

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85. Letter to Thomas W. White of Richmond, Va., from "Toqua", Monroe County, East Tennessee, June 12, 1837; box 1, Campbell Papers.

If you move this fall I would advise you to start by the 1st of September - at least - if you intend coming by land. The Spring is the best time to make the trip by water. I do not think you can make a very good settlement here on land purchased at government price.... The price you will have to give will be some where between \$3. and \$10. per acre - .... Your friends emigrating from RockBridge County Va, have had amongst them considerable mortality whilst my family of between 30 or 40 have experienced but one death in nearly 8 years tho(ugh) we lived in the same neighborhood.... Come when you will I would advise you to visit a situation and take time and search out a settlement....<sup>86</sup>

On July 17, 1837, at "Toqua", Elvira Campbell gave birth to a son, whom they named Callaway Campbell.<sup>87</sup> Child-bed fever set in, and, after an illness of over a week, she died on August the 10th. The pathetic letter Campbell wrote to his mother described Elvira's suffering and his deep grief:

The stay and joy and solace of my life is gone and I am left lonely and desolate in the world - with a poor little babe who is ignorant of his loss-. My heart is full of anguish and bitterness - and I can never cease to lament and mourn over, my irreparable loss. The child I have given up to Elvira's younger sister to take care of-.... The property - 9 negroes all valuable and the tract of land with other things - worth in good times from 8 to 10 thousand dollars I intend to make over to the child - retaining for myself only a small sum of money.... I could add a thousand things about my dear departed wife and my distressed situation but it is needless, she is gone - and now neither words, nor tears afford me any relief....<sup>88</sup>

Campbell felt that his rashness and violence of temper in causing the break with Thomas Callaway had subjected Elvira to undue and needless hardships, for if they had remained in the family home she could have

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86. Letter from Thomas Bette to Campbell, March 10, 1837; box 8, Campbell Papers.

87. Letter to Aleck Campbell from his brother, July 29, 1837; box 5, Campbell Papers.

88. Letter to Mildred M. Campbell, August 11, 1837; box 8, Campbell Papers.

had better care during her pregnancy and after the birth of her son. His self-reproach now was bitter, and at times he thought he could never forget it. His family in Petersburg were grieved, and Aleck Campbell, now a student at Princeton, wrote his father, "I am afraid that this distressing event will have a very injurious effect upon Charles' health - His feelings are so tender, his mind so easily affected."<sup>89</sup>

Callaway Campbell was left in the care of Elvira's sister and brother, and his father decided to return to Virginia. A few months later, Campbell regretted taking this step. He wrote to a cousin in North Carolina, "The property I (acquir-d?) by marriage I conveyed to the child and (it is now in?) the hands of his mother's brother, who with his sister, in return, set up a claim to keep my child altogether!.... My friends disapprove of my disposition of the property and I regret that I did not leave my child with Aunt Evelina - but I yielded rather than prudence."<sup>90</sup> He intended to go to Tennessee and get his son, later, and when he did go, the Callaways put up such resistance that he had to appeal to the justice of the court. Even then, it was a hard fight before he regained custody of the child.

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89. Letter from Aleck S. Campbell to John W. Campbell, September (1837); box 5, Campbell Papers.

90. Letter to Mrs. Lavinia McHoesters Brown of Raleigh, North Carolina, dated Petersburg, October 16, 1837; box 4, Campbell Papers.

### Chapter III

#### THE BLAND PAPERS AND OTHER WORKS (1837-1845)

When he was in Petersburg again, Campbell tried desperately to find employment. He still wanted to edit some sort of literary paper, and he wrote to his cousin, William Campbell, in Missouri, for advice on the possibilities of such a paper in the West. William Campbell answered:

As to your idea of undertaking the publication of a literary paper I can give you no opinion. Such publications cannot be advantageously sustained in the West. The maintenance of a literary paper requires a large population of affluent persons who have considerable leisure, and who can devote some portion of their time to the finer parts of literature. Such is not the character of the people of the west.... No literary paper of any kind has been successfully established west of Cincinnati, and even there I imagine they have not been lucrative....<sup>1</sup>

The situation looked almost hopeless to Campbell, and this was aggravated by his physical condition. He wrote to his cousin, Lavinia McPheeters Brown: "My health has not been good for some years—I still labor under a headache which I expect to accompany me to the end of life & which while it does not confine me, yet tends to unfit me for action & embitter my mind with melancholy—... I (sic) any case you have my dear cousin a source of comfort & support in religion, which I have lived long enough to know is the only prop that can sustain us in the calamities of life."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Letter from William Campbell of St. Charles, Missouri, September 27, 1837; box 4, Campbell Papers.
  2. Letter to Mrs. Lavinia McPheeters Brown of Raleigh, North Carolina, dated Petersburg, October 16, 1837; box 4, Campbell Papers.



Early in January of 1838, Campbell resumed acquaintance by letter with Thomas H. Williamson, whom he had known when they both were working on the construction of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad. Williamson was now one of those employed by the James River and Kanawha Canal Company in extending the canal from Richmond to Lynchburg, which was accomplished by 1840.<sup>3</sup> Campbell had written to Williamson when he returned to Petersburg from Tennessee, and, from the information Williamson had given him on the work in which he was engaged on the canal, Campbell had abandoned his earlier idea of applying for a place there. However, some of his friends in Petersburg had expressed a willingness to obtain a place for him with the Canal Company, and he was at a loss for an answer to give them. He agreed with Williamson that work on a railroad would suit him better, but, from what he could learn, that line of employment was "overdone" at that time. "My pretensions in Engineering you know are very small--and my principal reason for wishing to embark in it, is that an active life of that sort would be conducive to my health."<sup>4</sup> If he entered this employment, he would want it understood that he intended to learn the business "from the ground up" without any claim to previous knowledge. If he could do this, he would be satisfied. He asked Williamson's advice as to what part of the canal work would suit him best and what would be the nature of his duties. "In truth--I am prompted to

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3. Virginia, a Guide to the Old Dominion, compiled by the Federal Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration, page 92 (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940).

4. Letter to T. H. Williamson from Petersburg, January 6, 1838; box 4, Campbell Papers.

these enquiries not by inclination, but by a sense of necessity & duty --for you know I do not think Engineering my forte--and have neither the hope nor the ambition to become distinguished in that line. I am here with much headache & nothing to do--which are the two worst things in the world."<sup>5</sup> Thomas Williamson answered that he would be glad to help Campbell in any way he could, but he had no acquaintance nor influence with the president of the company, Mr. Joseph G. Cabell.<sup>6</sup> "The people up this way, have a Silly way of discriminating a mans true merits, which I never heard of down in Southampton Isle of Wight &c &c."<sup>7</sup> He thought that if Campbell were to apply at once there was a chance that he might get a place in the party that was to survey the railroad part of the improvement, and "it goes over the mountains passes near the Springs and will be in a very healthy part of our state."<sup>8</sup> He had heard that Mr. Cabell did not want to increase his company, as it was already large, but if Campbell could get some influential man of standing to speak for him, he was sure Mr. Cabell would be wonderfully generous. "Your duties on the canal as Rodman would be the same as those

5. Letter to T. H. Williamson from Petersburg, January 6, 1838; box 4, Campbell Papers.
6. Joseph Carrington Cabell, called "the father of the James River and Kanawha Canal", was one of the original incorporators of the reorganized company in 1835 and its president from 1835 to 1846: Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, volume 29, page 261. For a complete history of the canal and its antecedents, see Wayland Fuller Dunaway: History of the James river and Kanawha Company (New York, Columbia University, 1922).
7. Letter to Campbell from Thos. H. Williamson, Westham, January 17, 1838; box 4, Campbell Papers.
8. Ibid.

you attended on the Portsmouth road", Williamson informed him.<sup>9</sup>

Evidently, Campbell had no desire to return to this sort of employment, for he did not ask any further aid from Williamson. He wrote to Aleck at Princeton that he had been thinking of working as an engineer on a small, contemptible scale. "What an employment for a philosopher!"<sup>10</sup> He was still "laboriously occupied doing nothing—compared with which sawing rails, grubbing or studying mathematics is mere child's play."<sup>11</sup> Their father had been nominated for the office of Federal Collector of Customs in Petersburg, and, if he succeeded in getting the place, the family would be fortunate, for it was worth about one thousand dollars a year. Mr. Campbell did get this position, and it was a godsend for Charles, as he took a clerkship in the office for a number of years. In this same letter, Campbell wrote of his losing the manuscript of "The Life of Miss Lavinia Maria Moore", but he was engaged in writing another version. This later appeared in The Southern Literary Messenger for May, 1840, as "Ellen Dale". In connection with that periodical, Campbell remarked, "White's duncery is immense as appears from the long suppression of my valuable documents—his period of incubation is longer than any mentioned in the books of ornithology."<sup>12</sup>

However, beginning in January of 1838, Mr. White started printing in The Southern Literary Messenger the articles which Campbell had sent

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9. Letter to Campbell from Thos. H. Williamson, Westham, January 17, 1838; box 4, Campbell Papers.

10. Letter to Aleck Campbell, Petersburg, January 23, 1838; box 5, Campbell Papers.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

him on December 20, 1836. Several groups of sketches were printed under the title of "The Copy-Book," and the last number for 1838 appeared in October.<sup>13</sup> "The Copy-Book no. IV" included an interesting sketch, "An Essay," which pertained to learning, study, books and philosophy in relation to the education of man. Most of the others were sketches of the western tour Campbell had taken in 1834, comments on members of his family ("My Cousin Bob" (Tom Moore)), and his interest in family history ("Genealogy"). They were all arranged in the order in which Campbell made his tour from Virginia to the North and West, to Tennessee, Alabama, and back to Petersburg. They were fairly well-organized in thought, but they were not examples of Campbell's best writing.

He contributed, too, to The New Yorker, a literary magazine on the order of The Southern Literary Messenger. Aleck Campbell wrote to his brother in June of 1838 that he had seen the article, "Robert

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13. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 4: "The Copy-Book number I," pages 25-28, included: "The Dismal Swamp," "Lake Drummond," "The Tour," "The Voyage," "The Hudson," "Canal," "Falls of Niagara," "A Medley," "The Prairies," "Variety," "Indians," "An Inventory," "Hotah-Pot," "Wolves," and "Sundries." Copybook number two, pages 231-232, dealt with "The Bald Mountain," "A Plantation in Alabama" ("Glencoe"), and "The Soil." Number three, pages 383, included "The Population of the West," and "The Village in the West" (Somerville). All of these were signed "C. C. Petersburg, Virginia," except "The Copy-Book no. IV," pages 654-655, which was "By C. C. \*\*\*\*\*, of Petersburg, Va." The last-named covered the titles "My Cousin Bob," "Warwick," "Old Dunmore," "Genealogy," "Harewood," and "An Essay."

Hale," which The New Yorker had printed.<sup>14</sup> Aleck commented on the fact that there seemed to be a mistake in the last section of the first piece, and he criticized Campbell's quoting from the life of Robert Hale without mentioning it. The next month Campbell wrote that he had sent The New Yorker another article which was autobiographical, and he mentioned that he had received the copy of this periodical which contained his review of Ambrose's Travels.<sup>15</sup> Besides his writing activities, during this time Campbell gave lectures on various subjects, and, in December, the Petersburg Lyceum invited him to deliver before its members one or more lectures on any appropriate subject at any time convenient to him.<sup>16</sup>

Campbell's experience in writing and his dealings with editors were growing rapidly. Perhaps it was his contacts with Thomas W. White, of The Southern Literary Messenger, who had failed to print and arrange his articles in the form he wanted, that caused him to write in one of his journals:

Authors & Editors misled by a false notion of dignity are apt to exclude from their narrations the very things that we want to know. It is better to intermingle with matters of a public grave & dignified nature those minor domestick personal details which are usually

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14. Letter from Aleck Campbell, June 1838; box 6, Campbell Papers.

It has not been possible to find the volumes of The New Yorker which contained Campbell's articles or to identify his works in the volumes which were available. Many pages are missing from the volumes which the Library of the College of William and Mary has in its collection.

15. Letter to Aleck Campbell, July 1, 1838; box 5, Campbell Papers.

16. Letter from Edmund Ruffin and Joseph D. White, Petersburg, December 29, 1838; box 1, Campbell Papers. Edmund Ruffin was president of the Petersburg Lyceum, and Joseph D. White was its secretary.

emitted as too trivial and insignificant but which give those minute touches which are so necessary to complete the picture....<sup>17</sup>

The year 1839 brought widespread and growing recognition of Campbell's talents as a writer. The Southern Literary Messenger published a number of his articles, some of which were good, and some, were "Fillers." "The Copy-Book -- no. V," which appeared in the February issue, covered the topics, "The New World," "Deformities of Great Men," "Patrick Henry" (remiscences of a daughter of the patriot), "Hypochondria," "Diet &c," and "Burton." The last of these referred to Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, so Campbell stated. One of the most interesting of the copybooks was number six, which introduced "The Buffalo Baiting," a personal reminiscence: "When I was a small boy at school, under a teacher who predominated over us with a most despotic rod, we one day heard that a buffalo had come to town, and was going to have a most grand battle-royal with a whole parcel of bull-dogs."<sup>18</sup> This was one of the best-written and best-organized of Campbell's contributions up to this time, and The New Yorker also printed it.<sup>19</sup> In the June issue of the Messenger, "Copy-Book no. VII" contained a letter of 1781 from Colonel John Banister describing the entry into Petersburg of the British under Generals Arnold and Phillips. In a prefatory remark, Campbell said this letter was copied from the original and had never before been printed.<sup>20</sup> It was one of the letters found in the Bland

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17. Scrapbook number 9, box 1, Campbell Papers.

18. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 5, 1839, pages 328-330.

19. The New Yorker, volume 7, page 136.

20. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 5, 1839, pages 406-407.

manuscripts, and he printed several others from that collection before he edited The Bland Papers in 1840. "The Copy-Book -- no. VIII" included "Atoms," which were various and sundry maxims.<sup>21</sup> Several pieces, of a paragraph in length, were called "Life," "Hints," and "Incidents."<sup>22</sup> "Ceremony, Experience and Life" appeared in August. Campbell noted that a certain degree of ceremony had to be kept up even between near relatives and intimate friends.<sup>23</sup>

The two most outstanding productions of Campbell's pen which appeared in the Messenger in 1839 were "Rejoinder to a 'Reply to the Tuckahoe Colony of Virginia' " and "The History of Virginia, Dedicated to Mrs. M. B. C. of S., Charles City County, Virginia."<sup>25</sup> The first-named was an answer to a criticism of his "The Tuckahoe Colony of Virginia," which had appeared in 1837. He wondered why his critic had waited two years to pick out the flaws in his article. He admitted the mistakes in the date of Captain John Smith's voyage to Virginia and the date of the Huguenot settlement in South Carolina. He proceeded to cite passages in his critic's article and then show how they were wrong by quoting from authorities on the history of Virginia. He was rather severe on his critic in several instances. "The History of Virginia" appeared in the December issue, and it pleaded for more studies of Virginia's antiquities and for more students of her history. He took up the earliest

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21. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 5, 1839, pages 540.

22. Ibid., page 662.

23. Ibid., page 572.

24. Ibid., page 689.

25. Ibid., page 788.

histories of the state, and he mentioned Henning's Statutes at Large as especially commendable. The study of Virginia's history comprehended a wide and uncultivated field, he thought.

The Farmer's Register was the agency through which Campbell answered another attack on his Writings in that year. Richard Randolph, of Williamsburg, Virginia, had written criticisms on "Jamestown" and "Bacon's Rebellion." In referring to the latter, he wrote: "An article under this head, published in the Petersburg Intelligencer, states that Nathaniel Bacon (called the Rebel) was a member of the Council. I doubt it. Where is the evidence?"<sup>26</sup> Campbell answered this attack in "Nathaniel Bacon. Reply to Strictures," and at the end he signed his full name, one of the first times he ever did this, as if to say, "I take my stand, and I hide from no man!" As a preface to his citation of proofs from various old histories of Virginia, Campbell wrote, "Having, I believe, contributed that article to the journal mentioned, I think it may be worth while, to make some inquiry into the grounds on which the statement objected to rests."<sup>27</sup> The New Yorker seemed to have no objection to "Bacon's Rebellion," for the article, "compiled chiefly from Beverley's History of Virginia," was printed in its pages in August as taken from The Petersburg Intelligencer.<sup>28</sup>

Campbell's interest in collecting old documents was as strong as ever, for he wrote to a Mrs. McGuire, "I am much obliged to you for a

26. Farmer's Register, volume 7, pages 407-408.

27. Ibid., pages 527-529.

28. The New Yorker, volume 7, page 344.



sight of the old Indian letter, which is as precious in antiquarian eyes, as the relick of a saint to a devout papist.... Should there be any other curious mss at Berkeley--which your father would be willing to entrust to my hands long enough to take copies I should be happy to do so.<sup>29</sup>

To Thomas W. White Campbell wrote that he had letters of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee and others, written during the American Revolution, which he would like to see published.<sup>30</sup> He would send those which had not been printed in his Copybooks, and he would expect at least two dollars for each page printed in the Messenger, although he professed himself ignorant of such matters. Campbell was referring to the Bland manuscripts, which he was attempting to have published in a single volume. Mr. White wrote, in return, that he could not promise to pay for contributions at that time, as he had so many other papers on hand, but he would be glad to take up this question in the future.<sup>31</sup> At the end of the year, he mentioned a fine tribute which the Lynchburg Virginian had paid to Campbell's latest contribution to The Southern Literary Messenger. He began at that time to send proof sheets of Campbell's articles, so that they could be corrected and presented to the public without errors.<sup>32</sup>

Campbell's correspondence with Jared Sparks, the Cambridge, Massachusetts historian, began in September, 1839 when he wrote to Sparks

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29. Letter from Campbell to Mrs. McGuire, March 8, 1839; box 4, Campbell Papers.  
 30. Letter from Campbell to Thos. W. White, Petersburg, July 19, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.  
 31. Letter from Thos. W. White, Richmond, July 20, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.  
 32. Letter from Thos. W. White, December 27, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.

of the Bland papers in his possession. He informed Sparks that he had already transcribed a number of the letters of General Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Arthur Lee, Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr., "President Reed", John Banister, and Major General Phillips of the British Army.<sup>33</sup>

In short they are letters & other documents written during the most interesting period, on the most important topics, & by the most eminent hands, so that I feel persuaded, that you Sir, upon an examination of their contents, would be satisfied that they are papers of high consequence & value. I have shewn these mss to several of the best informed gentlemen here, who are unanimous in the opinion of their distinguished merit. Among these gentlemen, I will mention Hugh M. Garland, of Mansfield, near this town, the present Clerk of the house of Representatives in Congress, & James E. Heath of Richmond first Auditor of this State.

The gentleman who has possession of the originals is prepared to furnish a Copy-Right; & he & the other gentlemen acquainted with these papers, & myself are desirous to have them published if a suitable Contract can be effected with a publisher. Convinced that from your pursuits in this line, you of all persons are the most competent to direct the proper course to be taken in the case, I beg you will favor me with your advice on the subject, which may further our views in regard to the publication.... As these mss in my opinion will serve to throw a considerable light on the history of this country, & perhaps to elucidate some points rather obscure, it has occurred to me that they might be of some assistance to Mr. Bancroft, who I believe is now engaged in the continuation of his work, on that subject; should you think it worth while, & it not be too presuming in me to ask it, I will be indebted to you, if you will mention to that gentleman (whose place of address I do not certainly know) that I shall be most happy to afford him access to these mss, for the purposes of his history, & believe I can indicate to him these documents, which might be of the most Service to him....<sup>34</sup>

A very gracious letter from Jared Sparks, in answer, advised Campbell

33. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks of Cambridge, Mass., dated Petersburg, Va., September 2, 1839; from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
34. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, September 2, 1839; from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University.

to try New York and Philadelphia, as publishing cities, rather than Boston.<sup>35</sup> He suggested the firms of Harper and Brothers of New York or Carey and Lea of Philadelphia. It was his idea that Campbell should preface The Bland Papers with a brief memoir of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Junior. With an historian's eye for clarity, he suggested in this same letter that the volume should contain occasional notes to the letters themselves and references to books for the explanation of topics touched upon in the letters. He offered to examine and read the Bland manuscripts so that he could give Campbell better advice from actual acquaintance with the contents of the manuscripts. Campbell sent him only the names of the letter-writers and the dates of the letters, but from that list he formed the opinion that the collection would be a valuable contribution to American historical literature.<sup>36</sup> Although Campbell was still wondering about the possibility of publishing the papers in Boston, he wrote later to Jared Sparks that he thought it would be best to have them printed in Petersburg.<sup>37</sup> Edmund Ruffin proved again his sincere friendship for Campbell, for it was he who finally agreed to undertake the printing of the papers discovered at "Cawsons" seven years before.

The printing of volume one of The Bland Papers in May, 1840 was the culmination, for Campbell, of years of effort to awaken the interest

35. Letter from Jared Sparks to Campbell, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 10, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.

36. Letter from Jared Sparks, November 12, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.

37. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, September 23, 1839; box 1, Campbell Papers.

of his fellow Virginians in the materials for their state's history. The process from discovery to printing of these papers had seemed endlessly long to Campbell and at times hopeless of fruition. Eventually, enough capital for publication had been donated by a number of gentlemen, and his great hope was fulfilled. In April, 1840, he wrote to William H. McFarland, of Richmond, that the first volume was nearly ready.<sup>38</sup> He proposed to publish only a limited edition and then wait until the second volume appeared before he issued any great number of copies. He planned to have part of the work bound in Richmond, in a plain, cheap style, which would cost about ten cents a volume. The copies would be bound, one hundred at a time, as they were called for by orders or subscriptions. He ended this letter by saying, "I am quite sanguine that the work will prove an acceptable one; in this I may be mistaken, as books are at best precarious things. This book is Virginian in substance & form, & I hope will take in Va., at least."<sup>39</sup>

The introduction Campbell wrote to the finished work was one of the most interesting parts of the volume. In it he revealed just how large a part Edmund Ruffin had played in enlisting support and donations for publishing the manuscripts. It was Ruffin who had brought a number of the papers to Petersburg from "Cawsons", while Campbell was in Alabama. In 1837, Campbell had persuaded Mr. Ruffin to issue,

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38. Letter to Wm. H. McFarland, Petersburg, April 7, 1840; box 8, Campbell Papers.

39. Ibid.

on the cover of The Farmer's Register, a prospectus proposing to publish a periodical work to be called "The Repository of Historical Materials," in which it was intended to bring out selections from the "Cawsons" papers.<sup>40</sup> There was very little response from the readers of the Register. The papers were put away for a time, and later Campbell attempted to make copies of some of them. He learned that there was a larger number of the manuscripts still at "Cawsons," and, when he made the trip to the plantation, he found there a mass of musty documents, old accounts, ship letters and "the rubbish of a clerk's office" mixed with papers of historical value. He selected the most important and copied them. The history of the papers themselves since the death of Colonel Bland in 1790 makes a good story. They had survived a fire, deposit in a cellar, a carriage-house and a barn, while some had even lined a basket which contained eggs that a Negro had sold to a gentleman in the neighborhood of "Cawsons".

Campbell's labors in editing The Bland Papers were fully appreciated in many parts of the country, and he felt that he was rewarded for the time expended in "faithfully transcribing the body of the work from the originals," as he phrased it in his introduction. Before the papers were published, the historian, George Bancroft, had written to Campbell that he would consider it a great favor to be permitted the use of the papers of Colonel Bland.<sup>41</sup> Jared Sparks had

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40. The Bland Papers: Being a Selection from the Manuscripts of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr. of Prince George County, Virginia; edited by Charles Campbell; Introduction written by "C. C.", Petersburg, Virginia, May 1, 1840. (Petersburg, 1840, Edmund and Julian Raffin).

41. Letter to Campbell from George Bancroft, Boston, Massachusetts, March 25, 1840; box 1, Campbell Papers.

told him about the collection, and Bancroft wrote that he thought it an opportunity to gather valuable materials for the history of the United States. Appreciation also came from H. D. Gilpin, of Washington, D. C., to whom Campbell had sent copies for himself and for Mr. Bancroft. "The promptness and zeal with which you sought out and have now given to the world these documents--which must be most valuable for history--will receive the thanks of every friend of letters and of historical truth,"<sup>42</sup> Mr. Gilpin wrote. For many years Campbell received letters of praise from various individuals for the service he had performed in preserving and publicizing such valuable materials on the Revolutionary period.

Campbell's contributions to The Southern Literary Messenger increased in number in 1840, although few of them can be considered well-written. In January he printed a "Letter from an Indian Chief (to William Byrd)," which evidently was the letter sent to him by a Mrs. McGuire in 1839.<sup>43</sup> In this same issue of the Messenger appeared "Reminiscences of the British at Bollingbrook," which was "inscribed to the Lady there."<sup>44</sup> In April appeared "The Prisoner on Parole," inscribed to "Miss A. M. B. of Petersburg."<sup>45</sup> This was a short story with its setting at "Ringwood," the home of Colonel Edward Littlepage. The prisoner was Lieutenant Henry St. Leger, a British soldier who

42. Letter to Campbell from H. D. Gilpin, Washington, D. C., August 25, 1840; box 8, Campbell Papers.

43. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 6, page 40.

44. Ibid., pages 85-88.

45. Ibid., pages 245-248; 337-341.

had been one of General Burgoyne's men at the Battle of Saratoga in the American Revolution. While St. Leger was convalescing at "Ringwood," he fell in love with Anne Littlepage, the daughter of the colonel, and they were married at the plantation. In the narrative Campbell brought in various observations on the characteristics and scenery of Virginia, which seem to have come from the notes he had taken on his trips in the tidewater area. The May issue of The Southern Literary Messenger contained "Ellen Dale,"<sup>46</sup> which was "The Life of Miss Lavinia Maria Moore," the manuscript found in one of Campbell's scrapbooks among his papers. Fictitious names were used in "Ellen Dale," and the printed article was changed somewhat from the manuscript, but the basic features were the same. Lavinia Moore was Campbell's cousin, and in the original manuscript he gave a great deal of information about himself during the time he lived at Somerville and "Glencoe" in Alabama. "Vive La Bagatelles," which was a collection of humorous sayings and incidents, appeared in the June issue of the Messenger.<sup>47</sup> Few of these articles were polished pieces of writing, and only "The Prisoner on Parole," and perhaps "Reminiscences of the British at Bellingbrook," approached the usual quality of Campbell's work.

Thomas W. White and Campbell could not come to mutually satisfactory terms regarding payment for the articles submitted, it seems. In the early part of the year 1840, White had written that he had never thought of offering his friend Campbell pay for his literary labors for

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46. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 6, pages 385-387.

47. Ibid., pages 414-416.

two reasons: first, because he believed Campbell did not stand in need of pen money, and second, because he did not know whether Campbell was in earnest when he mentioned the subject.<sup>48</sup> If he had been able, he would have acceded to Campbell's wish when it was first mentioned, for it was not his policy to withhold remuneration from any one who needed it, he wrote to Campbell. White agreed, finally, to pay a dollar and a half a printed page. He asked Campbell to keep sending articles to him, provided Campbell did not dun him either directly or indirectly. In conclusion, he urged Campbell to "Come, try and make some sport for my readers--make both sexes laugh."<sup>49</sup>

The Petersburg Intelligencer was the recipient of another of Campbell's contributions in March, 1840. This was the "Visit of the Marquis De Chastellux, to Petersburg."<sup>50</sup> Campbell noted that this was extracted from Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, 1782 by the Marquis De Chastellux, and he corrected mistakes and added footnotes to clarify points in the narrative. Although the majority of Campbell's work was printed in the Messenger, many pieces were submitted to The Petersburg Intelligencer, and a number were reprinted there which had appeared earlier in the Messenger.

Campbell's accomplishments in the literary field were fully appreciated by his family and, especially, by his brother, Aleck, who took

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48. Letter from Thos. W. White to Campbell, Richmond, February 13, 1840; box 1, Campbell Papers.

49. Letter to Campbell from Thos. W. White, Richmond, February 13, 1840; box 1, Campbell Papers.

50. Newspaper clipping from The Petersburg Intelligencer, March 5, 1840, pasted in the back of miscellaneous data folder, box 4, Campbell Papers.



great pride in the success Charles was gaining. Aleck had left on a trip to the West, and from Jefferson City, Missouri, he wrote in November that he wished Charles would send him the numbers of The Southern Literary Messenger which contained "Buffalo Baiting," and "The History of Virginia."<sup>51</sup> He had told their Campbell relatives in Missouri about Charles's work, and they were most anxious to read his articles. Aleck's trip through the western country was quite different from the one his brother had taken there in 1834, for Aleck Campbell seemed to have the stability and stamina which Charles lacked. Aleck was so fascinated with the West that he wanted to settle there. "I never have seen such a country for fertility in my life--and I think if you had come to Missouri instead of Tennessee you never would have taken so great a dislike to the West,"<sup>52</sup> he wrote to Charles.

The Southern Literary Messenger carried fewer of Campbell's articles in 1841 than it had in previous years, but "Christmas Holidays at Teddington," a short story, "The Early Huguenots," "Corporal Punishment: its Use in the Discipline of Children," and "Sir Walter Raleigh" (selections from Oldys' Life of Sir Walter Raleigh) appeared in its pages from March through July.<sup>53</sup>

Campbell's chief labors were diverted, during this time, from writing for the Messenger to the editing and publishing of a newspaper in Petersburg. In 1840 he had bought The American Statesman, which had been

51. Letter from Aleck Campbell, Jefferson City, Mo., November 16, 1840; box 5, Campbell Papers.

52. Letter from Aleck Campbell, Jefferson City, Missouri, November 16, 1840; box 5, Campbell Papers.

53. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 7, 1841, pages 219-222; 335-337; 575-576 and 584-585.

published by Burwell and Allegre from 1839 to 1840,<sup>54</sup> and Campbell was its publisher until 1843, when he discontinued it. The confidence of his friends in his ability to make a success of this newspaper venture was well-attested by a letter from Hugh A. Garland, of Petersburg, who wrote, "I hope you will put forth your energies & make the paper both instructive & amusing which you can so well do, and I have no doubt of complete success---."<sup>55</sup> In November, 1841, Campbell wrote to Colonel William Gooch that he had seen in the papers that Colonel Gooch's son had abandoned the conduct of The Evening Mail at New York, and he wondered if Mr. Gooch would like to take an interest in the Statesman as co-editor with himself.<sup>56</sup> Probably this meant that the newspaper was not as profitable as Campbell had hoped it would be. Later in the year he was talking definitely of selling it. In a letter to Thomas May from the "Statesman Office," Campbell wrote that the paper could be purchased for two thousand dollars: one thousand in cash and an approved negotiable note at six months for the other thousand dollars.<sup>57</sup> In the sale he meant to include all the debts due to him, which were between five hundred and a thousand dollars, a subscription list of three hundred and fifty, and "job and transient advertising" worth about twelve hundred dollars, besides about thirty annual advertisers who paid thirty

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54. Lester J. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935: A Bibliography... (New York, 1936) page 148.

55. Letter from H. A. Garland to Campbell, Washington, June 31, 1840; box 8, Campbell Papers.

56. Letter from Campbell to Col. Wm. Gooch, Petersburg, December 3, 1841; box 8, Campbell Papers.

57. Letter from Campbell to Thomas May, Petersburg, December 3, 1841; box 8, Campbell Papers.

dollars a year. Campbell wrote in conclusion that he was not anxious to dispose of the Statesman, for "it was going on smoothly and improving gradually."<sup>58</sup> He thought that "by pursuing a thorough Democratic course the office might be made profitable by proper exertions." From all indications, he was using his newspaper as the "mouthpiece" of the Democratic State Rights Republican Party of Petersburg, for which he had acted as secretary at various meetings.<sup>59</sup> Campbell was a delegate from Petersburg, and secretary, to the Democratic Republican convention at Sussex Court House, which met in 1841 to nominate a candidate to succeed the Honorable Francis E. Rives in the United States Congress.<sup>60</sup> This interest in politics combined very well with Campbell's newspaper activities, for sometime in 1841 or 1842 he wrote to Thomas Ritchie, editor of The Richmond Enquirer, that he had been so taken up with a political campaign that he had had little time for other things. "In Nottoway my little paper has no circulation--nor have I any intelligence respecting the canvass there except what you have learned that the contest is close."<sup>61</sup>

Campbell used many sources for news to be printed in The American Statesman, and his wide circle of friends proved to be most helpful in sending him the latest news items they could gather. One of these friends was George B. Cary, member of the House of Representatives in

58. Letter to Thomas May, Petersburg, December 3, 1841; box 8, Campbell Papers.

59. Newspaper clippings announcing public meetings of the Democratic State Rights Republican Party, 12 March, 1841, and 20 August, 1841; found in Scrapbook no. 6, box 10, Campbell Papers.

60. Ibid.

61. Letter from Campbell to Thos. Ritchie--no date--; box 8 Campbell Papers.

Washington. Campbell had published in the Statesman a portion of one of Mr. Cary's letters to him. Evidently, he had written the Congressman that he thought the letters were too far apart, for Cary wrote that he was "surprised that so shrewd & intelligent an Editor, who gleans, culls & picks from so many sources far superior to the scribbling of an ordinary letter writer should persuade himself that so much valuable information is lost to him forever."<sup>62</sup> Another "news writer" was a Mr. Smith, also of Washington, D. C., who had written two communications for the Statesman. When he wrote to Campbell in 1842 offering to contribute regularly to the newspaper, Campbell answered that he was not able financially to accept his offer. "I am here at work for the benefit of the printer without making anything myself & too pleased if I can only keep out of debt. I am fond of the editorial business but the present times are peculiarly unpropitious."<sup>63</sup> Although he had enlarged the size of the paper, Campbell did not seem to do well with it, contrary to the opinions of his brother, Aleck, who wrote that he read the Statesman regularly, and he thought Charles had acted wisely in enlarging it, for it should increase in circulation and prove profitable soon.<sup>64</sup> As his debts grew larger and problems increased, Campbell decided in December, 1842, to

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62. Letter to Campbell from George B. Cary, House of Representatives, February 2, 1842; box 8, Campbell Papers.

63. Letter from Campbell to Mr. Smith of Washington, D. C., dated Petersburg, August 14, 1842; box 8, Campbell Papers.

64. Letter from Aleck Campbell, Fredericksburg, Va., February 8, 1842; box 5, Campbell Papers.

sell the paper, for "the amount of income was not sufficient, and the age of the materials was too great."<sup>65</sup> He disposed of it in 1843,<sup>66</sup> and he was free once more to turn to writing for his own pleasure.

Benjamin B. Minor became editor and proprietor of The Southern Literary Messenger in 1843, and in July Campbell wrote to him that he had seen in The Richmond Enquirer that the magazine had changed owners. Campbell felt that he could sympathize better with Minor than could some of the uninitiated, because he knew something in a small way of "the lights & shadows, the storm & sunshine" of editorial life.<sup>67</sup> In this letter, Campbell remarked that it had been some time since he had contributed anything to the Messenger, and he had been intending to offer something for its columns "upon a transfer of the press."<sup>68</sup> He wrote that he was sending an article which was in his hobby line: inscriptions in Latin, so they would need careful correction.<sup>69</sup> This contribution was "Virginia Antiquities" which ran from the September issue through the December number.<sup>70</sup> In the letter, to the editor of the Messenger, which prefaced the article, Campbell wrote, "I have, in a desultory way, made some small Virginia antiquarian and historical collections, which I should be pleased to see preserved in the columns

65. Letter to Campbell from D. Howard, Washington, December 6, 1842; box 8, Campbell Papers.

66. Lester J. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935, page 148.

67. Letter from Campbell to B. B. Minor of Richmond, dated Petersburg, July 24, 1843; box 1, Campbell Papers.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 9, 1843, pages 560-562, 591-592, 693-696, and 728-729.

of your periodical.... Manuscripts and documents might, however, be deposited for preservation in the several libraries of the state, of the university, and of the colleges."<sup>71</sup> He felt that it was necessary to winnow out all musty, old manuscripts, and, in the process of research, "many interesting materials may be gleaned from the files of newspapers."<sup>72</sup> The inscriptions which followed this introductory letter came from the tombs of John Page of Rosewell, Thomas Nelson of Yorktown, Theodorick Bland, Captain William Perry and Walter Aston, to mention a few. Campbell called these "Scraps," and in a letter to B. B. Minor after the September issue had appeared, he wrote that there were mistakes made in printing the epitaphs, and he noticed that Minor called them "Virginia Antiquities," which he thought "rather too sonorous for such gleanings as his."<sup>73</sup> He suggested, instead, the titles "Old Mortalities" or "Virginia's Old Mortalities." Admiration for these "Scraps" came from many quarters, and one of the most interesting letters regarding them came from Miss Lucy D. Henry, a granddaughter of Patrick Henry. She offered Campbell "some curiosities containing relics of Patrick Henry, John Randolph of Roanoke, and autograph letters of both men."<sup>74</sup> Her praise for Campbell's articles in The Southern Literary Messenger was most extravagant, and she was

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71. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 9, 1843, page 560.

72. Ibid.

73. Letter to B. B. Minor, September 13, 1843; box 1, Campbell Papers.

74. Letter to Campbell from Lucy D. Henry of Cub Creek, Charlotte County, Virginia, September 11, 1843; box 4, Campbell Papers.

"rejoiced to find one possessed of your capacity willing to give such knowledge to the reading public."<sup>75</sup> Campbell received a large measure of satisfaction from this letter and wrote in return: "I am pleased to find that you sympathize with me in my antiquarian propensities, which often I believe rather provoke ridicule than win praise."<sup>76</sup> The correspondence, which thus developed between the two, lasted for some time, and it was a source of stimulating pleasure to each, for they had many interests in common.

For some time Campbell continued as a clerk in the office of the Collector of Customs, although the collectorship seems to have been vacant since his father's death in December, 1842.<sup>77</sup> Some of Campbell's friends had attempted to get the office for him, but he preferred that Hugh Nelson should get the appointment, for then he would receive the clerkship from Nelson, which would be more agreeable than the responsibility of the chief office.<sup>78</sup> He wrote to a Henley cousin in 1843 that he was still a clerk in the custom house at the rate of two dollars a day, but he did not have much to do to earn his salary. He had moved to a room over the customs office after his father's death but felt that keeping bachelor's quarters was "a poor way

75. Letter to Campbell from Lucy D. Henry of Cub Creek, Charlotte County, Virginia, September 11, 1843; box 4, Campbell Papers.

76. Letter to Lucy D. Henry from Campbell, September 26, 1843; box 4, Campbell Papers.

77. Letter from Campbell to George B. Cary, Petersburg, December 30, 1842; box 8, Campbell Papers.

78. Ibid.

of living."<sup>79</sup>

Campbell's full attention was again turned to the remaining Bland manuscripts, mainly through the urging of several of his friends who fully appreciated their worth. Jared Sparks wrote early in 1843 to Campbell that he had received the first volume of The Bland Papers, upon his return from Europe, and, from an historical point of view, he thought the work was more valuable than he had expected.<sup>80</sup> Some of the letters, he wrote, threw a good deal of light upon important events, and he hoped Campbell would publish the other volume. Campbell had written Sparks, shortly before this:

After an interval of some years I am now about to publish the 2d Volume, with so unpromising a prospect of success however, judging by that of the 1st, as ought I think to deter any future adventurer from embarking into such an enterprize, at least in this part of the world, where the climate is as unpropitious for book-making as yours would be for the growth of cotton or rice.

The 2nd Vol. you will I believe find far superior to the 1st in matter & form. Whatever may be the fate of the book, it is satisfactory to me to be conscious that I have been prompted to bestow much time & pains on this work by a fond desire to rescue from oblivion some (as they appeared to me) interesting materials for the history of my own state & of the confederation. It is highly gratifying also to me to find, that the publication meets the countenance of yourself Sir, Dr. Bancroft & others who are best able to appreciate such a compilation....<sup>81</sup>

The second volume was published in May, and, although it contained but a small part of the extant manuscripts of Colonel Bland, Campbell was

79. Letter from Campbell to a Henley (?) cousin in Tennessee, dated Petersburg, August 29, 1843; box 8, Campbell Papers.

80. Letter from Jared Sparks to Campbell, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 26, 1843; box 1, Campbell Papers.

81. Letter to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, April 22, 1843; from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University.



much more satisfied with it than he was with volume one.<sup>82</sup> He sent a copy to Sparks for his estimate of it and hoped Sparks would allow him to use his opinion of it "in a public way," in case the decision was favorable.<sup>83</sup> Campbell added in this letter that he had heard from the publishers, Little and Brown, that they had sold only one or two copies of the shipment of volume one he had sent them, so he doubted if it would be worthwhile to forward any copies of the second work. Jared Sparks thought it would be an improvement to print the two volumes together as one, and this Campbell finally did. He wrote to Sparks that his advice and encouragement, as well as appreciation, were compensation for much of the labor of preparing the papers for the press and for much of the disappointment he had felt at the indifferent reception with which the work had met. "Your good opinion leads me to hope that it will yet when better known meet more favor"<sup>84</sup> To J. K. Tefft, secretary of the Georgia Historical Society, Campbell wrote that The Bland Papers had attracted scarcely any notice in Virginia and had been "more ridiculed than read."<sup>85</sup> A bookseller had comforted him on its failure by suggesting that something of his own would sell better. He remarked that he had enough original papers to

82. Letter to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, April 22, 1843: from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University.
83. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, May 25, 1843: from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University.
84. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, September 26, 1843: from the Jared Sparks Papers in the Library of Harvard University.
85. Letter from Campbell to J. K. Tefft of Savannah, Georgia, dated February 24, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

publish another volume, "but I have become tired of copying!"<sup>86</sup> The reception of the second volume by Virginians was not as completely indifferent as Campbell thought, for a letter from President John Tyler expressed his appreciation of the copy of Campbell's work which had been sent to him. He hoped there would be more laborers engaged in gathering the materials for "a faithful and accurate history of the Revolution."<sup>87</sup>

In July, 1844, apparently after Mr. Hugh Nelson had given the clerkship in the customs office to someone else, Campbell moved to Richmond, where he lived until June of 1845. It has not been possible to find what the nature of his employment was, but it seems to have been a clerkship in a tobacco factor's office. In a fragment of a diary he recorded: "Richmond July 28, 1844. Came here July 6-- 3 weeks ago. entered office of Mr. H. on Carey St. ... Two or 3 weeks after I moved to R--I came to sleep at the office--or warehouse an enormous brick building near the basin--each floor covered with hhds of tobacco--adjacent was an enclosure with high wall & sheds all filled with Tobo & cotton."<sup>88</sup>

Campbell's writing activities during this year were restricted somewhat, and he spent much of his time in helping others who were doing historical research or writing. One of these persons was the

86. Letter from Campbell to J. K. Tefft of Savannah, Georgia, dated February 24, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

87. Letter to Campbell from President John Tyler, Washington, August 27, 1843; box 8, Campbell Papers.

88. Fragment of a diary found in a letter folder in box 7, Campbell Papers.

historian, Henry Howe, who wrote to Campbell asking him to send the Westover Manuscripts, which Campbell had promised him.<sup>89</sup> Howe was working on his Historical Collections of Virginia, and he wrote that he had given Campbell credit for a number of things in the history he was writing. He had used the articles signed "c. c." in The Southern Literary Messenger, and he had given Campbell's full name.<sup>90</sup> The Virginia historian made several corrections in Howe's manuscript, which Howe had asked him to do; among these was the memoir of John Randolph of Roanoke and the name of John Randolph's mother, Frances Bland.<sup>91</sup> Campbell sent Howe a magazine portrait of the statesman, and later in the year he endeavored to compile a catalogue of the governors of Virginia from 1822 to 1844, which Howe had asked for. However, James E. Heath, of Richmond, supplied Howe with this information before Campbell could finish his research.<sup>92</sup> By waiting too long, Campbell missed another opportunity to help Henry Howe with his Historical Collections of Virginia, for the historian wrote to Campbell asking him to write an article, "Life in Eastern Virginia," for the book.<sup>93</sup> He thought that Campbell was the only one he knew of

89. Letter to Campbell from Henry Howe, New Haven, Connecticut, September 14, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

90. Ibid.

91. Letter from Campbell to Henry Howe, Richmond, September 29, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

92. Letter from Campbell to Henry Howe, Richmond, November 15, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

93. Letter to Campbell from Henry Howe, New Haven, Conn., November 23, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

who could do the subject justice, and he offered to pay for the article, which he was most anxious to have.<sup>94</sup>

In the latter part of 1844, Campbell wrote a letter called "The Colonial History of Virginia," addressed to the Legislature of Virginia. This was printed in the January, 1845 issue of The Southern Literary Messenger.<sup>95</sup> He called the attention of the Legislature to the "necessity for procuring the materials on Virginia history which slumber in the English State-Paper Office." These materials, he wrote, were "indispensable in completing the groundwork and supplying the chasms in Virginia history." He censured "the almost Turkish apathy of Virginians to matters of this kind," and he felt that "Memorials of the past will infuse into the breasts of Virginian Youth a warmer patriotism and state pride and a desire to emulate Virginia's great men."<sup>96</sup> The other contribution Campbell made to the Messenger in 1845 was "The Carolinas During the Revolution," which appeared serially from the March issue through that of June.<sup>97</sup> In the introduction, Campbell explained that this was a revolutionary narrative written by Colonel Guilford Dudley and that the manuscript had been sent to him by Mrs. Anna Bland Dudley, of Tennessee, the widow of Colonel Dudley. The original title of the manuscript was "A Sketch of the Military Services Performed by Guilford Dudley, then

94. Letter to Campbell from Henry Howe, New Haven, Conn., November 23, 1844; box 1, Campbell Papers.

95. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 11, page 48.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid., pages 144-148, 231-235, 281-287, and 370-375.

of the Town of Halifax, North Carolina, During the Revolutionary War."<sup>98</sup>

The question of the position in the customs office in Petersburg came up again in May, 1845, when Hugh Nelson was discharged as Collector, and Campbell's friends urged him to lose no time in putting in his claims.<sup>99</sup> His mother still resented the fact that Mr. Nelson had given the clerkship to William Page, when she thought Nelson had promised it to Campbell, in case he should decline the candidacy for the collectorship.<sup>100</sup> She wrote to Charles that she thought Mr. Nelson had acted dishonorably, and she reminded her son, "We are poor my dear child, but I hope and trust we may be kept from acting dishonourably or ungratefully. An approving conscience is better than money."<sup>101</sup> The position of clerk in the office was offered to Campbell by Mr. Resser, the new Collector of Customs, and Campbell decided to return to Petersburg.<sup>102</sup> He wrote to a friend there that he preferred to remain in Richmond for several reasons, "But you know we live as we can--not as we will."<sup>103</sup> Campbell seemed to have little desire to return to his old position, and his dislike for it showed plainly in a letter of a few months later to a friend in Richmond: "I am chained down to the oar like a galley slave,

98. The Southern Literary Messenger, volume 11, page 144.

99. Letter to Campbell from John Minge, Petersburg, May 14, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.

100. Letter to Campbell from his mother, Petersburg, February 13, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.

101. Ibid.

102. Letter from Campbell to John Minge, Richmond, May 16, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.

103. Ibid.

obliged to "sit at the receipt of custom" from 9 to 3. It is the misfortune of my life to be unable to see those I desire to see & too often to be obliged to see those I don't care to see."<sup>104</sup> His dissatisfaction and self-pity increased with the months, and there was a bitter note in a later letter to the same person:

But it seems to be my lot to mope in solitude like an owl & to sigh for pleasure which I cannot enjoy.... My life here is as monotonous as a canal-boat--one day is twin of another--so that I may say "my life's a blank my lord." Indeed I lead almost the life of a monk & almost wish that there was a protestant Convent to which I could retire since "man delights me not nor woman neither....

O for a ledge in some vast wilderness  
Some boundless continuity of Shade! ...<sup>105</sup>

Campbell's aid and advice in literary matters were again called for, and this time it was from a former citizen of Petersburg, Charles Yancey, who had moved to Alabama. Yancey was a son of Francis G. Yancey, editor of The Petersburg Intelligencer for many years, and as he planned to publish a literary magazine in Wetumpka, Alabama, he wrote to Campbell asking him to become a contributor.<sup>106</sup> In connection with his magazine he had established a book-bindery, and he asked Campbell for any support in the way of business that he might be willing to give. Campbell answered, "In my opinion no literary periodical can long sustain itself without paying contributors & that none ought.

104. Letter to P. V. Daniel, Jr., of Richmond, dated Petersburg, August 4, 1845; box 1, Campbell Papers.

105. Letter to Peter V. Daniel, Petersburg, January, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

106. Letter to Campbell from Charles Yancey, Wetumpka, Alabama, July 27, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.

I have myself never received a cent for such contributions. I am aware however that editors do not always decline paying from a want of the will but often from want of money.<sup>107</sup> This seems to be a gentle hint that he would be willing to become a contributor to Yancey's magazine if he were paid for it. His reluctance to commit himself must have stemmed from his unfortunate financial relations with Thomas W. White, the former editor of The Southern Literary Messenger.

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107. Letter from Campbell to Charles Yancey, Petersburg, August 4, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.

## Chapter IV

### THE INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY AND ANCIENT DOMINION OF VIRGINIA (1845-1847)

From 1845 through the next two years, Campbell's time was occupied chiefly by the writing and assembling of the manuscript of his Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, which was published in 1847. In his correspondence Campbell reveals to us the phases through which he passed in attempting to find a publisher for the work and gives interesting comments on his views and purpose in writing such a book. The evolution of his History from an idea to the published form seems to have been a long and, at times, discouraging process. Early in 1845 Campbell wrote to Henry Howe that he had been studying the history of Virginia for the last two or three months, and he had started writing a history of his own.<sup>1</sup> He felt that his work "would be quite unpretentious, and, although it might be dull, at least it would be short." What he proposed was a brief, popular work "partly for school perhaps partly for plain people who have neither money time nor taste for voluminous works."<sup>2</sup> He had found that it was much more difficult to make a small book out of abundant materials than it was to make a large one. He needed help in the problem of publishing, and he asked Howe if he would help him find someone to print his

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1. Letter from Campbell to Henry Howe, Richmond, Va., February 11, 1845; box 1, Campbell Papers.

2. Ibid.



history, "that is to say if I ever finish it."<sup>3</sup>

Although Campbell doubted whether he would ever complete his work, he continued to write to many of his friends and acquaintances for several types of aid. He turned to the Reverend J. W. Alexander, of New York, for help in the matter of enquiring about possible publishers in that city. He wrote that he was preparing a work which he would call, probably, "Tales from the History of Virginia."<sup>4</sup> At that time he planned to embrace only the period from 1607 to 1776, and he thought he would publish it anonymously, for that might arouse the curiosity of the public. Mr. Alexander expressed his readiness to help Campbell, and he felt that Harpers Publishing Company would be the right firm to contact.<sup>5</sup> He did not entirely approve of "Tales from the History of Virginia" as a title, for he thought "History of Virginia" would be a better one.<sup>6</sup> The aid of Jared Sparks was enlisted also, and in 1846 Campbell wrote him:

I have for some years been engaged in studying the history of Virginia & have lately completed a small work on that subject. I labored to compress it within as narrow a compass as possible & the ms. contains only about 500 pages. It would have been easier to make it larger. I studied brevity & simplicity. Wishing to have it published at the North, it seems necessary that as I am unknown, I should fortify myself by the opinions of those in whose judgement a publisher would rely. I therefore frankly request from you such advice or aid

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3. Letter from Campbell to Henry Howe, Richmond, Va., February 11, 1845; box 1, Campbell Papers.
  4. Letter from Campbell to the Rev. J. W. Alexander of New York, dated Petersburg, July 5, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.
  5. Letter to Campbell from the Rev. J. W. Alexander, July 30, 1845; box 8, Campbell Papers.
  6. Ibid.

as it may be in your power to give on the occasion....<sup>7</sup>

Jared Sparks answered that it would not be easy to induce publishers in the North to take the risk of accepting the manuscript, for the largest sale for Campbell's history would be in Virginia, and they had no way of estimating the extent of the demand.<sup>8</sup> If Campbell could insure a sale of from three hundred to five hundred copies, some arrangement might be made. He advised Campbell to write to the principal publishers in Philadelphia, Boston and New York. Sparks wrote that he was glad, at any rate, that Campbell had undertaken the task of writing a new history of Virginia, for he thought that the preceding ones were inadequate, and he hoped that the Virginian would extend his proposed work and write it on a larger scale.<sup>9</sup> He wondered why Virginia had not procured from the British Public Record Office copies of the papers relating to the state during the Revolutionary period, for he did not see how there could be a complete history of the Old Dominion until Virginia had done that.<sup>10</sup>

Campbell had no success in placing his manuscript with either the firm of Harpers or that of Wiley and Putnam. He wrote to Sparks in the next month that it was what he had expected, and his observations on the subject were rather bitter:

7. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, February 9, 1846, from the Jared Sparks Papers, Library of Harvard University.
8. Letter to Campbell from Jared Sparks, Cambridge, Mass., February 25, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.
9. Letter to Campbell from Jared Sparks, Cambridge, Mass., February 25, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.
10. Ibid.

The heartlessness of printers and publishers has long appeared to me a signal instance of the depravity of mankind & I wonder that our divines have overlooked it. I agree with you in your estimate of Burk (John Daly Burk). He is florid to the degree of bombast & his history has been justly called "a perpetual 4th of July oration." His statements are often loose & erroneous & his narrative oppressed by extraneous matter.... My ms. is mainly confined to the Colonial era, which seems to have been most neglected. I do not come down beyond the revolution & of its events in Virginia undertake to give only a summary.... It is very true that a satisfactory history of "the ancient dominion" cannot be made without procuring the materials that sleep in the dusty offices in London. There is however no ground to hope for any action of our legislature in this behalf during the present age. In the meantime, it seemed to me that something might be done to awaken curiosity at the least....<sup>11</sup>

Jared Sparks' answer to Campbell's denunciation of the publishing world contained a suggestion that he try a Richmond publishing firm instead of one in the North.<sup>12</sup> Campbell followed this advice, and in May he wrote to Sparks that a publishing house in Richmond had agreed to undertake the publication of his work.<sup>13</sup> However, the firm had had little experience in this line and seemed at a loss in respect to the terms to be made with Campbell. He confessed to Sparks that he knew even less about such matters than did the firm, and he appealed again to Mr. Sparks, who advised him to make a definite contract for the whole edition.<sup>14</sup> The publishing house to whom Campbell referred in this letter to Sparks seems to have been that of Drinker and Morris, who wrote to him in June that they had decided they could not undertake the publication at that

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11. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, March 7, 1846: from the Jared Sparks Papers, Library of Harvard University.

12. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, Petersburg, May 20, 1846: from the Jared Sparks Papers, Library of Harvard University.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Letter to Campbell from Jared Sparks, Salem, Mass., June 10, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

time.<sup>15</sup> When the manuscript had had the necessary alterations which Campbell proposed, and when it was prepared more properly for publication, then they might make an offer to him.<sup>16</sup> After this new disappointment, Campbell was entitled to some bitterness in regards to his experiences with publishers, but he kept up his hopes with a tenacity unusual for him.

At this time, Campbell himself was called upon for aid by R. R. Howison, of Richmond, who also was writing a history of Virginia. In his letter, Howison asked Campbell if he would publish soon his history of Virginia, and, if not right away, could he read the manuscript?<sup>17</sup> Campbell decided not to send his work to Howison, but he wrote that he would lend assistance in any way to the other man's efforts.<sup>18</sup> "Properly as it seems to me Virginia has no history beyond the revolution & even during that war her history is so blended with that of the other colonies as to be hardly distinguishable. My attention has been turned mainly to our history previous to 1776. After that I confine myself to a mere Summary of events. That have been so often & so well narrated,<sup>19</sup> he concluded. Campbell's sister, Betty, was not at all willing for her brother

15. Letter to Campbell from Drinker & Morris, Richmond, Va., June 4, 1846; box 8, Campbell Papers.

16. Ibid.

17. Letter to Campbell from R. R. Howison, Richmond, April 2, 1846; box 8, Campbell Papers. Howison's book: A History of Virginia, from its Discovery and Settlement by Europeans to the Present Time, was published in Philadelphia by Carey and Hart, 1846.

18. Letter to Campbell from R. R. Howison, Richmond, April 14, 1846; box 8, Campbell Papers.

19. Letter to R. R. Howison, Petersburg, April 3, 1846; box 8, Campbell Papers.

to be so generous with his knowledge, for, in reference to his aid to Howison, she wrote: "How kind he was in borrowing from you--It seems you have to use your brains for your neighbors as well as for yourself."<sup>20</sup>

To another member of his family, his brother, Aleck, Campbell wrote that for three months or more the Customhouse had been quite a sinecure, and at the time of his writing the spring importations gave him something to do.<sup>21</sup> As soon as he finished with them he planned an excursion to the country "to enjoy the smiles of nature."<sup>22</sup> He had recently received a valuable manuscript account written by their uncle, Dr. Samuel Campbell, deceased, of the Indian wars of western Virginia and particularly of the Point Pleasant campaign.<sup>23</sup> He described it to Aleck as a "strong graphick document of 76 pages," and as he had permission to dispose of it as he wished, he thought of appending it to his own work, should he ever succeed in publishing it.<sup>24</sup>

His extended efforts to find a publisher caused him to write again to Henry Barnard, whom he asked to help him in any way possible. In a letter of June 26, 1846, Campbell told Barnard that a firm in Richmond

20. Letter to Campbell from Betty Campbell Maben, Richmond, November 16, 1846; box 8, Campbell Papers.

21. Letter from Campbell to his brother, Petersburg, April 5, 1846; box 5, Campbell Papers.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid. The Battle of Point Pleasant, in what is now West Virginia, was the sole battle of Lord Dunmore's War, October 10, 1774. See: "The Battle of Point Pleasant", by J. T. McAllister, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, volume 9, pages 395-407; volume 10, pages 75-82.

24. Letter from Campbell to his brother, Petersburg, April 5, 1846; box 5, Campbell Papers.

seemed pleased with his manuscript, but no definitive offer had yet been made.<sup>25</sup> If he did not hear from them by July 15, he intended to go to New York to try his luck there, with the aid of Barnard. "My ms. extends from the first settlement of Virginia to the siege of York 1781. I have the advantage of being fond of the subject & have devoted more time to it I believe than anybody else in the State. The work however is short & is properly only a sort of introduction to our history."<sup>26</sup> He had written over the entire manuscript three times, and a number of influential Virginians, among them the Reverend W. S. Plummer, were very favorable and even lavish in their praise of it.<sup>27</sup> In August, Campbell wrote to Barnard that any hopes of publication then rested mainly on his influence.<sup>28</sup> He thought it might be best to send the manuscript to Barnard, who might do better with Harpers or some other publishing house than he would do, for he did not think he would be good at recommending his own wares.<sup>29</sup> When Barnard suggested that he write something for Jared Sparks' Biography, Campbell replied that if he succeeded in his "own little history" his ambition would be satisfied, he believed.<sup>30</sup> In the conclusion of this letter he

25. Letter from Campbell to Henry Barnard, Petersburg, June 26, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Letter from Campbell to Henry Barnard, August 9, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

29. Letter from Campbell to Henry Barnard, Aug. 9, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

30. Letter from Campbell to Henry Barnard, September 26, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers. Evidently Barnard referred to The Library of American Biography, which was published, in the first series, 10 vols., 1834-1838; there were successive series. Articles on noted Americans were contributed by various writers.

wanted Barnard to know that he understood at last "the force of Job's wish 'O that mine enemy would write a book' -- for it involves a world of trouble."<sup>31</sup> Although he notified Barnard that he would go to New York in October to contact various firms, it seems that Campbell did not make the trip, and he relied on Barnard's judgement and experience to arrange with Harpers or another firm for publication.

One of Campbell's Richmond friends, John M. Daniel, wrote to him to ask for the loan of Keith's History of Virginia<sup>32</sup> which R. R. Howison had been using in writing his History, and he wanted to know why Campbell's book had not appeared. Daniel expressed the wish "that Campbell's history were on the press instead of Howison's.... Besides you have devoted all your time to the study of the subject,"<sup>33</sup> and in his opinion, Campbell was much better fitted for the task than was Howison. Campbell replied that he appreciated Daniel's compliments on his manuscript, for:

I am fond of praise & not disposed to quarrel with it for being extravagant.... I usually have a good deal of leisure but it has not been

31. Letter from Campbell to Henry Barnard, Petersburg, September 26, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.
32. Sir William Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America.... Part 1. Containing the history of Virginia; with remarks on the trade and commerce of that colony... (London, Printed at the expense of the Society for the encouragement of learning, by S. Richardson, 1738).
33. Letter to Campbell from John M. Daniel, Richmond, August 28, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

so lately & is not at present.... I forwarded my ms. to the Harpers about a fortnight ago & that a friend of mine will assist me with his good offices in the affair is my hope.... What the result may be I can not divine. Should it be unfavorable, I shall bear it with great equanimity--I have lived long enough in the world to become accustomed to disappointment or rather not to be disappointed.... The history of Virginia afforded me a subject, of which I was naturally fond, -- a field not much traversed & in which I could amuse myself, in which I might hope to amuse & possibly even somewhat instruct others, without straining the bowstring of the mind too intensely.... Although I have spent a good many hours in exploring our old Virginia Chronicles, I have never been long at a time absorbed in that sort of study--but have indulged my humor. I have read a good many books--that is a good many for me & am able to make out a list of 500 volumes. It is probable that I have read a good many more but I cannot recollect the names of them & of the 500 there are not a few of which I remember nothing but the names.

As to writing I compose slowly & with difficulty, yet when in the humor for it, it affords me great satisfaction & the correcting is as pleasing as any other part of the process. Writing would be far more attractive if one were in command of a publisher.... I sometimes for weeks & months feel in the vein for writing, -- at other times for as long a period cannot bear to write....<sup>34</sup>

The hopes which Campbell had of Harpers' accepting his manuscript were dashed in November, 1846, and he turned to B. B. Minor of The Southern Literary Messenger as a possible publisher. Mr. Minor agreed to undertake the publication of Campbell's work in the Messenger, and Campbell wrote to him in December that it was desirable that the work should be completed in the volume of the Messenger for 1847.<sup>35</sup> He thought this might be accomplished by inserting an average of twelve pages in each number. Campbell wrote to Minor that he proposed to print five hundred extra copies, and he estimated the cost of that

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34. Letter from Campbell to John M. Daniel of Richmond, dated Petersburg, October 1, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

35. Letter from Campbell to B. B. Minor, Petersburg, December 10, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.



number of "extras in sheets" would be ninety dollars.<sup>36</sup> The delay in beginning publication was due to his having had to wait for the return of the manuscript from New York, he wrote to Minor, and he was afraid this might prevent the commencement of the History in the January number of the Messenger.<sup>37</sup> He was "At a loss as to divisions and headings of the chapters." His "original plan was to have no chapters but to insert headings in the body of the text, as was done in some editions of Hume."<sup>38</sup> In January, B. B. Minor wrote to Campbell that he had thought of buying "a font of new type for the purpose of printing the History." He asked if Campbell would bear the additional expense of fifty dollars "for the sake of having the extra edition brought out in handsome style," and evidently Campbell agreed to this plan.<sup>39</sup> Toward the last part of January, Campbell received the first proof sheets from Minor, and on the thirty-first of January he took steps to secure a copyright from the Federal Court in Richmond for the work about to appear.<sup>40</sup>

When the first four chapters of Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia appeared in the February issue of The Southern Literary Messenger, Campbell must have felt that his

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36. Letter from Campbell to B. B. Minor, Petersburg, December 10, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

37. Letter from Campbell to B. B. Minor, Petersburg, December 29, 1846; box 1, Campbell Papers.

38. Ibid.

39. Letter to Campbell from B. B. Minor, January 11, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers.

40. Letter from Campbell to William F. Watson, attorney-at-law, of Richmond, dated Petersburg, January 31, 1847; box 8, Campbell Papers.

"great day" had come at last.<sup>41</sup> The years of research, collecting and writing were ended, and, finally, he had brought before the public a work worthy of his pen. The prefatory remarks by the editor, Mr. Minor, were not stinting in their praise, and they gave a short resume of the evolution of Campbell's idea into the work which the Messenger was then printing:

Mr. Campbell seems to have had an hereditary interest in Virginia History; and for years has been zealously, almost enthusiastically, engaged in researches into it, blending with the subject enough of its antiquities to add a zest and ensure accuracy. He has visited and identified many of the most interesting localities and recalled their old associations; he has gathered many rare relics and other materials, and procured works difficult of access. From these and the ordinary sources, he has, after several years devoted to the task, produced a History of our State down to the close of the American Revolution. This work he has had by him in its finished state nearly two years, and has continued to revise and improve it. So that there is reason to expect that it will be the most interesting, authentic and instructive work on our History that has yet been presented to the Public. The author's diffidence and exalted idea of the aims and requisites of a literary work, claiming public favor, have been obstacles in the way of its earlier appearance....<sup>42</sup>

After this promising launching, the History began with the year 1492 and the early voyages of discovery to America.<sup>43</sup> The February issue of the Messenger carried the story to 1608, and the ample footnotes showed the extent of Campbell's researches and desire for accuracy. He relied mainly on the histories of Virginia by William Stith, Captain John Smith, Robert Beverly, Hening's Statutes at Large and numbers of

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41. The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review, volume 13, 1847: pages 67-80.

42. Ibid., pages 65-66.

43. Ibid., page 67.

other works on the period 1492 to 1781. Campbell's remarks in connection with the citations in the footnotes were most interesting, and some of the most colorful statements he made are found there. In speaking of the erroneous traditions concerning the recall of William Berkeley to the governorship of Virginia in 1660, Campbell remarked in a footnote on page 327 that Hening corrected these errors in his Statutes at Large, and Campbell went on to say, "An error in history is like sheep jumping over a bridge. If one goes, the rest all follow." In another footnote, page 390, he referred to George Bancroft when he stated, "I have borrowed freely in this passage, as in several others, from this learned historian, who has been at the pains to examine our records so long neglected by Virginians themselves." The entire History was divided into thirty-six chapters, and successive issues carried the narrative to the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. The final chapter of the main body of the work was printed in the December issue.<sup>44</sup> The appendix contained a "Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant, by Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., of Rockbridge County, Virginia," which included the years 1754 to 1779<sup>45</sup> This account of Lord Dunmore's War concluded in the January, 1848, issue of the Messenger, and Campbell's first magnum opus was finished.

One of the first objections that enters the mind of a student of Campbell's History is that the work was much too short, for in keeping

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44. The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review, volume 13, pages 705-706.

45. Ibid., pages 707-720.

down its size, as the author planned deliberately to do, too many facts had to be omitted. For example, in two pages Campbell summarized the stirring days at Yorktown from August 2, 1781 to October 19, 1781, and the battle at Yorktown occupied only a small space in these two pages. Campbell himself made it known that this work was intended only as an introduction to Virginia history, so perhaps we can not quarrel too much with the brevity of this book. Not until 1860, when The History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia appeared, did he cover more adequately some of the material he slighted in the earlier work. In this 1847 production, it may be said that Campbell performed the task of a faithful annalist without speculating upon the causes of the events which occurred or upon the principles and motives of the actors in the drama. It seems that in some cases he used ample footnotes where they were not really necessary, and in other instances of greater importance he failed to clarify his statements and cite authorities. All in all, this production is a smooth, graceful piece of writing, and Campbell's unusual phraseology in instances adds to the color and atmosphere of the whole thing. It is not surprising, also, that from time to time he indulged in genealogical references, for his interest in family history was a most absorbing one, and it would be expected that he would work in, somehow, the many endless notes he had made on family relationships in the Old Dominion.

Campbell recognized some of the errors he had made in the History before others called his attention to them. In a letter to Jared

Sparks, May 16, 1848, he revealed that he had committed a serious error in attributing the Virginia Bill of Rights to Thomas Jefferson, for George Mason was the author.<sup>46</sup> He also believed he had followed Wirt's History too closely and had gone too far in censuring the Virginia Committee of Safety for their conduct toward Patrick Henry in his military character.<sup>47</sup> When it was too late for correction, he found from a letter of General Washington's, in Jared Sparks' The Life of George Washington, that the Commander in Chief thought that Patrick Henry was altogether out of his element in the Army and had expressed the hope that Henry would resign.<sup>48</sup> To Jared Sparks Campbell wrote that he would have modified his account of the affair had he seen Sparks' book in time.<sup>49</sup> Another error concerned the date of the introduction of negroes into Virginia. Campbell said in this work that it was 1620, and the Reverend William H. Foote, of Romney, Virginia, wrote to him about this erroneous statement.<sup>50</sup> Campbell answered that he had followed Stith

46. Letter from Campbell to Jared Sparks, May 16, 1848: from the Jared Sparks Papers, Library of Harvard University.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Letter from Campbell to the Rev. William H. Foote of Romney, Virginia, April 5, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers. The Reverend William Henry Foote, D. D. (1794-1869), pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Romney, Virginia, was an author and historian. He wrote Sketches of Virginia (1st Series) (Philadelphia, William S. Martien, 1850), which came out in a second series and a revised edition of the second series. He also wrote Sketches of North Carolina (New York, R. Carter, 1846). See: E. G. Swen, A Bibliography of Virginia, Part I.

and other writers in placing the date at 1620, although he confessed that "Rolfe in Smith would seem to make it 1619"<sup>51</sup> He went on to quote Rolfe's words: "For to begin with the year of our Lord 1619 there arrived a little pennace privately from England about Easter for Captain Argell who taking order for his affairs within four or five days returned in her, &c."<sup>52</sup> This statement in itself does not seem conclusive proof, but evidently Campbell thought so.

The reviews of his work were full of praise and, at the most, mildly critical. Campbell was so pleased with a number of them that he pasted the clippings in a scrapbook, and hence it has been possible to read what some of the author's contemporaries thought of his production. The Richmond Examiner wrote that this book had been expected for some time, because for the past fifteen or twenty years Campbell had been seen collecting books, various manuscripts and visiting sites of outstanding events in Virginia's history.<sup>53</sup> The review went on to state that Campbell's character as a writer had been well known through "the many fragments of narration, the discussion of mooted historical questions and other fugitive pieces which he has already published." The "rhythmical music in the sentences which charms the ear at intervals, the peculiar species of quiet humor, the odd beauty of expression

51. Letter from Campbell to the Rev. William H. Foote of Romney, Virginia, April 5, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers.

52. Ibid.

53. Newspaper clipping from The Richmond Examiner, no date, entitled "Campbell's History of Virginia," pasted in scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.

and the mingling of whimsical with elegant ideas" reminded the reviewer of Charles Lamb.<sup>54</sup> However, this was not the book which the public had expected of Campbell, for "he seems to have been haunted during its composition with the fear of making a big book. He has excluded every word not essential to the narrative."<sup>55</sup> The reviewer considered the work disappointing as a piece of composition, but the originality of it was a saving factor, and it was considered then the standard work on the history of Virginia.<sup>56</sup> Another favorable criticism was that of the Reverend Dr. Alexander in The Princeton Review of April, 1848.<sup>57</sup> Dr. Alexander began by announcing the name of Campbell's book and then saying, "Under this modest title we have a valuable work, the product of uncommon industry and sincere zeal for the interests and honor of a noble State."<sup>58</sup> He thought it was a "straight-forward, unvarnished chronicle," and he was delighted with the "antique and authentic phraseology" which Campbell gave from old records. To Dr. Alexander, "these things savored of exactness," and "in many places he could have amplified the narrative with more citing from authorities of undoubted credit, and thus he could have added to the sprightliness

54. Newspaper clipping from The Richmond Examiner, no date, entitled "Campbell's History of Virginia," pasted in a scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Clipping from The Princeton Review, April, 1848, "Article by the Rev. Dr. Alexander," pasted in a scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.
58. Ibid.

and value of the narrative. The work abounds in fact and is free from redundant observations. With a more attractive exterior and a filling up of the outline it would commend wide attention."<sup>59</sup> Campbell's remarks on the development of Presbyterianism in Virginia drew praise from The Watchman and Observer, in 1847, in a review called "The Origin of Presbyterianism in Virginia from the Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia."<sup>60</sup> Before quoting a lengthy passage from Campbell's book, the review stated: "The last number of the Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review contains a continuation of this History, by Mr. Charles Campbell. In the 29th chapter, which extends from 1723 to 1749, there is a brief, but we believe a very correct account of the introduction of Presbyterianism in this section of the country. Though many of the facts are not new to our readers, still we are under the impression that they will all be gratified in seeing them presented in this authentic and condensed form."<sup>61</sup>

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59. Clipping from The Princeton Review, April, 1848, "Article by the Rev. Dr. Alexander," pasted in a scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.

60. Clipping from The Watchman and Observer: "The Origin of Presbyterianism in Virginia from the Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, pasted in a scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.

The Watchman and Observer, 1845-1855, was a Presbyterian weekly paper published in Richmond. See: Lester J. Cappon, Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935, page 191.

61. Clipping from The Watchman and Observer: "The Origin of Presbyterianism in Virginia from the Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, pasted in a scrapbook; box 9, Campbell Papers.



The remainder of the year 1847 was occupied by Campbell in correcting the proof sheets of his history as they were sent to him by Mr. Macfarlane, one of the printers of the Messenger.<sup>62</sup> In September he wrote to Macfarlane that he had seen that The Southern Literary Messenger was for sale. "I wish some man of money would purchase it & pay me a good salary for writing for it. I think I have a turn that way; I certainly have had a sort of a hankering for it for some years."<sup>63</sup> The magazine was sold in October to John R. Thompson, who wrote to Campbell that he greeted the author as one of the Messenger's best contributors, "& I beg to assure you of the pleasure it will always afford me to make the Messenger the vehicle of your thoughts & fancies."<sup>64</sup>

Although the chief interest of this paper in Campbell's life stops with the year 1847, nevertheless after that date and until his loss of sanity in 1873, he gave much to his state in the way of contributing short articles to newspapers and magazines, editing, and publishing other works. His articles in The Southern Literary Messenger continued for a number of years, and he seems to have been a most welcome contributor at all times. In 1860 he published a new work, History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia.<sup>65</sup> Besides this work, some others were:

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62. Letter from Campbell to Mr. Macfarlane, Petersburg, September 6, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers.

63. Ibid.

64. Letter to Campbell from John R. Thompson, Richmond, October 2, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers.

65. History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia (Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1860).

Some Materials to Serve for a Brief Memoir of John Daly Burk: Author of a History of Virginia,<sup>66</sup> The Genealogy of the Spotswood Family in Scotland and Virginia,<sup>67</sup> and the introduction which Campbell wrote to the 1855 reprint of Robert Beverley's The History and Present State of Virginia in Four Parts.<sup>68</sup> Besides his occupation with writing, Campbell had time to teach a classical school in Petersburg, and, from 1855 to the introduction of the public school system in 1870, he was principal of the Anderson Seminary, a free school in Petersburg.<sup>69</sup> He was an honorary member of a number of historical societies in the various states, and in 1847, when the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society was reorganized, he was appointed a corresponding member "in appreciation of his labors in the same cause as the Society."<sup>70</sup> Many of the Revolutionary letters which he had found at "Cawsons" were given to this society.<sup>71</sup> If Campbell had tried to accomplish less, the tax on his health would not have been so great, and he might have

66. Charles Campbell, ed., Some Materials to Serve for a Brief Memoir of John Daly Burk... (Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell, 1868).

67. Charles Campbell, ed., Genealogy of the Spotswood Family in Scotland and Virginia (Albany, privately printed, 1868).

68. Introduction by Charles Campbell to the reprint from the 2nd. edition of Robert Beverley, The History of Virginia in Four Parts... (London, 1722) (Richmond, Va., 1855).

69. Obituary of Charles Campbell by Robert A. Brock in The Daily Dispatch, Richmond, Va., September 7, 1876; box 7, Campbell Papers.

70. Letter to Campbell from William Maxwell, Richmond, February 22, 1847; box 1, Campbell Papers. Mr. Maxwell was the corresponding secretary of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society at that time.

71. In one of the scrapbooks in Campbell's handwriting: "List of the manuscripts communicated to Virginia Hist. Society Augt 1847 by Charles C.." box 5, Campbell Papers.

lived to a much riper age. His mind collapsed completely in 1873, and he was sent to the Western State Hospital at Staunton, Virginia, where he died on July 11, 1876. He was buried at old Blandford Church, Petersburg, where he had walked so often in his earlier days.

The part which Charles Campbell played on the stage of his beloved Old Dominion was not one which loomed large in the eyes of the world, yet it was an essential part. Through his insatiate love for the past and the relics of that past, he stirred a laggard interest among his fellow Virginians in the necessity for preserving the materials which had come down to them. Although he can not be considered an historian of the highest order, his contributions to colonial American history in the form of collections and short articles, as well as his two major works on Virginia history, can not fail to evoke appreciation and admiration. His claim to attention rests mainly on his labors as a collector of facts dealing with the past, rather than as an interpreter of the significance of those facts. The character of Charles Campbell, the man, seems a rather difficult one to classify. Certainly his qualities of kindness, thoughtfulness towards others, generosity and quiet humor are evident in his letters. That there was a streak of instability, indecision and hypochondria is not to be denied. Much of the blame for this must rest on the peculiar type of headache he suffered through the larger part of his life. A more stable element seemed to enter his make-up in the 1850's, after his marriage to Miss Anna Birdsall of Rahway, New Jersey, but he was never a healthy person

from the time of his first breakdown and loss of sanity in 1890. The affliction which he seemed to bear patiently must have influenced his writing far more than we know, and it remains for us to wonder that he wrote so well and accomplished so much in a busy life against such heavy odds.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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The Campbell Papers, Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, cover the years 1750-1860. They are divided into ten boxes. The collection consists of letters and documents written or collected by Charles Campbell and members of his family. These include Campbell's business correspondence with editors of The Southern Literary Messenger, publishing firms, historical societies, historians and authors. The letters between Charles Campbell and the various members of his family have been used as the chief source of data for this paper. Among the eighteen scrapbooks in the collection are several which had served originally as account books for Campbell's father, John Wilson Campbell. Some of these contain a number of original letters written by George Washington, Wilson Miles Cary, Cole Digges, Edmund Randolph, John Jameson and others. There are also various maps, broadsides, newspapers and prints in the collection. A rich fund of material on Virginians of the nineteenth century, on local color and the life of the times may be found in The Campbell Papers.

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William H. Cryer

## County Teacher Drowns Despite Student's Efforts

AUG 10 1963

*Times-Dispatch News Bureau*  
WILLIAMSBURG, Aug. 9—A Hermitage High School teacher was missing and presumed drowned Friday in the James river despite a student's efforts to save him.

William H. Cryer, 39, of El-lerston apparently suffered a cramp and disappeared while swimming in the James about a half-mile from the mouth of the Chickahominy river.

James E. Keaton, 17-year-old student of Cryer's at the Henrico county high school, tried but failed to save the teacher. The two were on an outing to celebrate the end of summer school.

### Decided to Swim

Keaton told police he and Cryer were aboard on outboard motor boat and decided to take a swim.

The youth said Cryer suddenly shouted for help. Keaton tried to pull him toward the boat but could not maintain a grip.

The youth said he passed out from physical exhaustion when

he got back to the boat. Upon recovering he went ashore and telephoned authorities.

The drowning occurred at approximately 12:45 p.m. Walter Dutton, deputy sheriff for James City county, said the water in the area is 8-to-10 feet deep.

Skin divers and a helicopter crew from Ft. Eustis began a search for the body Friday afternoon.

The Hermitage student, son of Mr. and Mrs. John W. Keaton of Wistar rd., said he threw out a lifesaver cushion with an anchor attached in an attempt to mark the spot where Cryer went under. However, the marker apparently had drifted away. Searchers did not find it.

Cryer, who taught government and history, was faculty sponsor for the Hermitage Key dent.

They camped at a cottage owned by the boy's father on Diascund creek and planned a picnic lunch on the banks of the James after a short boating trip.



## VITA

William Howell Cryer

Born September 16, 1915, Winters, Texas.

Attended Winters High School, Winters, Texas, 1927-1931.

Student at Paris Junior College, Paris, Texas, 1931-1932.

Attended McMurry College, Abilene, Texas, 1932-1933, 1934-1936.  
Received Bachelor of Science degree, 1936.

Attended the Richmond School of Art, Richmond Division, College  
of William and Mary, 1936-1938. Received Bachelor of Fine Arts  
degree, 1938.

Teacher of History and English, Amelia High School, Amelia,  
Virginia, 1939-1942.

Army of the United States, 1942-1946.

Graduate student in History, College of William and Mary, 1946-1947.

Candidate for the Master of Arts degree from the College of William  
and Mary, August, 1947.