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# The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1965

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Sherman's men are shown advancing under difficulties as they marched from Savannah to Bentonville. From files of State Department of Archives and History. For an article on Sherman's march through North Carolina, see pages 192 to 207.

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# COLONIAL BEAUFORT

BY CHARLES L. PAUL\*

Though the first attempt to plant an English colony in America took place in North Carolina as early as 1585, it was three-quarters of a century before the first permanent white settlers came into the colony. When they did come, they came from Virginia rather than directly from England or the European continent. Just when the first permanent settlers entered what is now North Carolina has not been definitely established. By 1660, however, there were settlers on the Chowan River. After the first settlers arrived, there was, according to R. D. W. Connor, "no cessation in the slow but steady flow of settlers into the Albemarle region."<sup>1</sup> On March 24, 1663, Charles II of England granted a charter for a part of the new world which ultimately included the new settlement on the Chowan River to eight prominent Englishmen who had supported his restoration. By October of the next year, the eight Lords Proprietors had established the settlement as the County of Albemarle.

As years passed, settlement gradually but slowly moved southward, and in 1676 the Lords Proprietors, in an effort to encourage expansion, extended the jurisdiction of the Governor of Albemarle County to include "such settlements as shall be made upon the rivers Pamlico and Newse."<sup>2</sup> By 1696 the new part of the colony was receiving enough attention and settlement to merit the establishment of the County of Bath, which included the Pamlico and the Neuse areas.<sup>3</sup> In 1705 the Governor's Council, noting that the county had grown populous and was daily increasing, divided it into three precincts, each of which was to be allowed to send two representatives to the General Assembly.<sup>4</sup> One of these precincts, Archdale, contained the

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. W. Connor, *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783*, Volume I of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 24.

<sup>2</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), I, 232-233, hereinafter cited as *Saunders, Colonial Records*.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 472.

<sup>4</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 629.

area which, by 1712, had been renamed Craven Precinct. It was from Craven that Carteret Precinct was made in 1722.<sup>5</sup>

The political division of the southern part of Bath County into Craven and Carteret precincts occurred a number of years after the area had received its first settlers. In fact, it was not more than four years after Bath County had been created in 1696 that settlement reached the north banks of the Neuse River. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., states that "the colonization of this river must be placed back in the opening year of the eighteenth century and not inconceivably in the last of the 1690's."<sup>6</sup> The Neuse River settlement grew steadily and, by about 1706, settlers had moved from its north banks, the first area settled, and were making their homes on its southern shores.<sup>7</sup> Though these homesites were in what later became Carteret County, they cannot be considered a part of the settlement that became Beaufort. Situated on the Neuse River, they were, throughout the Colonial period, more closely connected with that river and with New Bern than with Beaufort.

The southward expansion of the settlement continued, and within two or three years after the Neuse had been crossed, settlers were making their homes on North and Newport rivers, which form the eastern and western boundaries of the peninsula on which Beaufort is located. Since these two rivers flow into what was then considered a part of Core Sound, settlers in this area were described as being "in Core Sound."<sup>8</sup> The town of Beaufort eventually became the center for the Core Sound settlement.

Farnifold Green obtained the first patent for land in the Core Sound area. The patent was granted December 20, 1707,<sup>9</sup> and although Green did not live in the Core Sound area,<sup>10</sup> other settlers were soon making their homes there. In 1708 John Nelson was granted a patent

<sup>5</sup> David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1950), 74.

<sup>6</sup> Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern: A History of the town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part I, "Colonization of the Neuse," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 9, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse."

<sup>7</sup> Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 13-14. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, xi.

<sup>8</sup> Carteret County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, Deed Book A, 17, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Carteret Deed Books; Beaufort County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Beaufort County Courthouse, Washington, Deed Book 1, 129-130, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Beaufort County Deed Books.

<sup>9</sup> The year 1707 is not given, but the patent was recorded in the secretary's office on January 7, 1708, indicating that the date of issue, December 20, was in 1707. Craven County Will Books, Office of the Clerk of Court, Craven County Courthouse, New Bern, Will Book A, 10, hereinafter cited as Craven Will Books.

<sup>10</sup> Dill assigns Green to the area around Lower Broad Creek on the north side of Neuse River. Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 8.

for 260 acres "in Core Sound on the north side of North River,"<sup>11</sup> and, from that time on, was closely connected with that immediate area.<sup>12</sup> Francis and John Shackelford moved into the area from Essex County, Virginia, sometime after 1705.<sup>13</sup> Francis became active in the affairs of the Core Sound area by 1708,<sup>14</sup> as did John by 1709.<sup>15</sup> Both of these men received numerous patents before 1713<sup>16</sup> but settled on the west side of North River about four miles northeast of the present site of Beaufort.<sup>17</sup> Other names connected with the Core Sound settlement prior to 1713 were John Fulford, Robert Turner, James Keith, William Bartram, Peter Worden (also spelled Wordin), Thomas Blanton, Thomas Lepper, Thomas Sparrow, Lewis Johnson, Richard Graves, Christopher Dawson, Enoch Ward, Thomas Cary, and Thomas Kailoe.<sup>18</sup> Some of these, notably Cary and Lepper, lived

<sup>11</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 158.

<sup>12</sup> John Nelson was named as one of the first commissioners for the town of Beaufort and a member of the first vestry of St. John's Parish. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXV, 206-209, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*. He was also a justice of the peace for Carteret Precinct in 1722, 1724, and 1728. Minutes of the Carteret County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1723-1789, 4 volumes, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, I, 3, 20-21, hereinafter cited as Carteret Court Minutes; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 459, 526.

The exact site of Nelson's residence is not known. There is no indication that he lived on the tract on North River, as he sold it slightly more than a year after its purchase. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 157. He owned land near the south bank of Neuse River, and a deed of 1708 referred to him and his wife, Ann, as being of Neuse River. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 116, 160. Dill maintains, however, that "This does not preclude the likelihood of their being in Core Sound at this time, for the designation 'of Neuse' was often used loosely." Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 14*n*. The importance of the location of his residence is minimized by his prominence in the affairs of the area.

<sup>13</sup> Francis Shackelford received patents for land in Essex County, Virginia, in 1705. Land Grant Records of Virginia, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Land Grant Book IX, 695, 712.

<sup>14</sup> On October 30, 1708, Francis Shackelford and Francis Dawson were witnesses to the transfer of a tract of land which later became the site of Beaufort from Peter Wordin to Farnifold Green. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 109.

<sup>15</sup> John Shackelford patented land on Newport River on November 14, 1709. Carteret Deed Books, D, 100-103.

<sup>16</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 1; B, 50-51; D, 100-103; Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 225; Carteret County Records, Grants, 1717-1724, Archives, Book D, 2, 5-6, hereinafter cited as Carteret Grant Books.

<sup>17</sup> See inset entitled "Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet" on Edward Moseley's "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps with an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1958), Plate 52. The tract of land to which Moseley assigns Shackelford was first surveyed for Francis Shackelford prior to 1713, but his title for it lapsed. John Shackelford obtained a title for it on January 15, 1713/14. Carteret Grant Books, D, 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> John Fulford, Minutes of the Craven County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1712-1715, Archives, Book I, 1, hereinafter cited as Craven Court Minutes; Robert Turner, Craven Will Books, A, 11; James Keith, Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 158; William Bartram, Carteret Deed Books, A, 18-20; Peter Wordin, Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 108-109; Thomas Blanton, Carteret Grant Books, D, 5-6; Thomas Lepper, Craven Will Books, A, 27-28; Thomas Sparrow, Beaufort County



The Beaufort Town inset is from the Edward Moseley map of 1733. The reproduction shown here is from a copy furnished by Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College; the map appears as Plate 52 in Dr. Cumming's *The Southeast in Early Maps*. . . .

elsewhere and were only speculating in land.<sup>19</sup> Fulford, Ward, and Turner, though, were definitely Core Sound residents during that period.<sup>20</sup>

Deed Books, 1, 129-130; Lewis Johnson, Carteret Deed Books, A, 31; Richard Graves, Carteret Deed Books, A, 25; Christopher Dawson, Carteret Grant Books, D, 4-5 and Carteret Deed Books, A, 1, 27; Enoch Ward, Craven Will Books, A, 3, 27-28; Thomas Cary, Carteret Deed Books, A, 17; Thomas Kailoe, Carteret Deed Books, A, 28-29.

<sup>19</sup> Cary lived on Pamlico River. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern, A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part III, "Rebellion and Indian warfare," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (July, 1945), 297, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Rebellion and Indian Warfare." Lepper lived on Adam's Creek on the south side of Neuse River. Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 13-14.

<sup>20</sup> Fulford lived near "the strait in Core Sound. . ." Craven Court Minutes, I, 1. Both Ward and Turner gave their names to creeks that bordered land bought by them during this period. Craven Will Books, A, 11, 27-28.

Indications are that the Core Sound settlement had some importance before 1713. A notation on Christoph von Graffenried's map of 1710 described Core Sound as being populated almost entirely by Englishmen who furnished seafood of all kinds to the settlers.<sup>21</sup> In 1712 Captain Edward Adlard owned a sloop named the "Core Sound Merchant,"<sup>22</sup> which indicated trade in the area before that date. A third indication of the importance of the Core Sound settlement before 1713 is that in 1712 in the midst of the Tuscarora War, the General Assembly ordered a garrison stationed at Core Sound.<sup>23</sup> The purpose of the garrison, so Governor Thomas Pollock declared in 1713, was "to guard the people there from some few of the Cores [Indians] that lurk thereabout. . . ." <sup>24</sup>

As soon as settlers moved into the Core Sound area, the port potential of the future site of Beaufort was recognized. December 20, 1707, Farnifold Green obtained a patent for the south end of the peninsula that extends between North River and Newport River.<sup>25</sup> One month later, January 21, 1708, Peter Worden, then of Pamlico River,<sup>26</sup> secured a patent for 640 acres on the west side of North River, part of which was included in Green's patent.<sup>27</sup> By October of that year, Worden recognized Green's ownership, and on October 30, 1708, he cleared Green's title by giving him a deed for "one certain Messuage or tenement of Land situate lying and being on the South side of North River, near to the Point of Land called Newport Town, with all its rights and privileges. . . ." <sup>28</sup> In seeking to acquire the land, evidently the two men had its port potential in mind since Topsail Inlet, now known as Beaufort Inlet, penetrated the barrier of the Outer Banks just two miles south. The site was named Newport Town and the name of the river that flows by it on its west side was changed from Core River to Newport River.<sup>29</sup>

Possibly the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 delayed the establishment of a town within Topsail Inlet. Within seven months after the power of the Tuscarora Indians had been broken in March, 1713,<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1955), opposite 32.

<sup>22</sup> From a document reprinted in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina from 1663 to 1729* (Fayetteville: E. J. Hale & Son, 2 volumes, 1858), II, 394, hereinafter cited as Hawks, *History of North Carolina*.

<sup>23</sup> This garrison was stationed at "\_\_\_\_\_ Shackleford's plantation. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 45.

<sup>25</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 10.

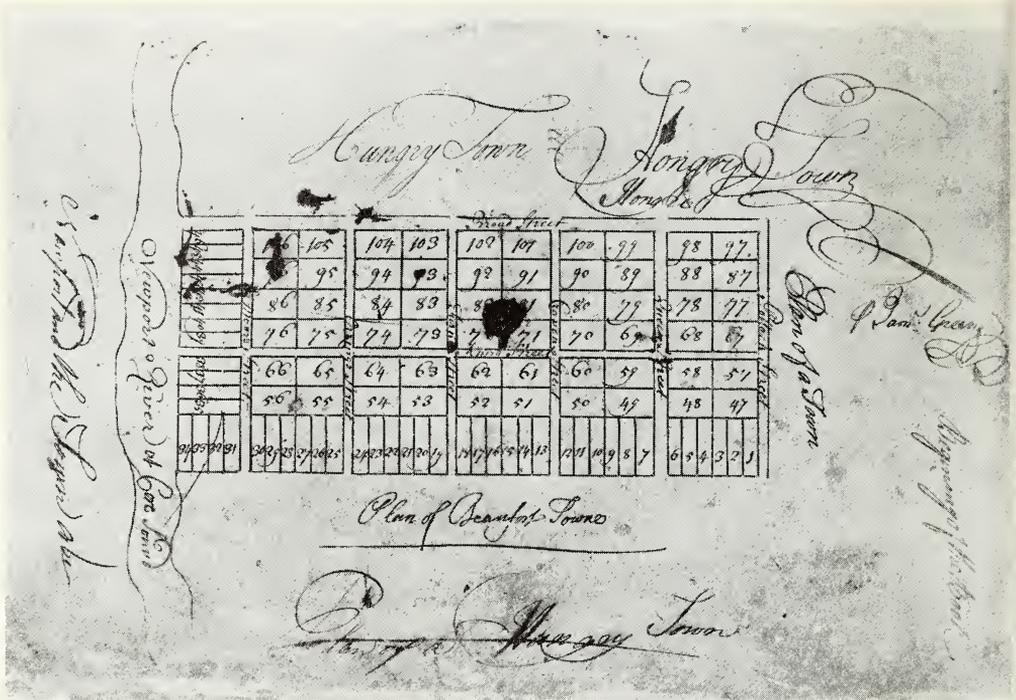
<sup>26</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 110.

<sup>27</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 108.

<sup>28</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 109.

<sup>29</sup> Newport River was first called Core River. Craven Will Books, A, 10. By 1712 it had been given its present name. Craven Will Books, A, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Dill, "Rebellion and Indian Warfare," 316.



This "Plan of Beaufort Towne" is from the Secretary of State's Land Patent Book #7, 1706-1740, in the Archives State Department of Archives and History.

a town was laid out on the southwest corner of the tract of land which Farnifold Green had obtained in 1707. In the meantime, Green had sold the land to Robert Turner, a merchant of Craven Precinct.<sup>31</sup> Sometime prior to the fall of 1713, permission had been obtained from the Lords Proprietors to lay out a town by the name of Beaufort at this site, and on October 2, 1713, Robert Turner had Richard Graves, Deputy Surveyor, lay out the town. A plat was made of the town by Graves and recorded in the office of the secretary of the colony.<sup>32</sup> Streets were named; allotments were provided for a church, a town-house, and a market place;<sup>33</sup> and lots were offered for sale. On that date, October 2, 1713, Beaufort came into existence. Though minor alterations were made throughout the Colonial period, the main characteristics of the plan of the town never changed. The name Beaufort came from Henry Duke of Beaufort, one of the Lords Proprietors, who

<sup>31</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 10-11, 13.  
<sup>32</sup> Permission for, the date of, and the men and circumstances connected with the laying out of the town are mentioned in most of the deeds for lots issued before the town was incorporated in 1723. See Carteret Deed Books, D, 91-92, and *passim*; Craven will Books, A, 13-51.  
<sup>33</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206.

in 1713 was Palatine of Carolina, the chief position among the Proprietors. Turner Street obtained its name from Robert Turner, the father of the town. Moore Street was probably named for Colonel James Moore, who seven months before had brought an end to the Indian war. Pollock Street was named for Thomas Pollock, Acting Governor of the colony from 1712 to 1714. Both Queen and Ann Streets were named in honor of the then reigning monarch of England, while Orange Street honored the memory of William III of Orange who had preceded Queen Anne on the English throne. Craven Street was named in honor of William Lord Craven,<sup>34</sup> another of the Lords Proprietors.<sup>35</sup> When all of these names are considered together, the year 1713 is clearly indicated.

Though the town of Beaufort was laid out in 1713 with the permission of the Lords Proprietors, it was not officially incorporated by the Colonial government until ten years later. In the meantime, on October 19, 1720, Robert Turner had sold the 780 acres, which included the town lands, to Richard Rustull for 150 pounds sterling and had moved to the Pamlico River area,<sup>36</sup> which might indicate that his investment was not yielding satisfactory returns. At least 39 lots were sold during this period,<sup>37</sup> and in 1722, when Carteret Precinct was created, Beaufort was chosen to be the site of its courthouse.<sup>38</sup> The only indication of the size of Beaufort during the period is found in connection with a visit made by the pirates, Edward Teach and Stede Bonnet, to Beaufort harbor in 1718. Charles Johnson, who described this visit in his *History of the Pirates*, spoke of a "poor little village at the upper end of the harbour. . . ." <sup>39</sup> Undoubtedly, this little village was Beaufort.

The act of the General Assembly of November 23, 1723,<sup>40</sup> which officially incorporated Beaufort into a town, was based upon two considerations. The first was the fact that the town had already been laid out.<sup>41</sup> The second was that the Lords Proprietors, upon the peti-

<sup>34</sup> For the distinction between William Earl of Craven and William Lord Craven, see Dill, "Colonization of the Neuse," 6n.

<sup>35</sup> For the significance of the names of Beaufort's streets, see *A Brochure Sponsored by The Woman's Club of the Old Port of Beaufort*, in the library of the late F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City.

<sup>36</sup> Carteret Deed Books, B, 42-44.

<sup>37</sup> Lots No. 3, 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 52, 55, 62, and 65, Carteret Deed Books, A, 65 and D, 121, 277-278; Lots No. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 46, 47, 48, 50, 56, 57, 58, 60, 66, and one unidentified lot owned by Captain John Clark, Craven Will Books, A, 13-20, 23, 28-32, 48-51.

<sup>38</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 102.

<sup>39</sup> Arthur L. Haywood (ed.), *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates*, by Charles Johnson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1955), 68-69.

<sup>40</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 334.

<sup>41</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206.

tion of the inhabitants of Core Sound, had "erected the same, into a Seaport, by the Name of Port-Beaufort . . ." and had invested the same with all privileges and immunities belonging to a seaport.<sup>42</sup> The act of incorporation set up certain guides to the development of the town. For instance, the plan of the town was to be enlarged to 200 acres. The lots already sold were to be reserved to their owners; the places laid out for a church, a townhouse, and a market place were to be reserved. The rest of the land was to be divided into half-acre lots and sold for 30 shillings each with the provision that the buyer must build a house, not less than 15 by 20 feet, within two years. If this condition were not met, the title for the lot was to lapse and it was to be resold at the same price. Of the 30 shillings received for the first sale of the lots, 20 were to go to Richard Rustull, owner of the town land, and the rest to purchase great guns and to fortify the town. The money received for the resale of lots was to be used for the building of a church and for such other uses as the church wardens and the vestry should think fit. To insure that the town would be a suitable place to live, the act of incorporation also stipulated that all lots were to be cleared, that all streets should be at least 66 feet wide, that all nuisances were to be removed from the town, and that no lot was to be enclosed by a "common Stake Fense; but . . . either paled in, or done with Post and Rails set up." Furthermore, anyone caught quarreling or fighting in the town was to pay a fine of ten shillings, or spend 24 hours in the common jail, or sit in the stocks two hours. To encourage the settlement of the town, the act provided that all business affairs of the precinct be carried on there. For the same purpose, it seems, it also stipulated that all liquor made in the precinct could be retailed in the town by any inhabitant of the town without a license. To look after the affairs of the town, five commissioners were appointed who, along with the justices of the precinct court, were given authority to fill any vacancy that might occur among their number because of death. The commissioners were Richard Rustull, Christopher Gale, John Nelson, Joseph Bell, and Richard Bell.<sup>43</sup>

The act of incorporation also provided that Carteret Precinct was to have a church called the Parish of St. John. Twelve men were appointed to compose the first vestry: Christopher Gale, Joseph Bell, John Shaw, John Nelson, Richard Whitehurst, Richard Williamson,

<sup>42</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206. This action was confirmed by the Governor and his council on April 4, 1722. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454.

<sup>43</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-209.

Richard Rustull, John Shackelford, Thomas Merriday, Enoch Ward, Joseph Fulford, and Charles Cogdail.<sup>44</sup>

The growth of the town of Beaufort proceeded slowly throughout the Colonial period, with the possible exception of the prosperous years after the end of the French and Indian War. Though the records of the sale of lots in Colonial Beaufort are incomplete, they do reveal enough to confirm this general statement. For instance, during the first five years after Beaufort was incorporated in 1723, the sales of only five lots were recorded.<sup>45</sup> All of these occurred in 1723, and all of them lapsed at the end of a two-year period because the owners did not build on them.<sup>46</sup> In December, 1725, Richard Rustull saved the investment that he had made in Beaufort by selling the town lands to Nathaniel Taylor, a resident of Carteret Precinct, for 160 pounds sterling.<sup>47</sup>

The year 1728 marked the beginning of a brief period during which speculation in Beaufort real estate reached a high point. In the four years after 1728, deeds were recorded for at least 21 lots for which there is no record of a previous sale.<sup>48</sup> Sixteen lots which had lapsed because their owners had not met the building requirements were resold by the town commissioners,<sup>49</sup> and five lots were transferred from one individual to another.<sup>50</sup> A spirit of optimism was evident by 1728 when a new section was added to the town, and from that time on, deeds for lots in the town of Beaufort distinguished between Old Town and New Town.<sup>51</sup> Still very few of these lots were saved, and in 1731, Governor Burrington described the town as one of "but little success & scarce any inhabitants."<sup>52</sup>

As years passed, lots in Beaufort were transferred back and forth from one owner to another, but there seems to have been little overall growth. In 1737 John Brickell, writing in his *Natural History of North-Carolina*, described Beaufort as a town with a pleasant pros-

<sup>44</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 208-209.

<sup>45</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 33-37.

<sup>46</sup> All five of these lots (Lots No. 15, 22, 27, 13, and 14) were resold by the town commissioners with the usual stipulation that a house be built on them within two years. Carteret Deed Books, D, 90, 95, 400-401; H, 358-360.

<sup>47</sup> Carteret Deed Books, C, 134-136.

<sup>48</sup> Lots No. 8, 11, 12, 13, 42, 49, 51, 53, 61, 63, and two unidentified lots owned by Richard Rustull, all in Old Town (that part of the town laid out in 1713), and Lots No. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 19, 20, and 29 in New Town (see below note 51), Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 6-9, 27, 29, 30-31, 38, 45-46, 55-56, 66-67, 85-86, 95, 114-115, 140, 149.

<sup>49</sup> Lots No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 52, 62, and 63 in Old Town, and Lots No. 2 and 20 in New Town, Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 4, 28, 58, 68, 80-81, 86, 90, 92, 94, 121.

<sup>50</sup> Lots No. 8, 9, and 10 in Old Town, and Lots No. 2 and 20 in New Town, Carteret Deed Books, D, 25-26, 44-45, 47, 58, 82-83, 87, 108, 111-112.

<sup>51</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 191.

pect, but it was "small and thinly inhabited."<sup>53</sup> Even as late as 1748, the year after the town had been captured and occupied for a brief period by a band of Spanish privateers,<sup>54</sup> the list of taxables for the whole county numbered only 320.<sup>55</sup> Approximately one-tenth of these lived in Beaufort which would set the number of taxables at only 32 in that year.

One of the most vivid accounts of Colonial Beaufort was given by a French traveler who visited the town in 1765. Arriving at Cape Lookout on March 13, he walked down the beach to a whalers' camp and persuaded some of them to take him over to Beaufort on the mainland. A short visit left him with a very unfavorable impression of the town. He described it as "a Small vilage not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lazy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oysters, which they have in great plenty."<sup>56</sup> Though the Frenchman's description of the town as a small village is accurate, his estimation of not above 12 houses appears rather conservative.<sup>57</sup>

The twelve years before the Revolutionary War seem to have been a period of substantial settlement in Beaufort. In the six years from 1765 through 1770, at least 37 lots, or pieces of lots, changed hands.<sup>58</sup> Some of them, to be sure, had already been saved and were just being transferred to new owners. At least nine of the 37 lots, or pieces of lots, had buildings erected on them during that period.<sup>59</sup> During this period buildings were first erected on many of the waterfront lots of the west end of the town.<sup>60</sup>

Beaufort grew steadily, and by the spring of 1773, the inhabitants petitioned the government of the colony that Beaufort be allowed

<sup>53</sup> John Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina with an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* (Dublin, Ireland: Printed by James Carson, 1737), 8.

<sup>54</sup> The records yield little information concerning the Spanish occupation of Beaufort. That the town was captured is verified by the caption "Men on Duty when the Town was Taken," which precedes a list of names dated August 26, 1747. Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 263.

<sup>55</sup> William K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century: X, XI," Part XI, "A Table of North Carolina Taxes, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), opposite 476.

<sup>56</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, Part I," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

<sup>57</sup> By 1765, 23 deeds for lots had been recorded which, by internal evidence, indicated that houses had been erected on these lots. See Carteret Deed Books, D, 44-46, 92, 111-112, 121, 150, 175 and 444, 239-240, 278, 342-343; F, 381-382; G, 132-133; H, 97-98, 328-329, 350-351; I, 248-249.

<sup>58</sup> Carteret Deed Books, G, 167-169, 186-187; H, 236, 269-270, 281-282, 300, 311-313, 315-318, 328-330, 332, 334-335, 350-351, 357-360, 420-421, 442-443, 445-447, 463-464, 480.

<sup>59</sup> Carteret Deed Books, H, 70, 315-316, 332, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 331, 354-355, 385.

<sup>60</sup> Lots No. 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, and 33 had buildings erected on them between 1765 and 1770. Carteret Deed Books, H, 315-316, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 331, 354-355, 385.

representation in the General Assembly.<sup>61</sup> The petition also made it clear that Beaufort could claim such representation as a right since the town had 60 families, the number required for such representation by a law of 1715.<sup>62</sup> Justified as it might have been, Beaufort's petition was not granted, due it seems, to the efforts of Royal Governor Josiah Martin. Writing to Lord Dartmouth on April 20, 1773, he advised against giving Beaufort representation on the grounds that the assembly was already too large and that "though Beaufort is advantageously situated for commerce . . . there are no persons of condition or substance in it, and the Trade that was formerly carried on through that Channel, is now derived almost entirely to this town," that is, to New Bern.<sup>63</sup>

The people who lived in Beaufort during the Colonial period represented a variety of occupations; there were carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, mariners, merchants, innkeepers, surveyors, joiners, coopers, shipwrights, shoemakers, and fishermen.<sup>64</sup> There were also attorneys and schoolmasters.<sup>65</sup> In 1728 John Clement purchased a lot and described himself as a preacher of the Gospel,<sup>66</sup> but it seems that neither he nor any other minister lived in Beaufort during the Colonial period, and later his name appears in the Craven County records as a schoolmaster.<sup>67</sup> Many of Beaufort's residents held positions in the local and Colonial governments, and those who were qualified to do

<sup>61</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

<sup>62</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 73-79.

<sup>63</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Bedford, John Harris, and Richard Baker described themselves as carpenters. Carteret Deed Books, D, 27, 47, 140. William Owens and Joseph Bell were tailors. Carteret Deed Books, D, 27; H, 447-448. Andrew Frasure and Isaac Negus were blacksmiths. Carteret Deed Books, D, 28, 149. Arthur Mabson described himself as both a mariner and a merchant. Carteret Deed Books, D, 80-81, 89. Other merchants were Robert Turner, James Salter, John Clitherall, John Ronald, James Easton, Benjamin Appleton, and Jacob Shepherd. Carteret Deed Books, D, 58, 91, 330-331, 375; H, 332, 485-486. James Salter was also an innkeeper, as was William Dennis. Carteret Deed Books, D, 156-157; F, 380-381. James Winright was a surveyor. Carteret Deed Books, D, 87. William Mosely was a joiner. Carteret Deed Books, F, 381-382. Richard Rustull and Hector Hancock were both described as coopers. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 39, 41. Lawrence Boore, Robert Pew, and Robert Walpoole were shipwrights. Carteret Deed Books, H, 317-318; I, 135-136, 215. James Jannet was a shoemaker. Carteret Deed Books, I, 136-137. That there were fishermen living in Beaufort in this period is indicated by Governor Martin's description of it as "a small fishing Town. . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 33.

<sup>65</sup> Henry Blurbon and David Handmare described themselves as attorneys at law. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 47, 49. Samuel Leffers was a schoolmaster. Carteret Deed Books, I, 251-252.

<sup>66</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern, A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," Part IV, "Years of Slow Development," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 488.

so proudly added "Esquire" to their names.<sup>68</sup> Others were closely connected with the work of the Anglican Church in the county.<sup>69</sup>

As a whole the inhabitants of Beaufort seem to have been a very benevolent people. The vestrymen of the parish were meticulous in their concern for the needy, especially orphans, the sick who had no one to care for them, and the old who could not care for themselves.<sup>70</sup> On at least three occasions old Indians were provided for by the church.<sup>71</sup> Even in their dealings with offenders, the jurymen who convened at Beaufort seem to have shown mercy as in the case of a certain Jane Sims who in 1736 was convicted of adultery. She was sentenced to "be taken to the Whipping post and there upon her Naked Back Receive thirty Nine Lashes well layed on. . . ." However, the court, "upon the humble submission of ye sd Jane Sims . . . Referred the Immediate Execution of ye above Sentence till another opportunity . . ." provided that she leave the precinct.<sup>72</sup>

Another example of the type of justice received in Beaufort's courts is seen in a case involving Ebenezer Harker, a resident of nearby Harker's Island,<sup>73</sup> but a man closely connected with Beaufort's history. In December, 1736, Harker appeared at a meeting of the court and proceeded to call Thomas Lovick, chairman of the court, a scoundrel and a cheat and many other abusive names, declaring that he was not fit to be judge of the court. The justices considered the matter immediately and ordered Harker to be brought before the court on the next day and answer contempt charges. In the meantime, the justices agreed on certain measures for the erection of a jail in Beaufort which was greatly needed. The records do not indicate that these two events were connected, but it is significant to note that on the next day Harker appeared before the court pleading for pardon which the court immediately granted.<sup>74</sup>

The jail which was provided for at this time was to be a heavy wooden structure made of sawed logs not less than four inches thick and dovetailed at the corners. It was to have two small windows

<sup>68</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 45, 111; G, 186. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, Beaufort, 1742-1843, 3 volumes, Archives, I, 9, hereinafter cited as Vestry Books of St. John's Parish.

<sup>69</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 14, and *passim*.

<sup>71</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 40, 42, 53.

<sup>72</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 63.

<sup>73</sup> Carteret Deed Books, E, 299-300. In the Colonial period, Harker's Island was called Craney Island. It was first granted to Farnifold Green, who, on January 25, 1708/09, sold it to William Brice. On the same day, Brice sold it to Thomas Sparrow for £10, just double the amount he had paid for it. Beaufort County Deed Books, 1, 129-130. From Sparrow it was transferred to Thomas Pollock, who willed it to his son, George Pollock. George Pollock sold it to Ebenezer Harker in 1730. Carteret Deed Books, D, 120, 159-160.

<sup>74</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

with iron bars, a heavy door with a substantial lock, and covered with "good pine shingles well nailed." It was also to be equipped with a "good, Strong Substantial pair of Stocks. . . ." Daniel Rees was appointed to build the structure for £135.<sup>75</sup> The records reveal that construction of this jail was immediately begun, and that it was soon completed.<sup>76</sup>

Beaufort did not have a resident minister during the Colonial period. Neither did it have a church building.<sup>77</sup> In June, 1724, the church wardens bought from the town commissioners a "Lott of land . . . together with the house now erected thereon . . . being at present the house appointed for a Court House. . . ." <sup>78</sup> Evidently, this building was intended to serve both legal and spiritual purposes. Only three months later, though, a hurricane rendered it unusable by destroying its roof,<sup>79</sup> and in the next year it was completely destroyed by fire.<sup>80</sup> When the next courthouse was completed in 1728,<sup>81</sup> the church started holding its services there and did so throughout the Colonial period.<sup>82</sup> Usually, these services were conducted by a layman,<sup>83</sup> but for certain occasions, such as administering the sacraments, ministers from other parts of the colony were employed to come to Beaufort.<sup>84</sup> In 1755 the vestry arranged with the Reverend James Reed of Christ Church in New Bern to come at certain intervals, and from that time to the end of the Colonial period, these visits were rather regular.<sup>85</sup>

Between 1723 and 1728 James Winright, a surveyor from Albemarle County, moved to Beaufort and immediately became prominent in local affairs.<sup>86</sup> In the ensuing years, he invested heavily in

<sup>75</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

<sup>76</sup> It was needing repairs in 1742. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1. Provisions were made to replace it with a new one in 1756. Carteret Court Minutes, II, 227, 229, 278.

<sup>77</sup> In 1770 an act was passed for improving the town of Beaufort which stipulated that 10s. of every 30 received from the sale of lots in the town were to go "to the Church Wardens of the Parish of St. John's for and towards building a Church in the said Town." Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 806. In 1774 David Lewis willed £100 proclamation money, toward "Building a Church in Beaufort Town. . . ." Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 64. There is no evidence that such a building was erected in the Colonial period.

<sup>78</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 97-98.

<sup>79</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3.

<sup>80</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 9.

<sup>81</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 23.

<sup>82</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25, 31, 34, 41.

<sup>83</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25, and *passim*. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 265-266, 326, 565, 1,047-1,048; VII, 99; IX, 244.

<sup>86</sup> In 1723 he was described as "of Albemarle County." Carteret Grant Books, D, 3. By 1728 he was a resident of Carteret Precinct. Carteret Deed Books, D, 1. In 1731 he described himself as a surveyor. Carteret Deed Books, D, 87.

real estate in the town<sup>87</sup> and held numerous offices in the local government.<sup>88</sup> An indication of the stature of this citizen of Beaufort is seen in the fact that before he died in late 1744 or early 1745,<sup>89</sup> he made his will stipulating that at the death of his wife all that he owned in Beaufort was to become an endowment for a school. The profits and rents on all of this property were to be used "for The encouragement of a Sober Discreet Quallified Man to teach . . . at Least Reading Writing Vulgar & Decimal Arithmetick in the . . . town. . . ." He also gave £50 sterling to be applied toward building a house on some part of his land to serve both as a schoolhouse and as a dwelling for the schoolteacher. He even went so far as to provide for a measure of academic freedom. The schoolmaster, he declared, "Shall not be obliged to teach or take under his Care any Schoolar or Schoolars Imposed on him by the Trustees herein Mentioned or their Succesors or by any other person, But Shall have free Liberty to teach & take under his Care Such and so many Schoolars as he Shall think Convenient. . . ." <sup>90</sup>

The direct results of the gift by James Winright are not known. It is significant, though, that within five years there was a schoolhouse at the Straits, not far from Beaufort,<sup>91</sup> and that by 1765 the vestry had appointed a man to employ three schoolteachers to serve the parish.<sup>92</sup> Before 1776 Samuel Leffers, who described himself as a schoolmaster, was living in Beaufort.<sup>93</sup>

Throughout the Colonial period, Beaufort remained small and played a minor role in the over-all economy and politics of the colony. Though it was one of the colony's few seaports, it was never as important as Edenton. These facts, however, do not detract from its significance. Through Indian attack, the destruction of tropical hurricanes, and the ravages of enemy privateers, the settlement within Topsail Inlet persisted to give Colonial Beaufort a significant place in the history of North Carolina.

<sup>87</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim*. In 1742 Winright became the owner of all the town lands not previously sold. Carteret Deed Books, D, 301-302.

<sup>88</sup> He was a town commissioner by virtue of the fact that he was owner of the town lands. He served also as treasurer of Carteret Precinct, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 403-404; vestryman, Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1; clerk of court, Carteret Court Minutes, I, 73; and coroner, Carteret Court Minutes, I, 104.

<sup>89</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Secretary of State Papers, North Carolina Wills, 1663-1789, Archives, XXXV, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 13.

<sup>92</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 48.

<sup>93</sup> Carteret Deed Books, I, 251-252.

# REPUBLICANISM IN NORTH CAROLINA: JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD'S CAMPAIGN TO REVIVE A MORIBUND PARTY, 1908-1910

BY JOSEPH F. STEELMAN\*

The unanimous nomination of John Motley Morehead by the North Carolina fifth district Republican congressional convention in 1908 was symbolic of a change of party strategy in the state and in the South. Progressive-minded Republicans had long maintained that leaders of questionable caliber, patronage brokers, referees, and the officeholding clique that dominated the party had deliberately thwarted its growth. Whatever gains were registered by Republicans could be credited in part to the apathy that prevailed in the Democratic ranks after 1900. If the party were kept small it was believed that the spoils of office dispensed by a Republican administration could be monopolized by a privileged few. Morehead's candidacy was calculated to reverse this strategy and to revitalize the party.<sup>1</sup>

As a businessman candidate, Morehead solicited votes and financial support from the rising industrial and commercial interests of North Carolina. He lacked previous political experience, and he had not become identified with the bitter factional alignments in the Republican party. He had not served previously as an officeholder nor was he labeled a patronage broker or a professional politician. Morehead was the grandson and namesake of a distinguished Whig leader and governor and was heir to a celebrated family tradition. He was born in Charlotte in 1866, attended the public schools of that city, and later enrolled in the famed Bingham Military School. In 1886 he graduated from The University of North Carolina after which he completed a business course at Bryant and Stratton College in Baltimore.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Henry W. Miller to J. Elwood Cox, February 4, 1907, and H. Sinclair Williams to J. Elwood Cox, February 12, 1908, J. Elwood Cox Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Cox Papers; *The Caucasian* (Raleigh), April 9, May 7, August 20, September 10, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Caucasian*; *Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), September 1, 1908, hereinafter cited as *Daily Industrial News*.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Industrial News*, September 3, 1908.

Morehead's business interests were varied and extensive. He had commenced his business career as collecting teller in the Commercial National Bank of Charlotte. Later he became a buyer and dealer in leaf tobacco in Durham. His farming and real estate interests were located in Mecklenburg, Rockingham, and Cabarrus counties. In 1898 he removed to Leaksville where, as vice-president of the Leaksville Woolen Mills, he became affiliated in business with his father, Colonel John L. Morehead and his uncle, J. Turner Morehead. The Leaksville blankets manufactured by this firm were distributed widely to the hotel trade by the firm of John Wanamaker of Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup>

A combination of circumstances prompted Morehead's decision to enter the congressional race in 1908. The adverse reaction of business interests, particularly railroads, to the liberal legislative measures of North Carolina's 1907 session kindled Republican hopes for victory. Party leaders, mindful of widespread discontent with liberal Democratic legislation, insisted that it was time for the business element in the Republican party to take a more active role in politics.<sup>4</sup> Republicans also appealed to disaffected Democrats who were outspokenly opposed to the candidacy and platform of William Jennings Bryan. A goodly number of Democrats were alienated by the avowedly liberal Democratic gubernatorial nominee William Walton Kitchin.<sup>5</sup> While Republicans did not make an issue of prohibition, they could capitalize upon the discontent of many Democrats who viewed the prohibition referendum as a denial of local self-government and home rule.<sup>6</sup>

In the fifth congressional district, made up of the counties of Alamance, Caswell, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry, Republicans highlighted the bitter intraparty factional attack which had been launched against the Democratic congressional candidate, Aubrey Lee Brooks. It was unlikely that Morehead could defeat the incumbent congressman of the fifth district, William Walton Kitchin, but when Kitchin received the gubernatorial nomination and removed himself from congressional

<sup>3</sup> John Motley Morehead III, *The Morehead Family in North Carolina and Virginia* (New York: Privately printed, 1921), 64.

<sup>4</sup> James H. Chadbourn to Benjamin Newton Duke, November 4, 1908, Benjamin Newton Duke Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Duke Papers; *The Caucasian*, September 24, 1908; *Daily Industrial News*, October 31, 1908; *Statesville Landmark*, September 8, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> Marion Butler to J. Elwood Cox, August 1, 12, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>6</sup> *New Bern Daily Journal*, February 11, 1908; *Asheville Gazette-News*, May 4, 1908; *Winston-Salem Journal*, May 19, 1908; *The High Point Enterprise*, October 28, 1908.

politics, the way was opened for a contest against Brooks to fill his seat.<sup>7</sup>

Morehead's decision to enter the congressional race was also influenced by the nomination of Jonathan Elwood Cox, High Point furniture manufacturer and banker, as Republican gubernatorial candidate. Cox wired Morehead from the Republican state convention in Charlotte and urged that he enter the race.<sup>8</sup> Earlier the names of Alfred Eugene Holton and William Preston Bynum, Jr., had been mentioned as likely candidates, but the only leader to receive widespread endorsement was John W. Fries, prominent Winston-Salem manufacturer. Fries withdrew his name from nomination and his decision led subsequently to Morehead's selection as candidate.<sup>9</sup>

Morehead planned to solicit the co-operation of "every mill man (official or owner) in the district"; he broadened his campaign to include "mill operatives." He and Cox proposed to rally support from "all classes of manufacturing."<sup>10</sup> The tactics of the campaign involved appeals to those interests, particularly textile interests, that favored protective tariff policies. Morehead was assured of the support of railroad interests that blamed Democrats for the rate legislation of 1907.<sup>11</sup> Substantial contributions to the Republican campaign chest were made with a view to more active party participation in legislation at state and national levels.<sup>12</sup> "While I have no stomach for the job, even if elected," Morehead confided, "I believe a business ticket all around will raise the standard of the party tremendously in the state. . . ." At the same time he assailed the role of the "professional politician and chronic office seeker."<sup>13</sup> The advocates of a businessman's ticket placed especial emphasis upon the need for North Carolina to take a more prominent role in national politics. They concluded that the only way to accomplish this objective was to elect Republican candidates.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A *Pocket Manual of North Carolina* . . . ([Raleigh]: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1909), 144; John Motley Morehead, *Charges Originated with Eminent Democrats and Are Not Denied* (broadside), North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; *Daily Industrial News*, October 11, 1908; Aubrey Lee Brooks, *A Southern Lawyer, Fifty Years at the Bar* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 82-87.

<sup>8</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 11, November 16, 1908; David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, November 10, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>9</sup> John W. Fries to J. Elwood Cox, August 3, 1908, and David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, July 9, September 1, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, September 1, 1908.

<sup>10</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 21, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>11</sup> Gilliam Grissom to Benjamin Duke, September 29, 1908, Duke Papers; J. S. White to J. Elwood Cox, August 31, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, October 9, 1908.

<sup>12</sup> Benjamin Newton Duke to John C. Angier, October 23, 1908, Duke Papers.

<sup>13</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, August 28, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, October 31, 1908.

<sup>14</sup> *The Caucasian*, September 10, 24, 1908.

The campaign of 1908, therefore, involved a more determined effort than heretofore to elect Republican candidates. At the same time, the Republican spokesmen were attempting a complete overhaul and re-orientation of the party. For the first time in the history of the party its presidential candidate, William Howard Taft, conducted a campaign tour of the state.<sup>15</sup> The initiative in the state campaign was assumed by Thomas Settle, Marion Butler, Elwood Cox, and Morehead. They were advised about many aspects of party strategy by William Garrott Brown. Nationally prominent as a political essayist and historian, Brown had retired from his lectureship in American history at Harvard University and his writing career to undergo treatment for tuberculosis at Asheville. His articles on Republican party strategy appeared in New York newspapers, the *World's Work*, and *Harper's Weekly*, and his principal theme involved the rebuilding of the Republican party in the South. Brown claimed that he wrote the Republican state platform in North Carolina in 1908.<sup>16</sup>

Morehead and Cox were neophytes in politics and represented the industrial and commercial interests of the Piedmont. Settle was a seasoned politician and former congressman who rallied support for the party from his residence in Asheville. Butler's career in politics as Populist and Republican had been characterized by unending crises. It was anticipated that from his stronghold in Sampson County he would anchor the eastern wing of the party. His strongly worded editorials in *The Caucasian* of Raleigh set the tone of the campaign. For many years Butler had been engaged in a running attack upon patronage brokers in the party. It should be added, however, that he was engaged in a good deal of influence peddling from his law office in the nation's capital.<sup>17</sup>

Since Republicans had abandoned the Negro and contended during the campaign of 1908 that William Jennings Bryan was meeting secretly with Negro delegations, the obvious strategy for them to pursue was to make the party attractive to disaffected Democrats.<sup>18</sup> To accomplish this end a strong appeal was made to industrial leaders,

<sup>15</sup> *Daily Industrial News*, October 18, 1908; *The Caucasian*, October 22, 1908; *The Union Republican* (Winston), October 22, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Union Republican*.

<sup>16</sup> William Garrott Brown to Thomas Settle, September 1, 1908, Thomas Settle to J. Elwood Cox, September 2, 4, 1908, and William Garrott Brown to J. Elwood Cox, October 7, 16, 1908, Cox Papers; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 3, 10, 13, 1908; *World's Work*, XVI (August, 1908), 10,516-10,517.

<sup>17</sup> *The Caucasian*, November 12, 1908.

<sup>18</sup> Iredell Meares to J. Elwood Cox, July 27, 1908, William J. Leary to J. Elwood Cox, September 4, 1908, S. Arthur White to J. Elwood Cox, September 12, 1908, and George E. Butler to J. Elwood Cox, September 30, 1908, Cox Papers; *The Union Republican*, February 13, March 5, July 30, October 29, 1908; *The Caucasian*, July 16, August 13, 1908; *Statesville Landmark*, February 11, 1908.

of whom the most conspicuous was Daniel Augustus Tompkins of Charlotte. Thomas Settle had launched a movement during the summer of 1908 to nominate Tompkins as Republican gubernatorial candidate. Tompkins confided, "I have not seen my way clear to undertake to inaugurate any new movement at the present time."<sup>19</sup> Therefore he declined the Republican nomination. Nonetheless, he assisted Republican gubernatorial candidate Elwood Cox in writing campaign speeches, and he borrowed heavily from ideas he had received from Walter Hines Page.<sup>20</sup> Tompkins publicly supported Taft and he was quoted by the *Baltimore American* to have declared: "Thank heaven the day has gone in North Carolina when to cast a Republican ballot invited censure and ostracism."<sup>21</sup> At about the same time the Democratic state chairman gratefully acknowledged a contribution of \$20 from Tompkins toward the state campaign expenses.<sup>22</sup>

In the presidential, gubernatorial, and congressional races of 1908, Republicans of North Carolina made unprecedented gains. In five congressional districts Taft's vote was greater than Bryan's.<sup>23</sup> Morehead's election to Congress from the fifth district and the election of two other Republicans, Charles Holden Cowles in the eighth district and John G. Grant in the tenth district, emboldened party strategists to intensify their campaign to break the "Solid South." The *Daily Industrial News* of Greensboro reported that Taft had written Elwood Cox that the election of Morehead to Congress was the greatest Republican victory in the United States in 1908, and it speculated that Morehead might be Taft's running mate in 1912.<sup>24</sup> It was noted that Morehead's election as a businessman Republican in a strongly Democratic district was the first such victory for the party south of the Potomac.<sup>25</sup> William Preston Bynum, Jr., who served as chairman of Morehead's campaign committee, declared, "he was elected because he ran independent of the machine; otherwise he would not have been elected." Bynum concluded that if Taft wished to make North Caro-

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Settle to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 5, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to W. H. Ragan, July 15, 1908, Daniel Augustus Tompkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Tompkins Papers.

<sup>20</sup> Arthur W. Page to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 13, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Arthur W. Page, July 15, 1908; Walter Hines Page to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, July 28, 1908; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 31, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in *Daily Industrial News*, September 30, 1908; see also, Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 31, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Adolphus H. Eller to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, October 19, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

<sup>23</sup> William Howard Taft to J. Elwood Cox, November 30, 1908, Cox Papers; *Daily Industrial News*, November 8, 29, 1908; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 6, 1908.

<sup>24</sup> *Daily Industrial News*, November 14, 1908.

<sup>25</sup> *The Caucasian*, January 6, 1910.

lina Republican, he would "find it necessary to use other instrumentalities than what is known as the 'organization.'" <sup>26</sup>

A *New York Times* reporter claimed that Morehead regarded his election as a personal calamity. He had not expected to win, and his only purpose was to cut down the Democratic majority. He did not have the slightest idea of being elected; he did not make speeches; he did not attend meetings; and he refused to meet Aubrey L. Brooks in debate. The reporter quoted Morehead as saying that he had been "badly betrayed" by his warmest friends. "I never went into anything so half-heartedly in all my life. I am a business man; I don't know anything about politics, and care less," Morehead was reported to have said. <sup>27</sup> When this was brought to Morehead's attention he branded it as a lie and remarked that "no interview of any kind has been given and the first article in the Times was as much news to me as any one else. . . ." <sup>28</sup> Newspaper accounts from North Carolina indicated that Morehead spoke extensively during the campaign.

Encouraged by the election of three Republican congressmen from North Carolina, William Garrott Brown recommended that southern Republicans abandon their policy of deliberately stunting the party's growth and catering to delegate-delivering machines of federal officeholders. In order to achieve this purpose Brown urged that Taft make a speech at once and announce his southern policy. Morehead was advised of these plans. When Brown was prevented by illness from visiting Taft in New York, Walter Hines Page took his place and prevailed upon the president-elect to address the North Carolina Society of New York at the Hotel Astor on December 7, 1908. <sup>29</sup> This was considered to be Taft's opening round in a campaign to break the "Solid South." After a flowery introduction by Page, Taft told his southern friends that election laws prevented domination of states, counties, or municipalities by "an ignorant electorate of white or black." The Negro, he declared, should have an equal chance to qualify himself for the franchise, and he denounced proposals to repeal the fifteenth amendment. He proposed agricultural and industrial training for the Negro. The federal government, he added, had nothing to do with social equality and the Civil War amend-

<sup>26</sup> William Preston Bynum, Jr., to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, June 24, 1909, Henry Edward Cowan Bryant Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Bryant Papers.

<sup>27</sup> *The New York Times*, November 12, 1908.

<sup>28</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Gilmer Korner, November 17, 1908, Duke Papers; see also, John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, November 16, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>29</sup> William Garrott Brown to William R. Thayer, November 13, 1908, William Garrott Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers; William Garrott Brown to J. Elwood Cox, November 17, 18, December 5, 1908, and John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, December 1, 1908, Cox Papers.

ments did not declare social equality. With the removal of the race question from politics he maintained there could be a division along economic lines. At the conclusion of this address that was obviously intended to soothe the ears of southerners, Taft remarked "the best friend the Negro can have is the southern white man."<sup>30</sup>

If Taft's southern policy were to be effective, it was necessary to lure Democrats into the Republican camp. The key figure in North Carolina upon whom Republicans lavished attention was Daniel A. Tompkins. Thomas Settle urged that Tompkins accept a cabinet post. "You, Morehead, Cox and myself can by co-operation in the present status of affairs, I think, accomplish a great deal for good results in the general situation," Settle confided.<sup>31</sup> But while Tompkins might be a man of Republican principles when it came to active participation in politics he had feet of clay. His ardor commenced to wane when he was told that Taft was anxious to see him and Joseph P. Caldwell and James Calvin Hemphill during a golfing holiday in Augusta, Georgia.<sup>32</sup> "I have never been in politics and don't want to have the semblance of now actually entering into the political field. I therefore think it best for me not to make any visit to Augusta on my own motion, nor with the committee of a party which is distinctly Republican and political," Tompkins pleaded. Two weeks later he advised that he "particularly wished to avoid any semblance of purely political relations" with Taft, and he begged Elwood Cox to visit in Augusta and "suggest the propriety of letting this whole subject drop for the present."<sup>33</sup>

Taft was eager to meet his southern friends. He suggested a meeting in Augusta on December 21, 22, or 23, and when he found their time was taken up with "previous engagements" he proposed "any time" during the first week of January.<sup>34</sup> When it was revealed that the Augusta meetings were intended to launch Taft or Independent clubs in the South, Joseph P. Caldwell pleaded that he too be excused "from this unfortunate complication without further embarrassment."<sup>35</sup> Tompkins remarked: "It is an exceedingly delicate matter

<sup>30</sup> *The New York Times*, December 8, 1908; see also, *Daily Industrial News*, December 8, 1908.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Settle to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, November 15, 25, 1908, Tompkins Papers. Marion Butler also suggested that Tompkins be considered for a cabinet position. See Marion Butler to William Howard Taft, January 6, 1909; Marion Butler to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, January 23, 1909, Tompkins Papers.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph Pearson Caldwell to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, December 14, 1908, Cox Papers; Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Thomas Settle, November 24, 1908, and Richard H. Edmonds to Daniel Augustus Tompkins, November 23, 1908, Tompkins Papers.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Augustus Tompkins to J. Elwood Cox, December 19, 31, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>34</sup> William Howard Taft to J. Elwood Cox, December 19, 23, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Pearson Caldwell to J. Elwood Cox, January 1, 1909, Cox Papers.

to write about, or even talk about, but the southern man who wishes to be at the same time conservative in his loyalty to the people of the South and liberal in his views upon political and economic subjects, cannot bring himself to the appearance of going over bodily to the Republican party."<sup>36</sup>

The much publicized plans of Morehead, Cox, Settle, Butler, and Brown to Republicanize the state and thereby seize the initiative in the South received a jolting setback when Tompkins and Caldwell balked at the prospect of closer affiliation with Taft. Undaunted by Tompkins' vascillating role, Taft conferred with southern leaders in Augusta on December 31, 1908, and it was shortly reported that he had served notice that the party in the South would not be run for the convention votes it would yield. While eating opossum, sweet potatoes, and persimmon sauce Taft announced that he intended to bring the South into closer relationship with national politics, and he indicated that he would appoint men of character, reputation, and ability. He would seek the most eligible candidates for office whether they were Republicans or Democrats.<sup>37</sup>

Long before Morehead was installed in office, he found that his time would be preoccupied with patronage matters. "It is a great misfortune to the Republican Party that there is no job for every man who voted the ticket," he wrote Elwood Cox, "and this business is getting on my nerves."<sup>38</sup> It was evident that Morehead would be opposed by the "organization" leaders in his own party, the state chairman Spencer Bell Adams and the national committeeman Edward Carl Duncan.<sup>39</sup> In matters involving the patronage there had been ample warning that Taft might appoint a Democrat to a lucrative federal post; his address to the Republican state convention in Greensboro in 1906 had served as a forewarning of his intentions.<sup>40</sup>

The appointment of Henry Groves Connor as federal district judge for the eastern North Carolina district following the death of Thomas R. Purnell nonetheless came as a great shock to Morehead and the Republican state organization. A prominent Democrat from Wilson, Connor had served with distinction as associate justice of the state Supreme Court. Morehead supported unsuccessfully the appointment

<sup>36</sup> Daniel Augustus Tompkins to Henry Edward Cowan Bryant, December 30, 1908, Daniel Augustus Tompkins Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Tompkins Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>37</sup> *The Caucasian*, January 7, 21, 28, 1909.

<sup>38</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, February 6, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>39</sup> William Garrott Brown to A. Piatt Andrew, June 29, 1910, Brown Papers; *The Caucasian*, June 24, 1909.

<sup>40</sup> *The Caucasian*, April 22, 1909; *Times-Mercury* (Hickory), May 19, 1909; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 21, 1909, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; *World's Work*, XVII (March, 1909), 11,299-11,300.

of Thomas Settle to this position. "It is nothing short of a travesty that the most representative man from any and every standpoint and the natural leader and the pack-horse of Republicanism in North Carolina should fail to receive from this administration the reward that he merits," Morehead complained.<sup>41</sup> Taft was adamant that the judge should be a resident of the eastern district and when the names of former Populists were submitted for his consideration, he was reported to have exclaimed that he intended to appoint a "judge."<sup>42</sup> Morehead confided to Elwood Cox: "But for the internecine warfare in the Party, which gives me an abiding disgust for politics, we could land Settle over Mr. Taft's objection to residence." And he added "the fact that Pritchard and Duncan have been astraddle of Settle's neck for the past twelve years should cause his friends to rally to him now that Mr. Taft has shot a hole in the machine that permits the passage of not a four-horse team but a man-of-war."<sup>43</sup> Morehead was eager that the business elements in the Republican party rally behind Settle; he recalled "... Taft has said he would not consider any man who has affiliated with the Populists, which practically eliminates all Republicans mentioned for the position within the district."<sup>44</sup> He undertook to persuade the President to go outside the district for a candidate and in this instance he failed. Edward C. Duncan, the national committeeman, was accused of abandoning the Republican candidate who sought this position.<sup>45</sup> Marion Butler's *Caucasian* for months had encouraged the President to assume greater independence in making appointments and it urged him to select the best man, whether a Republican or a Democrat. In the light of Connor's appointment *The Caucasian* sternly observed that Taft had misapplied the principle.<sup>46</sup> While virtually all factions in the Republican party were opposed to Connor's appointment, there were confidential assurances from some Republicans that Taft's selection met with hearty approval.<sup>47</sup>

When Taft called Congress into special session in 1909 to commence work on the tariff, Morehead was anxious to focus his attention

<sup>41</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, March 30, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>42</sup> *World's Work*, XVIII (June, 1909), 11,635; (July, 1909), 11,733; see Taft's comment to a Charlotte audience on May 20, 1909, in *The Caucasian*, May 27, 1909.

<sup>43</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, April 2, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>44</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, April 2, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>45</sup> Edward C. Duncan to J. Elwood Cox, April 23, May 15, 1909, Cox Papers. For information on aspirants to the position, see J. Frank Liles to J. Elwood Cox, March 22, 1909; Herbert F. Seawell to J. Elwood Cox, January 23, April 20, 1909; Harry Skinner to J. Elwood Cox, December 21, 1908; E. W. Timberlake to J. Elwood Cox, December 14, 1908, Cox Papers.

<sup>46</sup> *The Caucasian*, May 13, 1909.

<sup>47</sup> Henry Groves Connor to J. Elwood Cox, May 15, 1909; Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, May 15, 1909, Cox Papers.

upon this question and related economic issues. He believed the industrial interests of North Carolina and the southern states were entitled to protection, and he was greatly interested in a program of ship subsidies that would promote the export trade.<sup>48</sup> From a practical standpoint, however, Morehead found that his time was preoccupied with patronage matters. Increasingly he disagreed with Taft, the postmaster-general, Frank H. Hitchcock, and with "organization" Republicans on the matter of political appointments. Two controversial incidents in particular led to Morehead's disenchantment with party leaders.

The first involved the appointment of William Henry Glasson as director of the census in the fifth congressional district. When Glasson's appointment was announced Morehead exploded in a towering rage: "Mr. Taft's, Mr. Cox's and my votes in the last campaign were predicated upon a new dispensation within our State and a relief from conditions which had long prevailed." He described Glasson as a "quasi-resident" of the state, "being a professor at Trinity College in Durham," whose name was unknown and whose nomination was protested by the Durham County organization.<sup>49</sup> Morehead had recommended his close friend, David H. Blair of Winston-Salem, as census supervisor, and he expostulated to Joseph G. Cannon that Edward C. Duncan had blacklisted Blair.<sup>50</sup> Duncan's personal vendetta against the new industrial leaders among Republicans was inferred. Morehead declared: "The difficulty with the Republican Party in North Carolina is that it . . . is in the hands of an absolute dictatorship, and these dictators have in view nothing but the control of Federal patronage."<sup>51</sup> He had hoped that a new order would be proclaimed after the election of 1908 and to Cannon he confided: "Mr. Taft told me voluntarily and without initiative on my part that he 'would be damned if he stood for the heretofore existing order of affairs in the State.' To date he has failed to put into effect that declaration but a condition of absolute dictatorship is still held by the National Committeeman through his friendship and association with Mr. Hitchcock."<sup>52</sup> Morehead concluded that the best element of the party supported his position.

<sup>48</sup> *Congressional Record*, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, Volume 45, Part 6, 6,296ff., and Volume 45, Part 8, 8,289-8,294; John Motley Morehead, "The Commerical and Political Evolution of North Carolina," *Editorial Review* (November, 1910), 1,146-1,153.

<sup>49</sup> John Motley Morehead to Joseph M. Dixon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>50</sup> John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909; see also, David H. Blair to J. Elwood Cox, September 23, 1909; John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 18, 1909; Gilliam Grissom to J. Elwood Cox, September 16, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>51</sup> John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>52</sup> John Motley Morehead to Joseph G. Cannon, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

"I shall leave no stone unturned," Morehead asserted, "to prevent the confirmation of Dr. Glasson. If the present status is maintained," he added, "my entrance into politics and election will have been worse than meaningless and futile."<sup>53</sup> He was determined to force a showdown. The enlistment of Senator Joseph M. Dixon's support apparently led to the withdrawal of Glasson's name and to Blair's appointment. Dixon remarked that the director of the census, E. Dana Durand, suggested Glasson's name as a compliment to his former college classmate and that factional differences between Duncan and Morehead had no bearing upon the matter.<sup>54</sup> It was reported that Morehead had threatened to resign if Glasson's appointment were confirmed; however, he categorically denied this rumor.<sup>55</sup> The *Asheville Gazette-News* cynically observed that Morehead's campaign for Blair "made efforts of old line professionals seem modest."<sup>56</sup>

The deluge of applications, letters of recommendation, backstage manipulations and influence peddling connected with the spoils of office drove Morehead to distraction. His long and patient efforts to secure for Elwood Cox the post of ambassador to Switzerland ended in failure.<sup>57</sup> Increasingly, Morehead was convinced that his efforts to rebuild the party were betrayed by Frank H. Hitchcock and Edward C. Duncan. As a congressman, Morehead realized that his influence was limited. Gradually the idea took root in his mind that the way to rebuild the party in North Carolina was to gain control of the entire state organization.<sup>58</sup>

Early in 1910 the campaign to remove Spencer B. Adams and Edward C. Duncan was launched in earnest. William Garrott Brown was enlisted to contribute frequent editorial paragraphs to George Harvey of *Harper's Weekly* and to Walter Hines Page, editor of *World's Work*. He projected the party struggle in North Carolina into newspapers and magazines that were read throughout the nation. The principal theme of his editorial comments indicted Hitchcock and the "pie hunting brigades" of machine politicians who had betrayed Taft's southern policy. Brown described Hitchcock as the political manager of the administration; it was he who controlled

<sup>53</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, September 18, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph M. Dixon to J. Elwood Cox, September 29, 1909; Joseph M. Dixon to John Motley Morehead, September 29, 1909; John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, October 7, November 19, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>55</sup> *The Caucasian*, November 25, December 2, 1909.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted in *The Caucasian*, December 16, 1909.

<sup>57</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, March 20, 23, 26, 27, December 4, 13, 1909, Cox Papers.

<sup>58</sup> John Motley Morehead to J. Elwood Cox, February 5, June 23, 1910, Cox Papers; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, May 25, 1910, Brown Papers; *The Caucasian*, November 11, 1909, July 21, 1910.

southern machines which delivered one-third of the delegates to the national conventions of the party. Referring to North Carolina, the historian declared that a movement had been started to fight such an undemocratic system, to repudiate Hitchcock's referees and his servile following, and to replace them with men who commanded the respect of the state.<sup>59</sup>

Alfred Eugene Holton candidly remarked that "those who in the inception of Taft's candidacy were apparently opposed to him appear now to be in the saddle and his friends in this state seem to be getting it in the neck." Holton recalled that in 1907 Theodore Roosevelt called him and Harry Skinner to the White House and advised them that Duncan, Adams, and Hitchcock were attempting to defeat Taft's nomination. At that time Hitchcock was managing George B. Cortelyou's bid for the presidential nomination.<sup>60</sup> Morehead believed that Roosevelt had called a conference with J. Pierpont Morgan and prevailed upon him to switch from Cortelyou to Taft with the understanding that Hitchcock would be "placed in charge of Taft." Apparently this was the reason why Hitchcock took "unprecedented liberties" in dictating appointments and why Taft's friends had been betrayed.<sup>61</sup>

Through Thomas Settle's efforts Brown was introduced to Morehead.<sup>62</sup> Brown's editorial comments projected the congressman's crusade in North Carolina onto the national scene. After reading "The South in National Politics," which Brown published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Morehead commented: "Without 'slopping over' as Joe Caldwell would say, it is a classic, and it is the key note to the political redemption of the South and its reinstatement in the affairs of the Nation and it is along these lines that my feeble efforts are trained."<sup>63</sup> With the appearance of Brown's editorial paragraphs in *Harper's Weekly* he and Morehead commenced a frequent and especially interesting exchange of correspondence on the direction of party strategy.

Newspaper editorials from throughout the state anticipated the

<sup>59</sup> William Garrott Brown to E. S. Martin, January 21, 1909, and John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 12, April 16, 1910, Brown Papers; *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (January 15, 1910), 4-5; (February 26, 1910), 5; (March 12, 1910), 4; (May 21, 1910), 4-5; (July 9, 1910), 5.

<sup>60</sup> Alfred Eugene Holton to John Motley Morehead, March 2, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>61</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, April 21, 1910; see also, William Garrott Brown to John Motley Morehead, July 4, 1910; William Garrott Brown to E. S. Martin, July 2, 1910; A. Piatt Andrew to William Garrott Brown, June 23, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, March 4, 1910; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 8, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>63</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, April 27, 1910, Brown Papers.

contest between Morehead and Duncan for the chairmanship of the party in the Republican state convention of 1910. Thomas Settle and Edmond Spencer Blackburn organized support for Morehead in the western counties, and Marion Butler and Harry Skinner rallied delegates in the East. All indications pointed to the largest state convention in the party's history and to a desperate struggle for power. The "old line" Republicans could count upon the leadership of Duncan and support from Spencer B. Adams, Isaac Meekins, Jeter C. Pritchard, Thomas S. Rollins, and Virgil S. Lusk. Morehead's bid for power was opposed strongly by the *Asheville Gazette-News*, the *Greensboro Daily News*, and the *Southern Republican* of Charlotte.<sup>64</sup>

On the eve of the Republican state convention Morehead wrote to William Garrott Brown a full and candid analysis of the situation. In words that frankly revealed his political aspirations he recalled:

I had a long talk with the President just before leaving Washington with the net result that he expressed great interest in our coming endeavor to reorganize the party at the State Convention . . . and he practically agreed to make *no* recess appointments. This was most important and while he declined to commit himself, he dismissed me with the remark—"Well, Morehead, I think we understand each other."

Morehead was reassured through a "Senatorial medium" that no recess appointments would be made. "I will not stand for renomination to Congress," he added, "and thereby hangs a tale."

In discussing the North Carolina situation with around two hundred men of more or less political prominence and in corresponding with thousands of the rank and file of the party, this situation has been presented:

A re-organization of the party is essential to success at the polls for the reason (if for no other) that recruits will not come to us as long as the party has for its chief object of existence the control and dispensation of the patronage. It is believed (justly or unjustly) that this one feature constitutes seventy-five percent of the Republican view-point and excuse for existence as the party is to-day.

The balance of power in the State is embodied in a class of men who are the cream of our citizenship — from the mental, social and business standpoint. These men are disgusted with Democratic tendencies and will actively embrace Republicanism as soon as the Republicans demonstrate they place policy above pie. This being the case, it has been pre-

<sup>64</sup> *The Caucasian*, March 3, 10, April 28, May 19, June 9, 23, July 28, 1910; *The News and Observer*, July 24, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 4, March 17, 1910; Marion Butler to James H. Ramsay, July 15, 1910, and John Motley Morehead to James H. Ramsay, August 1, 1910, James Graham Ramsay Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

sented that if the progressive element could elect any chairman at all, they could elect me and if they cannot elect me they can elect nobody — and the net result of all the discussion and correspondence is that I am standing for the chairmanship but not for Congress.<sup>65</sup>

Morehead believed that 90 per cent of the voters in the Republican party would support his decision. He acknowledged that his following was “an untrained host against a thoroughly trained and developed organization, which is fighting for its political life.”<sup>66</sup>

In anticipation of the state convention in Greensboro, Morehead and Settle instructed Brown to draft the state platform.<sup>67</sup> It was agreed that the platform “should be the consistent work of one man, rather than the crazy quilt work of a number. . . .” Morehead reviewed Brown’s draft and called it “a superb document,” although he favored “a little more coloring matter on state matters” which he said Settle could provide.<sup>68</sup> Settle called it “a dandy, a corker, just the thing needed at this time.”<sup>69</sup> Brown inserted a plank favoring the Appalachian Forest Preserve which he recalled “got lost in the shuffle.” He did not claim authorship for the plank that called for state purchase of public school textbooks. Otherwise the document was his own. It is noteworthy that the newspapers were unaware of Brown’s role in formulating party strategy.<sup>70</sup>

Amidst the largest state Republican convention ever to assemble in North Carolina, Morehead emerged as the acknowledged leader of his party. Delegates filled the Greensboro Opera House to overflowing, and the convention was adjourned to the larger city auditorium. Morehead won the first round when his close friend Thomas Settle was elected convention chairman over Hamilton C. Ewart by a vote of 737 to 378. Frank Linney of Boone placed Morehead’s name in nomination for chairman of the state executive committee. Herbert F. Seawell of Carthage nominated Edward C. Duncan, and a third candidate, J. E. Alexander of Winston-Salem, was nominated by A. T. Grant of Davie County. The Duncan forces failed to transfer their support to Alexander, whose name was withdrawn, and Morehead was thereupon nominated by acclamation.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>66</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, July 27, 1910; Gilliam Grissom to William Garrott Brown, July 23, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Settle to William Garrott Brown, August 3, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>70</sup> William Garrott Brown to A. Piatt Andrew, September 22, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>71</sup> *The Union Republican*, August 11, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 11, 12, 1910; *The News and Observer*, August 11, 1910; *The Caucasian*, August 18, 1910.

The election of Morehead as state chairman obviously met with Taft's approval. In his acceptance speech the new chairman lashed out at the hackneyed issues of Reconstruction, force bills, and Negro voting and officeholding as relics of a past era. He reminded his audience that it did not live in the days of Appomattox and he rebuked Democrats who appealed solely to passion and prejudice. If the Republican party were dominated by one individual or machine, Morehead contended, it could never break the "Solid South" or encourage intelligent and self-respecting voters to assert their independence. He held his own party responsible for the state of affairs which he attacked. His reference to domination of the party by one individual could have been a reflection upon Edward C. Duncan or a repudiation of the charge that the new state chairman would be dominated by Marion Butler. Morehead assured the convention that Republican congressmen should control the patronage in their districts, and he added "such has not been my experience." He offered a greater local autonomy in the management of party affairs. He believed the movement that he represented would regain for the South its rightful influence in national politics.<sup>72</sup>

The convention of 1910 was hailed as an augury of change in Republican party tactics in the South.<sup>73</sup> The hopes of Morehead and his followers, however, proved to be chimerical. The revolt of the Insurgents already raged in the Congress. Taft had shown his political ineptitude on a number of occasions, much to the embarrassment of party leaders. Edward C. Duncan remained national committeeman in North Carolina and his influence would be a thorn in Morehead's side. A goodly number of Republicans in the state still smarted against Connor's appointment as federal district judge. Other Republicans, especially from the western counties, complained that Morehead had favored "commercial" Democrats and newcomers to the party and ignored the faithful of long standing. These disaffected elements counted heavily upon the bitter editorials in Walter Hildebrand's *Asheville Gazette-News*.<sup>74</sup>

It was ironic that the Republican party had made steady gains from 1900 to 1908. Morehead's election to Congress in 1908 was a

<sup>72</sup> John Motley Morehead, *Address Accepting the Unanimous Call of the Republican Convention to the State Chairmanship* (n.p., n.d., imprint of 4 pp.); *The Caucasian*, August 18, 1910.

<sup>73</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (August 13, 1910), 4; (August 20, 1910), 4; (October 29, 1910), 5.

<sup>74</sup> *The Caucasian*, January 6, 13, 20, February 10, June 16, 1910; *Asheville Gazette-News*, January 14, 1910; *Greensboro Daily News*, July 22, 1910; *Statesville Landmark*, September 27, 1910; *The News and Observer*, July 30, 31, 1910; D. C. Mangum to John Motley Morehead, April 29, 1910, and John Motley Morehead to D. C. Mangum, April 30, 1910, Brown Papers.

reflection of this trend. Yet as the new state chairman he was confronted with decisive Democratic victories in the 1910 election. All Republican congressional candidates were defeated. Morehead's elevation to the state chairmanship obviously did not heal the rift in Republican ranks. Furthermore, while Morehead eschewed the use of patronage as a political weapon he came to depend upon the spoils of office to assert his influence in the party. He claimed to be an amateur in politics but the men upon whom he depended for advice and support were experienced and sophisticated politicians.

Morehead's dynamic leadership and challenge to the Republicans also prompted renewed attacks from the Democrats. Josephus Daniels launched a counteroffensive immediately; in banner headlines his newspaper announced "REPUBLICAN SLOGAN ADOPTED YESTERDAY: BUTLER, BOOZE, BOODLE, BONDS." It was said that Morehead was completely dominated by Marion Butler and would present a respectable front for his sinister schemes. *The News and Observer* thundered, "Who is the leader whom the Republicans will follow in this campaign. He is a pilferer! Pilferer! Contemptible traducer!" Bondholding syndicates financed Butler and Morehead, the newspapers declared, and if Republicans were successful at the polls the state would be forced to pay principal and interest on the repudiated bonds. The local self-government plank was allegedly inserted by the liquor interests bent upon securing local option legislation. But the equivocal plank that was finally inserted in the platform, said the Democrats, betrayed the financial support that had been forthcoming from the liquor lobby. Although Republicans made no outward bid for the support of the Negro, Daniels maintained that later a calculated effort would be made to secure the Negro vote.<sup>75</sup> The intensity of the approaching campaign revealed that Morehead had profoundly stirred both political parties. As a businessman politician without previous experience he had impressed his style of campaigning upon Republicans in the brief span of two years.

<sup>75</sup> *The News and Observer*, August 11, 1910; see also, *The News and Observer*, August 12, 13, 14, 20, 1910.

# SERIOUS READING IN HALIFAX COUNTY 1860-1865

BY JAMES W. PATTON\*

A South Carolina poet, more effective in appraising than in improving the literary production of his native section, once wrote:

Alas for the South,  
Her books are grown fewer,  
She never was much given  
To literature.

That such a characterization would have applied with especial relevance to mid-nineteenth-century North Carolina is abundantly evident from the comments of both unfriendly and friendly contemporaries. Traveling through the South in 1856, Frederick Law Olmsted reported that "North Carolina has a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the Slave States."<sup>1</sup> Three years later the *Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh) observed that "according to the Census of 1850, there was more of ignorance in North Carolina, in proportion to population, than in any other state in the Union."<sup>2</sup>

The state's low rank in education was quite naturally reflected in the reading habits of its people, of which there were frequent complaints from newspaper editors and other interested persons during the ante-bellum period. The *Southern Weekly Post* (Raleigh) lamented in January, 1852, that "The spirit of reading is too low among our neighbors. Few, except professional men among us, have libraries that would furnish, separately, a month's reading to a true 'helluo librorum.'"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856), 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Spirit of the Age* (Raleigh), July 20, 1859, quoted in Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 805, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*.

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Weekly Post* (Raleigh), January 24, 1852, quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 805.

In addition to factors which affected the population generally, there were special restrictions upon the reading habits of women. The ideal woman was cultivated in the "polite arts" of dancing, music, drawing, and embroidery. She was fond of reading, said the *Leisure Hour* (Oxford), "but whenever she commenced a work without having previously been directed by some judicious and thoughtful friend, she would lay the book aside forever the moment her eyes fell upon an impure thought."<sup>4</sup>

To the conditions thus described there were, of course, notable exceptions, one of which is well represented by Mrs. Catherine Ann (Devereux) Edmondston of Halifax County whose Civil War diary shows its author to have been an avid reader, well acquainted with a wide variety of books and periodical literature.<sup>5</sup> A lineal descendant on her father's side from Jonathan Edwards; and through her mother from Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), a Church of England minister in colonial Connecticut and first president of King's College in New York; from William Samuel Johnson (1727-1819), a member of the Federal Convention of 1787 from Connecticut and first president of Columbia College in New York; and from the Bayard, Livingston, and other old Knickerbocker families, Mrs. Edmondston, according to one theory of genetics, might be thought to have inherited her reading habits from some one or more of her scholarly forebears. It is more probable that she derived an interest in books from associations in her childhood home and from tutors employed for her and her five sisters<sup>6</sup> by her father, Thomas Pollock Devereux, himself a graduate of Yale and master of arts from The University of North Carolina, a well-known Raleigh lawyer, United States district attorney, and reporter for the state Supreme Court, and operator of the family plantations, "Runeroi," "Barrows," "Connecanara," "Montrose" and "Polenta" in Bertie, Northampton, and Halifax counties. All that is known of his daughter's formal education is that for a time in the late 1830's she attended a school for girls conducted at Belmont, the former residence of Ludwell Lee in Loudoun County, Virginia.<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Edmondston and her husband<sup>8</sup> lived near Scotland Neck at

<sup>4</sup> *Leisure Hour* (Oxford), November 18, 1859 quoted in Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 228.

<sup>5</sup> This diary, in four manuscript volumes running from June, 1860, through July, 1865, with a few additional entries during October-December, 1865, and January, 1866, is preserved in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. It has recently been edited for publication by James W. Patton and Beth Crabtree, hereinafter cited as *Diary*.

<sup>6</sup> One of these sisters, who appears to have been similarly educated, was Mary Bayard (Devereux) Clarke who became one of North Carolina's best known poets.

<sup>7</sup> See *Diary*, October 21, 1861, and August 29, 1862.

<sup>8</sup> Patrick Muir Edmondston, a native of Charleston, South Carolina. The Edmondstons were married in 1846 and sometime thereafter went to live at "Barrows," one of

“Looking Glass” and “Hascosea,” two plantations which they operated, moving their residence back and forth from one to the other at different seasons of the year. As the mistress of nearly 100 slaves, an enthusiastic gardener, and an armchair strategist following almost daily through the newspapers the military fortunes of the Confederacy on both the eastern and western theaters of war, she enjoyed few leisure moments to record in the diary which she kept throughout the war years. Nevertheless she found time to read constantly in the better types of literature, the results of which, along with excerpts, quotations, and citations from works previously read, she employed in illustrations, descriptions, analyses, and analogies in her own writing.

In a time and place when Bible reading was regarded as an important part of the Plan of Salvation, it was to be expected that ability to quote from the Holy Scriptures would be a distinguishing mark of any reasonably well-read person; and so it was with Mrs. Edmondston. In commenting upon the fact that Major Robert Anderson, though otherwise beleaguered in Fort Sumter, was being allowed to buy fresh vegetables in the Charleston market in February, 1861, she wrote that “in place of simply feeding her enemy, South Carolina ‘brings forth butter in a lordly dish,’ though in better faith than did Jael” (in the Song of Deborah and Barak).<sup>9</sup> In April of the same year when her husband was about to enter the Confederate army, she noted that his absence “will be hard to bear, but courage! ‘As thy days, so shall thy strength be,’”<sup>10</sup> and on a Sunday in the following July, after attending church, she was moved to write that “never did I so desire the gift of song that I too, in the words of Deborah the Prophetess, might ‘sing unto the Lord.’ Non nobis Domine. Non nobis Domine, but unto thy name be the praise.”<sup>11</sup>

She taunted Lincoln and Seward with the threat that in retribution for their war of conquest, “conscience must at some time awake and ‘thy brother’s blood cryeth from the ground.’”<sup>12</sup> When Lincoln made what she considered “so egregious a blunder in the art of king-craft” by ordering the arrest and banishment of Clement L. Vallandigham, she exulted that “Job’s wish, ‘Oh! that mine enemy had written a book,’ comes to us now”;<sup>13</sup> when W. W. Holden began to inveigh against President Jefferson Davis in *The North Carolina Standard*

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the Devereux plantations in Northampton County, from which they moved prior to 1850 to the Scotland Neck area.

<sup>9</sup> Diary, February 18, 1861, quoting Judges 5:25.

<sup>10</sup> Diary, April 23, 1861, quoting Deuteronomy 33:25.

<sup>11</sup> Diary, July 21, 1861, quoting Judges 5:3 and Psalms 115:1.

<sup>12</sup> Diary, May 8, 1862, quoting Genesis 4:11.

<sup>13</sup> Diary, June 25, 1863, quoting Job 31:35.

(Raleigh), she enjoined him to "respect the powers that be, for they are ordained of God";<sup>14</sup> and when Davis persisted in keeping Braxton Bragg in command, "in spite of his repeated failures," she tried "to obey the Psalmist's injunction and not exercise myself in great matters, or things too high for me."<sup>15</sup> On more joyous occasions she could exclaim like Zechariah that "We are prisoners of hope,"<sup>16</sup> and with the Psalmist that "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage."<sup>17</sup> When enemy attacks were reported as imminent she found refuge in the thought that the Lord "shall be thy shield and buckler" and that "He will not suffer thy foot to be moved and He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep";<sup>18</sup> when Confederate victories over more strongly entrenched forces were announced, she remembered that "He giveth not the race to the swift nor the battle to the strong";<sup>19</sup> and when Federal successes had been registered on the battlefield, she could find consolation in "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."<sup>20</sup>

A southern Methodist bishop was once quoted as saying, "In my time I used to read Shakespeare and Scott and all those writers. But nowadays I read nothing but the Bible."<sup>21</sup> Not so with Mrs. Edmondston, who not only read but also remembered and quoted from the works of the Bard of Avon. Of Senator John J. Crittenden, whom she considered to "be in his dotage," because "he drivels so about this 'Glorious Union,'" during the Washington Peace Conference in February, 1861, she wrote "Let me not live after my flame lacks oil to be the snuff of younger spirits,' and his flame lacks it most essentially."<sup>22</sup> With a similar animus on another occasion she likened a junior officer of the Scotland Neck Mounted Riflemen, who had incurred her disfavor, to Monsieur Parolles, "that gallant militarist who had the whole theorick of war in the knot of his scarf and the practice of it in the chape of his dagger."<sup>23</sup>

Though oppressed with "a terrible sense of insecurity" in early 1862, she was thankful to be living "almost as usual 'in piping times of peace.'"<sup>24</sup> In a moralizing vein, she observed that "Here's that,

<sup>14</sup> Diary, September 11, 1863, quoting Romans 12:21.

<sup>15</sup> Diary, November 29, 1863, quoting Psalms 131:1.

<sup>16</sup> Diary, May 10, 1862, quoting Zechariah 9:12.

<sup>17</sup> Diary, October 6, 1862, quoting Psalms 16:6.

<sup>18</sup> Diary, October 29, 1862, quoting Psalms 91:4; January 2, 1863, quoting Psalms 121:5.

<sup>19</sup> Diary, February 3, 1863, quoting Ecclesiastes 9:11.

<sup>20</sup> Diary, June 20, 1863, quoting Psalms 12:19.

<sup>21</sup> Ernest Gruening (ed.), *These United States* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 2 volumes, 1923), I, 84.

<sup>22</sup> Diary, March 7, 1861, quoting Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well*, Act I, Scene 2.

<sup>23</sup> Diary, quoting Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well*, Act IV, Scene 3.

<sup>24</sup> Diary, quoting, with variation, Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act I, Scene 1.

which is too weak to be a sinner, honest water'” is “the same idea which Mad. Malabran (Maria Felicite Garcia) uttered when after drinking a glass of cold water she wished it was ‘a sin to give it a zest’ ”;<sup>25</sup> and when it appeared that General George Gordon Meade had allowed his government to edit one of his dispatches in such a way as to exaggerate the number of men and guns lost at Falling Waters in July, 1863, she warned him that “you were said to be a gentleman, but ‘it is hard to touch pitch without being defiled.’ ”<sup>26</sup> Again, when feeling that her journal was growing too discursive, she feared that she had dwelt too long “‘in the alms basket of words’ and that like Parolles I have apparently ‘been at a great feast of language and stolen the scraps.’ ”<sup>27</sup>

The great “histories” of Shakespeare furnished many quotations admirably suited to Mrs. Edmondston’s descriptions of military operations during the Civil War. Generals French and Milroy will fight General Lee “eight hours ‘by Shrewsbury clock.’ ”<sup>28</sup> “Yankee volunteers will be like Glendower’s ‘spirits from the vasty deep’ and we may well ask Hotspur’s question, ‘but will they come when you do call for them?’ ”<sup>29</sup> And when “‘there be three Richmonds in the field,’ we can sit afar and watch out . . . who outgenerals the other and amuse ourselves with their stratagems.”<sup>30</sup>

If, as is sometimes suggested, Sir Walter Scott rivaled St. Paul as a formative influence upon the mind of the Old South,<sup>31</sup> Mrs. Edmondston’s reading habits would provide some evidence of the truth of this assertion. Walking with her husband through a part of their grove one day and noting how fast the trees were growing, she “could not but think of Dumbiedyke’s advice to his son, to be ‘ay slicking down a tree—it’ll be growing while you are sleeping.’ ”<sup>32</sup> In reference to less sylvan surroundings, she wrote in February, 1861, that all South Carolina will consider Major Anderson at Fort Sumter “a brave and Christian gentleman . . . ‘a foe man worthy of their steel,’ ” and of Jeb Stuart she wrote two years later that “‘one blast upon his

<sup>25</sup> Diary, May 5, 1862, quoting Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, Act I, Scene 2.

<sup>26</sup> Diary, July 29, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act III, Scene 3.

<sup>27</sup> Diary, September 8, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *Love’s Labours Lost*, Act V, Scene 7. The lines were spoken by Costard, not Parolles.

<sup>28</sup> Diary, July 11, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act V, Scene 4.

<sup>29</sup> Diary, October 31, 1863, quoting Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 1.

<sup>30</sup> Diary, June 17, 1864, quoting Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act V, Scene 3.

<sup>31</sup> See William E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921), 62-63, 81; Holland Thompson, *The New South* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1921), 208-209; Clement Eaton, *The Mind of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 184, 186-187, for suggestions to this effect.

<sup>32</sup> Diary, October 15, 1862, quoting Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian*.

bugle horn were worth ten thousand men.'"<sup>33</sup> Toward the end of the war, when the fortunes of the Confederacy were waning, she heard that "a battle with as yet doubtful results was in progress between Hood and Sherman." She did "not like such doubts"; with Kirkpatrick who thought that Bruce should make certain that he had slain the Red Comyn, she would "like to 'mak siccar.'"<sup>34</sup>

Although the Bible, Shakespeare, and Scott appear to have been read the most purposefully by Mrs. Edmondston, these works account for only a small segment of the literature with which she was familiar. In a religious frame of mind she turned to the English divines and theologians, including Sydney Smith, Isaac Watts, Frederick William Robertson, and Richard Whately.<sup>35</sup> Joseph Butler she "tried for a time" but found his *Fifteen Sermons* on the moral nature of man, preached at Oxford in 1726, to be "not a pabulum for my daily fare."<sup>36</sup> In February, 1861, she read and liked an essay on giddiness in Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd's *Recreations of a Country Parson*;<sup>37</sup> and in June, 1863, she complained of "suffering under one of Hannah More's two ill's of life"—biliousness.<sup>38</sup>

She knew and liked Emerson's "American Scholar" well enough to quote with approbation "'whenever McGregor sits, there is the head of the table'"<sup>39</sup>; but she characterized the same author's "Self-Reliance" as "a polluted stream and I know not which disgusts me most, his utter want of principle or his depth of folly. Such a tissue of imitative nonsense! Such a very weak tincture of Carlyleism, embodying doctrines and practices that strike at the root of every precept of morality both divine and human. . . . Truly the Yankee nation seems to have followed his teachings, for they lie today, and tomorrow replace the first by a second as false as the first whose only merit is that it contradicts its predecessor."<sup>40</sup>

Mrs. Edmondston shared the contemporary southern dislike of

<sup>33</sup> Diary, February 3, 1861, and May 6, 1863, quoting Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto V, Stanza 4, and Canto VI, Stanza 18, respectively.

<sup>34</sup> Diary, September 4, 1864, quoting Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, First Series, Chapter VI.

<sup>35</sup> Diary, August 2 and December 12, 1860; February 6, 1861; March 20, 1862.

<sup>36</sup> Diary, January 31, 1863.

<sup>37</sup> Diary, February 6, 1861.

<sup>38</sup> Diary, June 17, 1863. Hannah More (1745-1833), an English religious writer, was subject to successive illnesses of a bilious nature, references to which occur in her letters. William Roberts (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1834), I, 67; II, 215, 239.

<sup>39</sup> Diary, March 27, 1861. Emerson's sentence was "Wherever MacDonal'd sits, there is the head of the table," but it is usually quoted with the substitution of "MacGregor" for "MacDonal'd."

<sup>40</sup> Diary, April 22, 1863. This outburst against Emerson was occasioned by Mrs. Edmondston's concern over the reading habits of her niece, Rachel Jones, "whose mother has unfortunately allowed her to dabble in his polluted stream."

Charles Dickens, considering Wilkie Collins' *No Name*, which she was reading in July, 1863, as "far superior to *Great Expectations*," which she adjudged "should rather be *Great Disappointments*."<sup>41</sup> In common with most southern people of her class and station, she nourished resentment against Harriet Beecher Stowe, even to the extent of expressing a dislike for Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland at whose London residence, Stafford House, Mrs. Stowe had been entertained at a levee and there presented with a gold bracelet in the form of a slave chain as a gift from the duchess.<sup>42</sup>

In a more charitable mood, she regarded Lucy Hutchison's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchison*, which she read, "for the second or third time" in 1862, as one of the finest pictures of domestic love and happiness in the language. Noting, however, that Colonel Hutchison's descendants fell from the state and cultivation of their forebears and in all probability no longer "know that they had such an ancestor," she contrasted this situation with that of the "noble house of Stanley," whose blood "runs quicker through their veins as they read the 'Defense of Lathom House' than it does in those of other people, enthusiastic tho they be, who cannot say, as a Stanley can, 'Charlotte de la Tremoille was my grandmother.'"<sup>43</sup>

A list of English poets either quoted or mentioned as having been read by Mrs. Edmondston would include, from an early period, *The Battle of Chevy Chase* ("Like Withrington in doleful dumps" [when his legs were smitten off, he fought upon his stumps]),<sup>44</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Lie* ("Goe Soul, the body's guest"),<sup>45</sup> and Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen* ("Dan Chaucer, Well of English Unde-fyled"),<sup>46</sup> followed by Milton's *Paradise Lost* ("from noon to dewy eve")<sup>47</sup> and Dryden's *Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music* ("none but the brave deserve the fair");<sup>48</sup> and from a still later

<sup>41</sup> Diary, July 7, 1863.

<sup>42</sup> Diary, December 12, 1860.

<sup>43</sup> Diary, March 20, 1862. Colonel John Hutchison (1615-1664) was an English Puritan soldier whose career draws its chief interest from the *Memoirs* written by his wife after the death of her husband but not published until 1806 (afterward often reprinted). Charlotte de la Tremoille (1599-1664), daughter of Claude, duc de Thouars, and granddaughter of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, was the wife of James Stanley (1607-1651), seventh earl of Derby. She defended Lathom House, seat of the earls of Derby, from the Parliamentary forces in 1644. Leslie Stephens, Sidney Lee, and others (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 29 vols., 1921-1961), XVIII, 935-936, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>44</sup> Diary, July 9, 1863.

<sup>45</sup> Diary, October 20, 1864, also attributed to Joshua Sylvester (1563-1618) and to Sir John Davies (1570-1626).

<sup>46</sup> Diary, July 22, 1862.

<sup>47</sup> Diary, October 8, 1863.

<sup>48</sup> Diary, September 18, 1862.

period, Anna Seward,<sup>49</sup> George Canning, *The Friend of Humanity and and the Knife-Grinder*,<sup>50</sup> Lord Byron, *The Bride of Abydos* ("The gardens of Gul in their bloom"),<sup>51</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* ("a painted ship upon a painted ocean"),<sup>52</sup> William Wordsworth, *Lucy* ("She dwelt among the untrodden ways"),<sup>53</sup> Lord Tennyson, *The Charge of the Light Brigade* ("Someone had blundered," whether like Lord Lucan or Lord Cardigan she could not remember),<sup>54</sup> Mrs. Felicia D. Hemans, "Flowers to strew in the conqueror's path."<sup>55</sup> and Robert Burns, *The Cotter's Saturday Night* ("Auld Clarthes look amaist as weel as new"), "Epistle to a young friend" ("If self the wavering balance shake 'tis rarely right adjusted"), and "Death and Dr. Hornbook" ("Wee sma hours ayout the twal").<sup>56</sup> American poets similarly treated would include John Trumbull, *McFingal* ("No rogue e'er felt the halter draw with good opinion of the law"),<sup>57</sup> Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Moriturus Salutamus*,<sup>58</sup> and Richard Henry Wilde, "My life is like the summer rose."<sup>59</sup>

Too sophisticated and independent to allow her reading habits to be circumscribed by any pietistic ban on novel reading, Mrs. Edmondston seems, nevertheless, to have been only mildly interested in this type of entertainment. She was disappointed with Bulwer Lytton's *A Strange Story*, characterizing it as "a collection of horrors, unaccountable and mysterious," combining "modern mesmerism and clairvoyance with medieval necromancy and demoniacal domination in a manner at once clumsy and ridiculous" and definitely inferior to the same author's *The Caxtons*, *My Novel*, and *What Will He Do With It?*<sup>60</sup> At one and the same time she delineated Victor Hugo as a "sentimental apologist who wrote *Fantine* from a pair of moral stilts," and Eugene Sue as "a radical, a red republican, and an admirer of the French Revolution and had his impossible theories full sway, heaven would blush at the spectacle presented to it."<sup>61</sup> "Re-

<sup>49</sup> Diary, July 25, 1862.

<sup>50</sup> Diary, July 13, 1862.

<sup>51</sup> Diary, June 1, 1862.

<sup>52</sup> Diary, April 15, 1861.

<sup>53</sup> Diary, April 4, 1864.

<sup>54</sup> Diary, July 10, 1862. George Charles Bingham (1800-1888), third Earl of Lucan, was largely responsible for the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava on October 25, 1854. James Thomas Brudenell (1797-1868), seventh Earl of Cardigan was the commander of the brigade. *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 136-138.

<sup>55</sup> Diary, April 24, 1861.

<sup>56</sup> Diary, December 3, 1863; February 10, 1861; January 27, 1862.

<sup>57</sup> Diary, May 30, 1864.

<sup>58</sup> Diary, January 21, 1861.

<sup>59</sup> Diary, July 21, 1861.

<sup>60</sup> Diary, February 20, 1863.

<sup>61</sup> Diary, June 12, 1863.

sorting to old *Blackwood's* for light literature," as the war progressed and the supply of new books grew scarcer, she found John Wilson ("Christopher North"), *Dies Borealis; or Christopher under Canvas* most entertaining and instructive."<sup>62</sup> In the summer of 1864 she read and liked Mrs. Mary Elizabeth (Braddon) Maxwell's *Aurora Floyd*, very likely the Confederate edition published in Richmond by West and Johnson in 1863.<sup>63</sup>

"Lord Burleigh's nod," Mrs. Nicely's "clean house and a clean conscience," and "a peculiarly terrible Mrs. Grundy" testify respectively to Mrs. Edmondston's acquaintance with Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic*, Thomas Morton's *School of Reform*, and the same author's *Speed the Plough*.<sup>64</sup> Barthold Georg Niebuhr (*Roman History*), John Gillies (*A History of Greece*), Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*), John Lothrop Motley, (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*),<sup>65</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay (*History of England*),<sup>66</sup> and Lord Clarendon (*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*) are among the historians with whose works she was familiar, the last named of these being the source of one of her favorite quotations, telling how Lord Falkland, "sitting among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*."<sup>67</sup> High adventure she found in Jean Froissart's *Chronicles*,<sup>68</sup> William Walker's *The War in Nicaragua* (whose author she denounced as a "blood thirsty selfish buccaneer"),<sup>69</sup> (Garnet Joseph Wolseley), "A month's visit to the Confederate Headquarters" (published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in January, 1863),<sup>70</sup> and David Flavel Jamison's *Life and Times of Bertrand du Guesclin*,<sup>71</sup> a book of stately figures and stirring episodes of the Hundred Years War which, though bearing a Charleston, South Carolina, imprint of 1864, was actually printed in England and thus twice ran the blockade. In the less spectacular field of cookery, she knew about, though she may not have read, the works of Louis Eustache Ude (*The French Cook*) and Alexis Soyer (*A Shilling Cookery for the People*).<sup>72</sup>

From *Plutarch's Lives* she recalled a passage quoting Aemilius Paulus as saying that "it required more genius to order a feast well

<sup>62</sup> Diary, August 20, 1864.

<sup>63</sup> Diary, August 29, 1864.

<sup>64</sup> Diary, April 1, June 1, 1862; October 15, 1863.

<sup>65</sup> Diary, March 20, 1864; January 9, 1865.

<sup>66</sup> Diary, July 25, 1862; July 14, 1863.

<sup>67</sup> Diary, March 17, 1862; September 4, 1863.

<sup>68</sup> Diary, March 19, 1865.

<sup>69</sup> Diary, March 19, 1865.

<sup>70</sup> Diary, October 19, 1863.

<sup>71</sup> Diary, March 19, 1865.

<sup>72</sup> Diary, December 8, 1860; February 24, 1863.

than to marshal an army,"<sup>73</sup> and from the same author derived a suggestion which led her to write in February, 1862, that she would "not be surprised if the much talked of Currency Bill should make nails a legal tender in imitation of Lycurgus' iron money."<sup>74</sup> Toward the end of August, 1862, she had recently read 120 pages of Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Litterature du Midi de l'Europe* (obviously in translation), a "rather dull work, tracing the downward course of the Italian muse just now. From Tasso to Goldoni and Gozzi."<sup>75</sup> Two weeks later she had "got to Calderon in the Spanish literature" in the same book, but her niece having asked for the book to read, she was left with "only Leigh Hunt's *Italian Poets*, and Boiardo, Pulci, Ariosto, Tasso, and even Dante, etc. are run through by him almost as expeditiously as Sismondi dispatches them, so there is not much to be gained there."<sup>76</sup>

Mention of "Undine" and "Rodomonte" would suggest that Mrs. Edmondston knew something at least about Friederich Fouque's principal work<sup>77</sup> and that she may have read or read about Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato*.<sup>78</sup> Although she ascribes to herself, "a double portion of that 'Jacobs' Ladder by which Jean Paul says 'men ascend to heaven,'"<sup>79</sup> it is most likely that she was acquainted with Johann Paul Friedrich Richter only through Thomas Carlyle's *German Romance*; and her venture into the literature of Portugal would be more impressive had she not quoted *The Lusiad* of Luiz de Camoens as recounting a meeting of Neptune and "Lope de Vega [instead of Vasco da Gama] off the Southern part of Africa."<sup>80</sup>

Only a few of the many more books and authors referred to in one way or another in the diary upon which this paper is principally based can be mentioned here. Among these would be Francis Bacon, *Essays*; Laurence Sterne ("That hateful moralist");<sup>81</sup> Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*; Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*; John Selden, *Table Talk*; and Gilbert White, *Natural History of Selborne*; along with fugitive references to Samuel Johnson, Lord Chesterfield, and Robert Walpole.

In addition, it should be noted that Mrs. Edmondston was a regular reader of newspapers. From the firing on Fort Sumter to the sur-

<sup>73</sup> Diary, January 21, 1863.

<sup>74</sup> Diary, February 16, 1864.

<sup>75</sup> Diary, August 29, 1862.

<sup>76</sup> Diary, September 11, 1862.

<sup>77</sup> *Undine*, a fairy romance about a water nymph of that name, published in 1811. Mentioned in Diary, January 30, 1862.

<sup>78</sup> Diary, April 18, 1864.

<sup>79</sup> Diary, May 2, 1862.

<sup>80</sup> Diary, January 6, 1863.

<sup>81</sup> Diary, March 28, 1862.

render at Appomattox, she kept up with the progress of the war, entering at frequent intervals in her diary long descriptions of strategy, tactics, and logistics, both Union and Confederate, as these appeared to her in the accounts she read in the papers, all interspersed with denunciations of Yankee villainy and praise or blame for Confederate statesmen, generals, and soldiers as they may have been, or seemed to her to be, responsible for victories or defeats of the southern arms.

Just as "one swallow maketh not summer," so it is that this impressive record of one person's reading does not prove that the level of literacy and literary taste in North Carolina generally was higher than that described by the contemporary commentaries quoted at the beginning of this paper. Nonetheless, it is both interesting and instructive to know that this woman living for long periods of time during the war years, as she once expressed it, "on an island, a kind of Anglo-Saxon Robinson Crusoe with Ethiopians only for companionship,"<sup>82</sup> had both the access to and the inclination to read so much of the literature that must have been beyond the reach and cognizance of most North Carolina women, even those of Mrs. Edmondston's class and station.

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<sup>82</sup> Diary, February 27, 1865.

## HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE

BY GEORGE V. TAYLOR\*

I am honored by your invitation to speak in place of the distinguished poet and critic, one of your own, who was to have addressed you tonight. His standing, and that of those who have spoken in other years, shows that you are used to hearing worthwhile things. Thank you for calling upon me.

Unfortunately, I am in no position to speak to your main interests, which I take to be the history and literature of the state, or, more broadly, the South. The only country I know well is eighteenth-century France, particularly during that great Revolution which a British historian has recently called the turning point of modern history. (Obviously, none of his ancestors fought on either side in the War Between the States.) Moreover, anyone like myself, raised and educated in another part of the country, having lived only twelve years in the South, does well to leave the interpretation of southern history and literature to those who have a native appreciation of it. Any comments such a person might attempt would be salted with errors and misunderstandings that betray his distant origins. What confirms me in my caution is the memory of an unfortunate review that appeared several years ago in the leading professional historical journal of France. A French historian who writes habitually in my field had spent a rainy week end, as brilliant Frenchmen do, writing a book on American culture. His reviewer, one of two French specialists in American history, praised his work. "Our colleague," he wrote, "knows all the landmarks of American literature. He knows the works of the greatest American writers—Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner. He even knows the writers of second rank, like John O'Hara and Houghton Mifflin." Determined not to commit such a *gaucherie*, I renounce speaking on themes that most of this audience could exploit more authoritatively and capably than I.

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\* Dr. Taylor, Associate Professor of History, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, presented this paper at the evening session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1964. Dr. Allen Tate, who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to appear because of illness.

Instead I want to take up the old question of how history and literature are related. This audience is a fraternal combination of the two professions. Moreover, between southern historians and literary figures there is mutual respect, a common concern with common problems, and a notoriously active working alliance. In the South historians are admitted to literary societies. Faulkner addresses the Southern Historical Association. Professor Woodward dedicates a book to Robert Penn Warren and quotes abundantly from Warren, Tate, Wolfe, Faulkner, and Eudora Welty. This collaboration no doubt exists because, as Tate has said, the southern school of writers produces "a literature conscious of the past in the present." In France there are also writers conscious of the past in the present, but they are not on good terms with historians, and the dissociation of historians and men of letters in France is in an extreme way symptomatic of how these two professions regard one another in other countries. It began in 1866, when Monod, editor of the *Revue historique* and ex officio chieftain of the academic historians, laid it down that historians must be scientists, not only in their research and writing but also in the inmost recesses of their souls. He seems to have looked upon literature as a corruption of the mind. And because positivism was regnant and he had patronage, he had his way. French historians changed themselves into scientists, and one way of declaring one's scientism was to announce a distrust of literature and everything that suggested it. "Never," said the medievalist Fustel de Coulanges at his retirement, "have I permitted an eloquent word to pass my lips." (What a boast!) To this day when French academic historians organize interdisciplinary colloquia they invite only fellow scientists—geographers, demographers, sociologists, economists, and psychologists. The novelists, dramatists, poets, critics, philosophers, and theologians are excluded from the club.

The coldness between history and literature in France has not been thawed by what literary men have written about historians. Many of you know the satire on history and historians written by Anatole France under the title *Penguin Island*. A young man sets out to write the history of the Penguins, a race of birds, astonishingly like Frenchmen, that a medieval hermit converted to Christianity, and then, with God's help, transformed into men. In the preface he repeats the advice of the eminent historians he consulted before starting his research. One of them tells him:

What is the good, my dear sir, of giving yourself so much trouble, and why compose a history when all you need do is to copy the best-known

ones in the usual way? If you have a fresh view or an original idea, if you present men and things from an unexpected point of view, you will surprise the reader. And the reader does not like being surprised. He never looks in a history for anything but the stupidities that he knows already. If you try to instruct him you only humiliate him and make him angry. Do not try to enlighten him; he will only cry out that you insult his beliefs.

And then, this, which is crushing:

Historians copy from one another. Thus they spare themselves trouble and avoid the appearance of presumption. Imitate them and do not be original. An original historian is the object of distrust, contempt, and loathing from everybody.

Do you imagine, sir, . . . that I should be respected and honoured as I am if I had put innovations into my historical works? And what are innovations? They are impertinences.

Apparently, what the historian distrusts in the man of letters is the freedom the latter enjoys. The novelist or dramatist takes life as he knows it, projects it in imaginative ways, remolds it for emphasis, creates characters and events as he chooses, and decides for himself how the story will end. He is even free to create a completely fictitious situation, as has been done in some historical novels. In fact, the only limitations on the liberties of writers are those laid down by critics, which may be defied, and those laid down by publishers, which may not. Now the historian works under restrictions. He is the prisoner of his documentation. Where the documentation falls short, he resorts to inference, but in his conscience he knows it is better to suspend judgment, which is very hard to do. His plots and characters are given in the sources, and he must take them as they are, without adding color, altering the sequence, or changing the end of the story. All his training, all his professional experience, teach him to distrust invention, fantasy, and creativity. He is happy to be emancipated from the freedom of an artist, and that is why the claim of being scientific brings him peace of mind.

Despite the historian's distrust of literature, and the literary man's complacency toward the historian, their work has had points of contact. Historical novelists and dramatists supposedly use histories for reference and sometimes read original sources so as to get the background right. C. S. Forester, the creator of that gifted and gallant neurotic, Captain Hornblower, habitually does research in Admiralty papers, and although he takes great liberty with the chronology his description of naval life, combat, and technology is exact. For all its

fantasy, the Hornblower saga is a fine reconstruction of the old British navy, and one may recommend it to students in a history course, although not, of course, for credit. Reciprocally, historians make use of literature. Several years ago a young Frenchman named Jean Chevalier, impressed with the preponderance of crime and poverty in the Paris described by Balzac, Victor Hugo, and Eugène Sue, set out to investigate this side of Parisian history in the original sources. He found that the novelists had not exaggerated the crime and poverty of the 1840's, and he rounded out their view of the Parisian poor people by using administrative records, police interrogations, accounts of trials, records of the criminal courts, and documents on public welfare. Chevalier's book is a frightening one. He shows that the city was overcrowded with immigrants from the country, which was both overpopulated and depressed. Unemployment was chronic. The structure of the family dissolved. The problems of poor relief were insoluble. Utterly desperate, the poor resorted to thefts, holdups, and burglaries that they justified to themselves and to the police by their right to live. Their frustration expressed itself in occasional acts of brutality against the well-to-do, and even against those of their own kind whom they robbed. In the terrible winter of 1845 when an upper-class evening came to an end, those present said prayers because of the dangers of returning home at night, and, not relying entirely on divine aid, carefully loaded their pistols before stepping out into the dark. What Chevalier has done is to document and explain a situation so terrible that it seemed an invention or distortion by novelists, and in so doing he has given us our first systematic analysis of European urban life in the early nineteenth century and helped us to understand in new ways the insurrections of 1848. But we must not forget that his original clues came from literature.

To say that historians and men of letters use the work of one another is not to show that they have much in common. However, one may go further and demonstrate that to some degree the historian, like the man of letters, is dependent on invention, imagination, and even intuition—those occult practices that supposedly belong only to art. It is easier to say that now than it would have been twenty or thirty years ago, when it would have been denied. But for sixty years in Europe and thirty in the United States the identification of history with empirical science has been undermined by inquiries into what the historian actually does with his evidence, and it is now clear that only part of what he does is scientific. The rest is creative, and the creative side of what the historian does is disconcertingly flexible

and determined in large part by his psychological peculiarities as a person. To some extent the historian cannot avoid being a creative artist, cannot avoid incorporating into his work something that no one else could add. What he writes is in some measure an expression of himself.

On what basis can this be said? The key to the problem is to ask how well the historian, with all the science in the world, can approach the vanished reality that we call history-as-actuality. How much can he really *know*? And how much does he *surmise*? After three decades of professional discussion it is clear that what the historian knows about history is a reconstruction that takes shape in his mind as he reads the sources. What he presents to the public, and to himself, is not the actual past, but what may be called the documentary past, the past reflected in the records and other materials at his disposal. How close do the sources come to history-as-actuality? We know that many of them are false, misleading, fraudulent, and that many of our witnesses lie to us and, what is worse, to themselves. This kind of mischief we have learned to deal with by what is called internal and external criticism. But what is disconcerting is the incompleteness of the sources, or the gaps in the evidence. Obviously the evidence that we study is a residue—the preserved part of the recorded part of the remembered part of the observed part of what happened. And the evidence that we put in our books and lectures is only the relevant part of the preserved part of the recorded part of the remembered part of the observed part of what happened. In other words, much of the past is beyond recovery. What demonstrates this is that new sources occasionally come to light. We read them. If they are important we automatically enlarge or correct the reconstruction that we have distilled from records we already know. Therefore, the past with which we deal is not the flesh-and-blood past of living people, but the documentary past. We hope that this documentary past, this reconstruction distilled from sources, corresponds fairly well to the original, but who guarantees that we are right?

The process by which historians distill reconstructions from documents is a mysterious business about which no one talks or thinks a great deal. I have been referring to it, quite without reflection, as distillation, and distillation is a rather good word for describing our idea of what we do with evidence. We let it ferment in our minds until it takes on a congenial form and flavor. Then when we are satisfied with the brew, we bottle it, attach a label, and distribute it in wholesale lots. (Some of it is pungent and heady; some is stale

and flat; a great deal is unfit for public consumption.) But is fermentation what really goes on in our minds? Or is it science? Well science to a certain degree. Using what is called "cold logic," we search out and discard the lies that the witnesses tell, correct their errors, and sort out the events and put them in proper sequence, lest we botch up the narrative and put Gettysburg ahead of Chancellorsville. But there is also a lot of imagination going on. We guess or imagine what is needed to fill the gaps. For example, Lee moves from one place to another. If we don't know by what route he reached his destination we study our mental map of Virginia and trace it out on the simple assumption, usually correct, that, given what we know of Lee's situation he would have been shrewd enough to follow our road. At the same time we are guessing why Lee is making his move, particularly if he fails to tell us in his dispatches what he has in mind. We imagine him considering all that has happened—the casualties, the loss of Jackson, the ruin of Hooker, reports from the cavalry, things happening here and there, and we make his mind explain his next move. Mr. Freeman, who lived with an enormous documentation and treasured every recorded word, intonation, gesture, and facial expression of the Confederate generals, did that with great skill. He re-created for General Lee a mental activity that corresponds with everything that will probably ever be known about him, and what he did not say about Lee's mind he implied in his selection and arrangement of the material, his choice of words, his nuances, and the mood communicated by the rhythm of his sentences. With a superb touch, born of a lifetime spent with Lee and his lieutenants and perfected by his sympathetic identification with these soldiers of the South, Freeman re-created their characters, personalities, strengths, weaknesses, convictions, eccentricities, and their changing moods. This is historical imagination at its best. In the hands of lesser historians it oftens miscarries, particularly, when out of thin air, one creates for historical characters an intelligence appropriate to their achievements. We all know biographies in which historical figures like Bismarck are made to foresee every contingency and every move they will make. Nothing surprises them. But Freeman knew that even the most remarkable men ordinarily move from event to event, reorganizing their estimates and intentions as they go, stumbling often into either ruin or glory. This is partly what gives his work its strong flavor of authenticity. He honored the messages of the documents, even when they detracted from the wisdom of his generals. Still, what he did was highly imaginative and without his imagination it would have been much less remarkable than it is.

In other words, the historian's reconstruction of the past from the documents is an imaginative, creative act. To a serious degree, the writing of history is a creative process, an art. Like art, it is a highly individualized activity. The historian's capacity to understand through imagination is measured in one sense by the fertility of his own imagination and the way he responds to its signals. Working with those mental notations called facts, something in the historian's mind invents reconstructions which he either accepts or rejects. And the kind of reconstruction his mind invents and accepts depends on the peculiar way that he sees men and events, his feeling for human nature, his attitudes toward people, all of which are molded by his personal experience, including that which he acquired when very young. It is well known that in literature different authors invent different kinds of characters. Last Sunday in the *Times* a British critic, reviewing John O'Hara's latest volume of short stories, complained of what he called "these O'Hara people with their stone hearts, bleak conversation and almost total serfdom to money." (Fortunately, he said nothing about Houghton Mifflin.) Are the historian's reconstructions, like O'Hara's inventions, affected by his emotional attitudes toward human beings? If not, why do some historians insist on controlling historical personalities by bringing them under deterministic systems? Why do others revel for page after page in the eccentric misconduct of kings, presidents, cabinet ministers, financiers, and revolutionists? Why do some historians look only for political motives? Or economic motives? And why do others try to avoid the whole business by dodging off into economic or constitutional history? What kind of man habitually interprets history by inventing conspiracies on circumstantial evidence, when things are more easily explained on more obvious grounds? These differences of approach and touch are determined by something deeper than a historian's convictions, interests, or party alignment; they are grounded in his psychological formation. To some extent the imaginative reconstructions generated by his mind are expressions of his own singular personality. That is why the greatest biography of General Lee could have been written only by a man like Freeman.

It is impossible to expel imagination from historical work. It is already there. Nothing shows it better than the way historians deal with cause and effect. When a historian speaks of causes he means the prior happenings or situations that had to exist before an event could occur. His problem is to separate from the hundreds of prior happenings or situations that he knows about those which had causal value. By what hocus pocus does he do this? In his imagination he

rehearses the whole train of events. Would the states have gone to war without John Brown's raid? Or the election of Lincoln? Or the cotton economy of the South? Or the admission of new states? Would there have been a French Revolution if the royal treasury had been solvent? Or the harvest of 1788 abundant? Or Louis XVI married to someone other than Marie Antoinette? Science would settle the matter out of hand by experiment, but experiment is not our privilege, and nothing, not even the Ford Foundation, can make it so. Besides, the kind of experiment we want to perform would be hard on the variables, particularly on John Brown and the unfortunate queen, who would be executed many times before we finished our work. In fact, if actual historical experiments were possible they would, like vivisection, be outlawed as inhumane. Nevertheless, we make these experiments. We make them conjecturally, in our heads, using our imaginations. In effect, we ask ourselves whether the war would have come without Lincoln or John Brown, and we say that it would, but perhaps not in 1861. We ask ourselves whether the Revolution would have come without a bankrupt treasury and a bad harvest and, for the life us, we cannot imagine how it could have happened. In other words, we perform ideal experiments like those that physicists sometimes carry out on the mysterious levels in which they operate. But it is not a very conclusive procedure, and Charles A. Beard was so distrustful of it as to write that no historian should ever use the word "cause," although that stand did not prevent him from publishing two books on President Roosevelt's foreign policy in which he arranged the evidence in such a way as to imply that Roosevelt invited the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor. He was, however, no hypocrite; you will not find the word "cause" in either volume.

It is still a delicate matter to maintain in public that historians work imaginatively in a creative way. Whatever qualms one has are eased, however, when we recall that the greatest historians, like Freeman, owed much of their greatness to their imaginations. The nineteenth-century historian Leopold von Ranke, often regarded as a model practitioner of historical method, did not hesitate to describe historical personalities with the aid of what he saw, or felt, when studying their portraits. And this same von Ranke, who wrote at the outset of his career that he meant to portray the past "exactly as it happened," was more indebted to intuition than he realized. Herbert Butterfield has pointed out that von Ranke, on the evidence that he had, came to conclusions that a rigorous logician would have rejected. And yet later research has proved him right. It was the "hunch," the subrational decision of a mind closely attuned to political and personal

realities, that sensed in the documents those hints that a sound logician would have ignored.

The reason for emphasizing the historian's dependence on imagination and intuition is to re-establish awareness of the common ground that historians and men of letters once thought they shared. History, after all, began as a branch of literature. It was only for less than a century that it pretended to be a science. Even during that period of imposture, in a secret, underground sort of way that many of them would have denied, historians, never entirely discarded moves and tactics that lay outside their official method. They even tolerated historians who wrote well, although they grumbled at their royalties. And they never completely reduced human nature to the level of uniformized material responding passively to general laws, though some tried hard to do so. They are now involved in efforts to explore human nature at depths once thought inaccessible and irrelevant to their work. In 1959 the president of the American Historical Association, in his presidential address, urged historians to find ways of applying the insights of depth psychology to historical interpretation. Because he spoke with the voice of Harvard, the profession listened with respect. The program he proposed can easily get out of hand, as it did with the writer of a paper, lately referred for my opinion, who argued that the execution of Louis XVI was essentially the killing of the primal father by the Freudian horde. But recently we have received studies of Martin Luther, Anne Hutchinson, and Woodrow Wilson in which the authors, using psychic clues, account more fully and satisfactorily than have other biographers for what they did, and without flagrant violations of sound method.

Historians, then, have more in common with men of letters than they once believed. Their work has always called for decisions that cannot be made by appeals to the evidence alone. Their interpretations express not only their conscious thoughts but also their feelings, and they have begun to grapple with the subrational side of the human past. If they have to recognize a disturbing freedom implicit in the ambiguity of their materials, they are happy to leave to literature the burden of inventing everything. Their plots and characters will still be found in the sources. It would be a false move to reorganize the Department of History under the Curriculum in Comparative Literature.

Nevertheless, we may say that to some extent history and literature are partners in rendering a particular service to society at large. Directly and indirectly they inform public opinion, and their work in this connection is important. If any other proof were needed it

would be found in the fact that totalitarian governments, which survive only by controlling public opinion, find it necessary to control historical scholarship and the entire range of letters as well. In a democracy like ours public opinion is sovereign, absolutely in principle, nearly so in actuality. Our values teach us to leave it free. If it makes errors in judgment the remedy is not to suppress it, mold it, or rigidify it under compulsion, but to give it the means of becoming more realistic and mature. There are within us instinctive modes of thought that lead to unrealism and policy errors. One of these is the impulse to oversimplify and personalize whatever frustrates or angers us and to attack problems as we imagine them rather than as they actually are.

It is impossible to make this clear without an example. There is a law that forbids Communists to speak at publicly supported colleges and universities in North Carolina. It is apparently based on the premise that an important problem facing the state has been created by Communist orators rather than by several decades of tragic history. It objectifies difficulties as a fictitious menace operating out of college lecture halls. The menace is imaginary, but, unlike the problem, it can be visualized and attacked. Those intimately concerned with university life and work know that there is no conspiracy to parade Communist speakers before the students, and, as informed citizens acting on their own initiative and responsibility, they have an obligation to say so. Do universities want Communist speakers? Not particularly. But they are ashamed at having to turn away those, specifically from Iron Curtain countries, who turn up in the normal traffic of academic life. They are ashamed because to turn them away is a confession of intellectual weakness. The unspoken implication of this law is that Communism, or Marxism, is a philosophy so realistic, so convincing, that the young, if they hear it, will embrace it. It tells Communists that intellectually they hold the winning cards, and that no effective rebuttal can be made against what they have to say. It says covertly to the students that if they hear a Communist speech they will have no choice but to believe it, and that their patriotism can be preserved only by shielding them from every expression of the Communist point of view. In this way the law generates in the minds of the young a deep-laid sense of defenselessness and inferiority that can be exploited with real effect if ever they come before a Communist interrogator in a war prison camp.

It is not only a harmful law but a useless one. If the sorry state of Communist doctrine in the twentieth century were understood it would never have been proposed, or, even if proposed, it would not

have been passed. Things that have happened during the last century have thoroughly exploded the ideas of Marx, his predictions, his theory of social classes, and even his analysis of capitalism. In 1946 one of the leading Soviet economists, Professor Varga, said that capitalism had learned how to master its instabilities, and he foresaw no immediate prospects of its collapse. In this, to judge from what has happened in the last eighteen years, he was right. But his estimate was so flagrant a contradiction of the official ideology that he was banished from academic and public life, and we heard nothing further of him until three years ago. Disrespect for Marxism in the Soviet world is widespread. In the universities most students treat their required courses in Marxism with contempt and are glad to leave them behind. It is, in fact, a jerry-built philosophy, held together with shiplasters and baling wire, and to build walls against it is to give it a prestige that it in no way deserves.

This law exists because as a people we are short on knowledge of ideologies and ideological criticism, of what is going on elsewhere, of how people react to despotism, of the multiple currents and cross-currents of ideas. We are confused about the particular strengths and weaknesses of our adversaries and about the tragic and terrible upheavals that have made them what they are. It is doubtful that we really understand ourselves, our problems, the issues of our times, and the way in which they have been shaped by the past. The trouble is that we are all too busy to be exact. Our estimates of reality come too often from scare headlines, rumors, personal antagonism, and the aimless drift of random conversation. This is said not only because it is deplorable, but also because it underscores the value of whatever realism—by which I mean the accurate appreciation of all that is complex and remote, whether cherished or feared—finds its way into public opinion. Seen in this light, the work of novelists, dramatists, essayists, critics, poets, and even historians is of crucial importance. All those who study, think, write, publish, and teach contribute, however indirectly, to the public mind. If I were asked to recommend a book on the Russian Revolution I should not know whether to name Chamberlin's history of it or Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. If I were asked to recommend something on Stalinism I should not know whether to prefer Isaac Deutscher's excellent biography or Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. If I were asked to recommend titles on American history and the history of the South to someone who wanted a better understanding of his own country, I should appeal to you, and you would tell me about Stephenson, Coulter, Woodward, Sydnor, and Phillips, along with Faulkner, Wolfe, and Warren, not

to mention the distinguished persons here tonight. If someone unaccustomed to detailed historical works were interested in understanding the enormous struggles that have transformed the Chinese people since 1911 what better beginning could he make than to read *The Sand Pebbles*, that magnificent first and last novel written by one of the most remarkable men ever to live in Chapel Hill, the late Richard McKenna? In all these suggestions, which you would want to multiply, I have freely confounded history and literature because they serve, each in its own way, the same purpose. They bring us into contact with what is remote in space and time. They make clear what happens to people under the impact of historical change, their conflicting loyalties, and the way they readjust to the world in which they have to live. They illuminate the many shades of good and evil, the extremely complex dimensions of guilt, and the subtle impulsions and psychic checks and balances that make up real rather than fictitious human nature. In all these books we should often find ourselves, or persons very like ourselves, caught up in situations not unlike our own. And for all this work, for whatever reasons it may have been undertaken, I would make this justification: that those societies are sane that struggle with *real* problems and *real* enemies rather than wrestling with hobgoblins that exist only in the confusion of their minds.

# GENERAL SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH NORTH CAROLINA

BY JOHN G. BARRETT\*

Although William Tecumseh Sherman could not recall saying "War is hell," he did state: "You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty and you cannot refine it."<sup>1</sup> It was in the fall of 1862 that he developed his philosophy of total war which he thought would make conflict "so terrible" that the South would exhaust all peaceful remedies before commencing another struggle.<sup>2</sup> Considering all the people of the South as enemies of the Union,<sup>3</sup> Sherman planned to use his military forces against the civilian population as well as the armies of the enemy. He believed this plan of action would demoralize not only the noncombatants but also the men under arms. Nevertheless, he held out to his enemies the sincere promise of a helping hand if they would lay down their arms and rejoin the Union. It was not a sense of cruelty and barbarism that prompted Sherman to formulate his theory of total war. This conception was the outgrowth of a search for the quickest, surest, and most efficient means to win a conflict.<sup>4</sup>

The full application of this new philosophy of war was to be applied by Sherman in campaigns through Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas. In Mississippi the Federal army destroyed the state's resources and lines of communication and demonstrated to the in-

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\* Dr. Barrett, Professor of History at Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia, presented this speech at the luncheon meeting of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 4, 1964.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe (ed.), *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 309, hereinafter cited as Howe, *Home Letters of Sherman*; William Tecumseh Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1875), II, 126, hereinafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XVII, Part II, 260, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

<sup>3</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, I, 267. Guerrilla activity and unorganized civilian resistance in the region around Memphis helped to bring Sherman to this conclusion.

<sup>4</sup> An excellent study of Sherman's philosophy of total war is John Bennett Walters, "General William T. Sherman and Total War" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1947); Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *Sherman: Soldier, Realist, American* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1929), 426.

habitants how cruel a matter war could be. In Georgia Sherman was to repeat the Mississippi performance but on a much larger scale.

When the Georgia operations ended at Savannah on December 21, 1864, all the accepted rules of strategy called for the immediate transfer of Sherman's 60,000 veterans from the Georgia coast to Richmond where Ulysses S. Grant had Robert E. Lee besieged behind fortifications.<sup>5</sup> General Grant was desirous of this move,<sup>6</sup> but much to his dismay Sherman voiced strong objections to such a plan. He hoped, instead, to march to Richmond by way of Columbia and Raleigh in the Carolinas.<sup>7</sup> Every step northward from Savannah, Sherman felt, was as much a direct attack on Lee as though he were operating within sound of the artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia. He was firmly convinced that an application of total war in the Carolinas would have a direct bearing on the outcome of Grant's struggle around Richmond.<sup>8</sup>

The combination of Sherman's persistence and the news of George H. Thomas' devastating victory over J. B. Hood at Nashville<sup>9</sup> persuaded the reluctant commanding general to grant permission for the move through the Carolinas.<sup>10</sup>

Sherman's plan of campaign called for feints on both Augusta and Charleston and a march directly on Columbia and thence to Goldsboro by way of Fayetteville on the Cape Fear. Goldsboro was chosen as the destination because that city was connected to the North Carolina coast by two railroads running respectively from Morehead City (via New Bern) and Wilmington. By this circuit the Federal force could destroy the chief railroads of the Carolinas and devastate the heart of the two states.<sup>11</sup>

Sherman planned to cut himself off completely from his base in Savannah; hence he could expect no government supplies until he

<sup>5</sup> Colin R. Ballard, *The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1952), 223. Because of the heavy demands on ocean transportation it probably would have taken two months to have moved Sherman's entire army to Richmond. Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 224.

<sup>6</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 206.

<sup>7</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 209.

<sup>8</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 213, 227.

<sup>9</sup> Before departing for his "March to the Sea" Sherman dispatched Thomas to Tennessee to deal with Hood.

<sup>10</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 223-224.

<sup>11</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 154. "The subsidiary operations which were intended to co-operate with Sherman's March northward from Savannah were two. First, the capture of Fort Fisher at the mouth of the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, and second, the transfer of Schofield from Middle Tennessee to the Carolina coast, where with the Tenth Corps under Major General A. H. Terry and the Twenty-third under Major General [Jacob] Cox, he was to reduce Wilmington and advance upon two lines from that city and from Newbern to Goldsboro, at which place it was expected a junction with Sherman would be made." Jacob D. Cox, *The March to the Sea* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), 137, hereinafter cited as Cox, *March to the Sea*.



James E. Taylor drew the picture in 1888 of Sherman's men foraging for food. From files of State Department of Archives and History.

reached the Cape Fear River. His wagons could carry only limited provisions; thus the army would have to "forage liberally on the country during the march." To regulate the foraging parties, very strict orders were issued.<sup>12</sup>

These instructions were in complete compliance with the accepted rules of warfare. Yet there was wide discrepancy between the orders and the actions of some of the men. In Georgia many of the foraging parties had degenerated into marauding bands of mounted robbers which operated not under the supervision of an officer but on their own. These groups committed every sort of outrage. Most of the pillage and wanton destruction of private property in the two Carolinas was the work of the "bummers," "smoke house rangers," or "doboys," as this peripheral minority of self-constituted foragers was called.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 175-176.

<sup>13</sup> Manning Ferguson Force, "Marching Across Carolina," in *Sketches of War History, 1861-1865. Papers Read before the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Cincinnati, Ohio: R. Clarke and Company, 6 volumes, 1888-1908), I, 15. On most occasions these self-constituted foragers were referred to as "bummers." The origin of the term is obscure but it was in use at the

When Sherman commenced his march through the Carolinas the latter part of January, 1865, the meager Confederate forces that could possibly be brought to oppose him were scattered from Virginia to Mississippi.<sup>14</sup> Only Joe Wheeler's cavalry stood in the path of Sherman's veterans as they moved northward. By March 3 the Federal army had reached Cheraw, its last stop in South Carolina. Here the general learned that his former opponent, Joseph E. Johnston, had replaced (Pierre) Gustave Toutant Beauregard as commander of the Confederate forces in North and South Carolina. He now concluded that Johnston would unite his widely scattered forces and at a place of his own choosing strike one of the Federal columns on the move. Fully aware that the battle he wished to avoid now seemed unavoidable, Sherman put his army in motion for Fayetteville, some 70 miles northeast.<sup>15</sup>

South Carolina was now free of this army, which had applied total war in its severest terms within her borders. Lieutenant Charles S. Brown of the Twenty-first Michigan never spoke truer words than when he said: "South Carolina may have been the cause of the whole thing, but she has had an awful punishment."<sup>16</sup>

As early as January, 1865, the North Carolina newspapers had begun to prepare the people of the state for invasion.<sup>17</sup> But with the fall of Fort Fisher on January 15, and the occupation of Wilmington a week later, the people of North Carolina almost surrendered themselves to a wave of despondency. Late in February General Lee declared that the despair of the North Carolinians was destroying his army. He wrote to Governor Zebulon B. Vance: "Desertings are becoming very frequent and there is reason to believe that they are occasioned to considerable extent by letters written to the soldiers by their friends at home."<sup>18</sup>

General Sherman entered North Carolina with the confident ex-

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time of the "March to the Sea." A member of Sherman's staff termed the "bummer" as "a raider on his own account, a man who temporarily deserts his place in the ranks and starts upon an independent foraging mission." Henry Steele Commager (ed.), *The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 2 volumes, 1950), II, 952.

<sup>14</sup> Gustave Joseph Fieberger, *Campaigns of the American Civil War* (West Point, New York: United States Military Academy Printing Office, 1914), 401-414; Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War between the States, 1861-1865, Including a Brief Sketch and Narrative of his Services in the War with Mexico* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1884), II, 337-341.

<sup>15</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,247.

<sup>16</sup> Charles S. Brown to Etta (Brown?), April 26, 1865, Charles S. Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers.

<sup>17</sup> Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932), 499, quoting *Daily Progress* (Raleigh), January 21, 1865.

<sup>18</sup> Robert E. Lee to Zebulon B. Vance, February 24, 1865, Zebulon B. Vance Letter Book, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

pectation of receiving a welcome from its supposedly large number of pro-Union citizens.<sup>19</sup> Thus he had his officers issue orders for the gentler treatment of the inhabitants and, when the state line was crossed, circulate new instructions regulating foraging activities.<sup>20</sup> But no orders were drafted prohibiting the burning of the great pine forests within the state. North Carolina's turpentine woods blazed in fantastic "splendor as 'bummers' touched matches to congealed sap in notches on tree trunks." Seldom did the soldiers pass up an opportunity to fire these pine forests for burning rosin and tar created a spectacle of flame and smoke that surpassed in grandeur anything they had ever seen before. One Federal soldier wrote: "Among the curiosities of our march the burning of these factories was the most curious."<sup>21</sup> Another remarked that oftentimes the smoke could hardly escape through the green canopy above and being like a pall, it created a feeling of awe as though one were within the precincts of a grand old cathedral.<sup>22</sup>

On March 8 North Carolina for the first time felt the full weight of the Federal army, the right wing having crossed the state line on this date. General Sherman, traveling with the Fifteenth Corps, made his headquarters near Laurel Hill Presbyterian Church, a region his soldiers thought looked "real Northern like. Small farms and nice white, tidy dwellings."<sup>23</sup> However, the torrential rains which set in on that date soon turned the roads into a sea of mud and water, making them almost impassable for troops and trains.<sup>24</sup> The most formidable obstacle in the path of the army lay in the dark, swirling waters of the Lumber River and its adjacent swamps. This region brought from Sherman the remark: "It was the damnest marching I ever saw."<sup>25</sup> The wagons and artillery could only be dragged along by the mules with the assistance of soldiers who either tugged at

<sup>19</sup> George W. Nichols, *The Story of the Great March* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1865), 222, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Great March*.

<sup>20</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 719.

<sup>21</sup> John R. Kinnear, *History of the Eighty-Sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry. During Its Term of Service* (Chicago, Illinois: Tribune Company's Book and Job-Printing Office, 1866), 101, hereinafter cited as Kinnear, *History of Eighty-Sixth Regiment*. The Confederate soldiers also fired these great pine forests. Bell Irvin Wiley (ed.), *Rebel Private Front and Rear*, by William A. Fletcher (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), 140.

<sup>22</sup> William D. Hamilton, *Recollections of a Cavalryman of the Civil War after Fifty Years* (Columbia, South Carolina: F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1915), 195-196, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Recollections*.

<sup>23</sup> Charles W. Wills, *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier: Letters and Diary of the Late Charles W. Wills* (Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Company, 1906), 357, hereinafter cited as Wills, *Army Life*.

<sup>24</sup> Elijah P. Burton, *Diary of E. P. Burton, Surgeon Seventh Regiment Illinois* (Des Moines, Iowa: The Historical Records Survey, 2 volumes, 1939), II, 68.

<sup>25</sup> William W. Calkins, *The History of the One Hundred and Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, Illinois: Donahue and Hennebery, 1895), 294.

ropes out ahead of the teams or put their hands to the wheels.<sup>26</sup> The teamsters, reins in one hand, constantly punctuated the air with a dexterous whip lash to remind the poor mules of their "black military heart" and endless faults. Every sentence was ordained with an oath.<sup>27</sup> "Such a wild scene of splashing and yelling and swearing and braying has rarely greeted mortal eyes and ears" wrote one Ohioan of Sherman's army. After darkness the work was carried on in the eerie light of thousands of torches and blazing pine trees.<sup>28</sup>

The Federal cavalry under General Judson Kilpatrick crossed the Lumber River on March 8. Here Kilpatrick learned that the Confederate cavalry under Wade Hampton was only a few miles in the rear and moving rapidly on Fayetteville. Hoping to intercept the enemy, he set a trap for them only to have his own camp surprised and put to flight on the morning of March 10 by the Confederate horsemen. To make his escape Kilpatrick, clad only in his underclothes, had to spring from the warm bed of a lady companion, mount the nearest saddleless horse, and disappear into a neighboring swamp.<sup>29</sup>

Kilpatrick's escape on the morning of the surprise attack is as controversial a subject as the number of casualties suffered on each side. General Kilpatrick told an acquaintance after the war that on this particular morning he walked out of his headquarters in his slippers about daylight, as was his usual custom, to see that his horses were fed.<sup>30</sup> Such a habit was certainly the exception rather than the rule for most high ranking officers. A Confederate soldier in on this surprise attack presumed Kilpatrick to be the only example from Joshua to the nineteenth century of a major general who would walk out of a warm room in cold weather only partially dressed to see horses fed 100 yards away.<sup>31</sup>

Since the Federal cavalymen eventually drove the Confederates out of their camp, there is still disagreement over who actually got the better of the fighting at Monroe's Cross-Roads, contemptuously tag-

<sup>26</sup> Wilbur F. Hinman, *Story of the Sherman Brigade* (Privately printed, 1897), 918, hereinafter cited as Hinman, *Sherman Brigade*.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Oakey, "Marching Through Georgia and the Carolinas," in Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Company, 4 volumes. 1888), IV, 677.

<sup>28</sup> Hinman, *Sherman Brigade*, 918.

<sup>29</sup> John G. Barrett, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 125-129, hereinafter cited as Barrett, *Sherman's March*.

<sup>30</sup> Matthew C. Butler, "General Kilpatrick's Narrow Escape," in Ulysses R. Brooks, *Butler and His Cavalry in the War of Secession, 1861-1865* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1909), 446-447.

<sup>31</sup> J. W. DuBose to M. C. Butler, February 12, 1908, U. R. Brooks Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

ged by the Federal infantry as "Kilpatrick's Shirt-tail Skedaddle."<sup>32</sup> Yet the fact stands that by engaging Kilpatrick in battle, Hampton was able to open the road to Fayetteville which the Federal camp blocked. The Confederate cavalry joined General W. J. Hardee near Fayetteville that night. Hardee's small force, after evacuating Charleston on February 18, had been moving north just ahead of Sherman's army.

The Confederate forces withdrew across the Cape Fear on March 11, burning the bridge behind them. At the same time the Federal advance entered the city from the south. Sherman especially wanted to reach this river port in order that he could retake the arsenal located there. At the outbreak of war the Confederates had taken over the United States Arsenal in the city and for four years this valuable government property had served the South.

Fayetteville suffered a great deal as a result of the Federal occupancy. Besides the destruction of numerous public buildings, including the arsenal,<sup>33</sup> there was considerable pillaging by the "bummers," but this plundering of private property was done, for the most part, before General Absolom Baird took command of the city and garrisoned it with his three brigades.<sup>34</sup>

While at Fayetteville, Sherman took the opportunity to replace all rejected animals of his trains with those taken from the local citizens and to clear his columns of the vast crowd of white refugees and Negroes that followed the Federal army. He called these followers "twenty to thirty thousand useless mouths."<sup>35</sup> To General A. H. Terry at Wilmington he wrote: "They are dead weight to me and consume our supplies."<sup>36</sup> At the same time he complained to Grant that he could leave Fayetteville the next day were it not for the large crowd of refugees that encumbered his army.<sup>37</sup>

By the middle of March, Sherman had his entire force across the Cape Fear, and the move on Goldsboro had begun. The general was in a happy frame of mind as he watched his troops march by. The campaign was running like clockwork. Goldsboro, he felt sure, would be his in a few days.

From Savannah to Fayetteville, Sherman had moved his army in flawless fashion, but from this latter place to Goldsboro his operations were definitely characterized by carelessness in the management of

<sup>32</sup> Hamilton, *Recollections*, 199.

<sup>33</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 763.

<sup>34</sup> Wills, *Army Life*, 360; Charles S. Brown to Etta (Brown), April 26, 1865, Brown Papers.

<sup>35</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 803.

<sup>36</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 817.

<sup>37</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 795.

a large army. He placed little importance on William J. Hardee's delaying action at Averasboro on March 16.<sup>38</sup> Also, he allowed his columns to become strung out to such extent that Johnston came close to crushing one of the Federal corps at Bentonville. At this small town west of Goldsboro, Johnston had skillfully managed, on March 19, to concentrate his scattered forces. Completely ignorant of this Confederate move, Sherman allowed his Fourteenth Corps to be surprised by Johnston. For a while it looked as though the Confederates would carry the day, but Federal reinforcements late in the afternoon blunted the Confederate offensive. More Union troops reached the field during the day of March 20, and by the next day Sherman had his entire army in the vicinity of Bentonville. That night Johnston withdrew his forces to Smithfield.<sup>39</sup>

General Sherman claimed victory at Bentonville, the largest battle of the war in North Carolina, on the grounds that he was in possession of the battlefield when the fighting closed, and that Johnston had failed in his attempt to crush the Federal left wing.<sup>40</sup> Still the general had little of which to boast. His force was more than twice the size of his opponent's. Yet on March 19, the Federals tottered on the brink of a resounding defeat. Sherman's conduct at Bentonville bears out the truth of one of his subordinate's statements: "Strategy was his strongest point. Take him in battle and he did not seem to be the equal of Thomas or Grant."<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, Sherman failed to follow up his success by pursuing the enemy. Instead, he moved his army into Goldsboro. Awaiting him there were the forces of Generals Terry and Jacob D. Cox of John M. Schofield's command which had marched up from Wilmington and New Bern.

The general's explanation to Grant as to why he pushed on to Goldsboro rather than after Johnston leaves something to be desired.<sup>42</sup> In this communication he does not claim that his men were short of food or ammunition, "the only adequate excuse" for halting. He seemed to consider shoes, which were noticeably absent among the men, his most essential need. But the scarcity of footwear did not warrant a delay at this time. The Confederate soldiers were also without shoes.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 148-158.

<sup>39</sup> Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 159-185.

<sup>40</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 27.

<sup>41</sup> T. C. Fletcher (ed.), *Life and Reminiscences of General William T. Sherman by Distinguished Men of His Time* (Baltimore, Maryland: R. H. Woodward Company, 1891), 292.

<sup>42</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 950.

<sup>43</sup> Although Sherman did not claim a shortage of food, he did tell Grant that he planned to pick up rations in Goldsboro. *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I,

At Goldsboro Sherman was disturbed to find neither of the two railroads from the coast fully repaired and no supplies awaiting him. Nevertheless, he decided to change the foraging system. All foragers were ordered dismounted and placed in the ranks. Their horses and mules were turned over to the quartermaster corps, which meant quite a few animals.<sup>44</sup> "About half of this army are mounted," wrote a Federal soldier before this order went into effect. "It rather don't care to do much more walking. Nearly everyone has his own coach, cab, buggy, cart or wagon, drawn by horses or mules—blind or lame—colts or old worn out horses or mules. . . . General Sherman could now advertise a livery stable extensive enough to supply the whole country, provided they were not choice as to rigs."<sup>45</sup>

Still, the "corn-crib" and "fodder-stack" commandoes could look back upon a plentiful harvest between Fayetteville and Goldsboro. The countryside had supplied them with more forage, in some instances, than they could carry away. Meat and meal had been found in abundance. So skillfully had the "bummers" covered this region that the rooster no longer crowed in the morning because he no longer existed. Had the rooster escaped with his life there would have been no fence rail for him to perch on. At least, such was the opinion of one newspaper correspondent.<sup>46</sup>

As vital as the forager had been to the success of the campaign, General James D. Morgan of the Federal Fourteenth Corps regretted that he had to exclude him from praise and credit. He wrote: "I have some men in my command . . . who have mistaken the name and meaning of the term foragers, and have become under that name highwaymen, with all of their cruelty and ferocity and none of their courage. . . ."<sup>47</sup>

Sherman's arrival in Goldsboro had been announced by the columns of smoke which rose from burning farmhouses on the south side of the Neuse,<sup>48</sup> but within the town itself the "bummers" had little chance to pillage and destroy because Schofield had occupied the place two days before they arrived and had stationed guards to prevent outrages.<sup>49</sup>

950; Alfred H. Burne, *Lee, Grant and Sherman. A Study in Leadership in the 1864-65 Campaign* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), 179.

<sup>44</sup> *Official Records* Series I, XLVII, Part I, 424, 972.

<sup>45</sup> Edmund N. Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks of the War* (Columbus, Ohio: Edmund N. Hatcher, 1891), 67-68, hereinafter cited as Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks*.

<sup>46</sup> Hatcher, *The Last Four Weeks*, 36.

<sup>47</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 487.

<sup>48</sup> Cornelia P. Spencer, *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina* (New York: Watchman Publishing Company, 1866), 94, hereinafter cited as Spencer, *Ninety Days*; Elizabeth Collier Diary, April 20, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>49</sup> *Daily Conservative* (Raleigh), March 27, 1865.

Goldsboro was entirely too small to hold much interest for the Federal soldiers. A trooper of the One Hundred and Third Illinois wrote in his diary that the "Town don't amount to anything"<sup>50</sup> while Lieutenant Charles S. Brown of Michigan referred to it as "a little 7 x 9 sort of a hole about as large as Bentonville was once."<sup>51</sup> Despite what they said, these men along with the great majority of Sherman's soldiers enjoyed, as one of them put it, "luxuriating in the delicious spring weather."<sup>52</sup>

By March 25, repairs on the railroad from New Bern were finished, and the first train from the coast arrived in Goldsboro.<sup>53</sup> This completed the task Sherman had set out to do upon leaving Savannah. His army was now united with the armies of Schofield and Terry. Large supply bases on the North Carolina coast were available by rail, and the countryside from Savannah to Goldsboro, for an average breadth of 40 miles, had been laid waste.

The general now decided it was time to discuss with Grant the plans for a junction of their armies around Richmond. He hoped to share with the Army of the Potomac the glory of capturing the Confederate capital. Late in the afternoon of March 25, Sherman boarded a train for City Point, Virginia, Grant's headquarters. The visit proved futile as the commanding general was not disposed to delay his own push against Lee until the troops at Goldsboro could join him.<sup>54</sup> So in five days Sherman was back in eastern North Carolina, busily addressing himself to the task of the reorganization of his army and the replenishment of stores.

On April 10 he broke camp and started his march on Raleigh. When Sherman's move was reported to Johnston at Smithfield, he also put his small Confederate force in motion for the North Carolina capital.

During the night of April 11, Sherman learned of Lee's surrender at Appomattox. The announcement of this momentous news the next day put the Federal soldiers in a hilarious mood, even as the march went forward.<sup>55</sup> Toward this capering army was coming a Confeder-

<sup>50</sup> H. H. Orendorff and Others (eds.), *Reminiscences of the Civil War from Diaries of Members of the One Hundred and Third Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, Illinois: J. F. Learning and Company, 1905), 203.

<sup>51</sup> Charles S. Brown to "his folks and anyone else," no date, Brown Papers.

<sup>52</sup> James M. Drake, *The History of the Ninth New Jersey Veteran Volunteers* (Elizabeth, New Jersey: Journal Printing House, 1889), 364.

<sup>53</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part I, 28.

<sup>54</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 2 volumes, 1886), II, 460.

<sup>55</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 177, 180; Henry J. Aten, *History of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Hiawatha, Kansas: Regimental Association, 1901), 303.

ate locomotive. Inside the car were peace commissioners out of Raleigh. That night at Sherman's headquarters these emissaries unsuccessfully conferred with the general about a "suspension of hostilities." They did get from him, however, a promise of protection for both the state and municipal officials in the capital city.<sup>56</sup>

In the meantime the Confederate forces, along with Governor Vance, had evacuated Raleigh and Johnston had reported to President Jefferson Davis at Greensboro. While there, Johnston learned of Lee's capitulation. The news of this disaster fully convinced the general that the Confederacy was doomed. He realized that his small army, its ranks growing thinner by the day, was no match for Sherman.

In Johnston's opinion, President Davis now had only one governmental power left, that of terminating the war, and he thought this power should be exercised immediately. In a conference with the President, he was able to get the chief executive, after much discussion, to authorize him to send Sherman, who was at Raleigh, a communication asking for a suspension of hostilities.<sup>57</sup>

That Sherman would arrive in Raleigh in the course of his march had been anticipated since the day he entered the state.<sup>58</sup> The local papers had kept the citizens posted on the progress of his march. This fact plus wild stories of Federal atrocities circulated by Lieutenant General Joe Wheeler's men were not very comforting thoughts for the local inhabitants.<sup>59</sup> Following the general practice of those Carolinians caught in Sherman's path, the citizens of Raleigh hid their possessions in an effort to save them. Former Governor Charles Manly placed a portion of his possessions in a heavy wooden box and buried it three miles from the city. "It was a terrible job," he declared. "I laid on the ground perfectly exhausted before I could gain strength to mount my horse."<sup>60</sup> Soon after the Federal occupation of Fayetteville, Governor Vance began the transfer of state records and huge military stores he had accumulated. To Graham, Greensboro, and

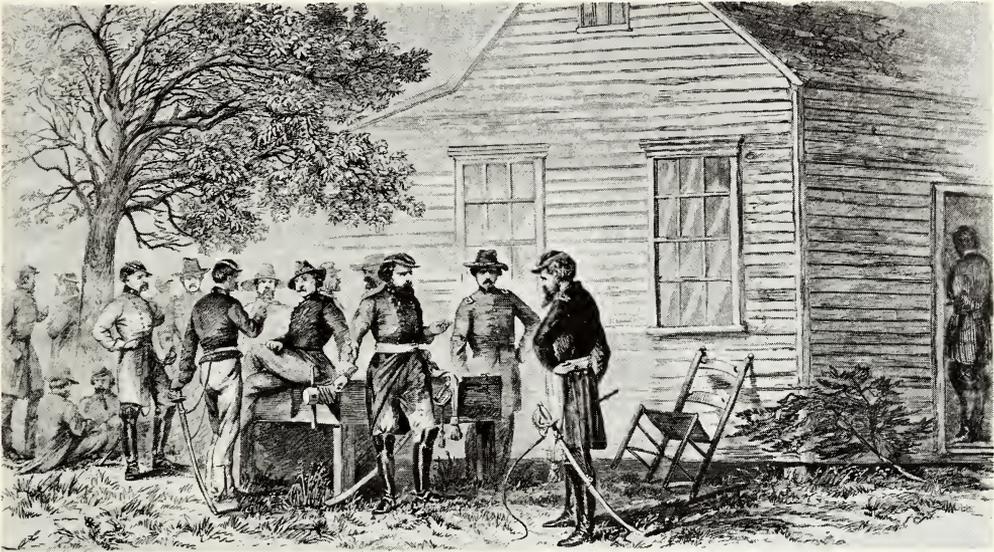
<sup>56</sup> For an interesting account of the surrender of Raleigh to the Federal forces, see Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and the End of the War in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 315-338.

<sup>57</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 346-347; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations, Directed, During the Late War Between the States, by Joseph E. Johnston, General, C.S.A.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), 397-398, hereinafter cited as Johnston, *Narrative*.

<sup>58</sup> R. H. Battle to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 26, 1866, David L. Swain Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Swain Papers; Spencer, *Ninety Days*, 145.

<sup>59</sup> Andrew J. Boies, *Record of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry from August 1862-August 1865* (Fitchburg, Massachusetts: Sentinel Printing Company, 1880), 126.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Manly to David L. Swain, April 8, 1865, Swain Papers.



The James Bennett house, near Durham, was the scene of negotiations between Generals Sherman and Johnston, April 18, 1865. From files of State Department of Archives and History, reproduced from Frank Leslie's illustration in *The American Soldier in the Civil War*.

Salisbury were transferred 40,000 blankets, overcoats, and clothes; English cloth for about 100,000 uniforms; shoes, and leather for 10,000 other pairs; 150,000 pounds of bacon; 40,000 bushels of corn, 6,000 scythe blades; and large quantities of cotton cloth, yarns, cotton cards, and imported medical stores.<sup>61</sup> The last train out of Raleigh with supplies, records, and state officials aboard left the depot shortly before 9:00 P.M. on April 12.<sup>62</sup>

Sherman arrived in Raleigh early the next morning and immediately set up headquarters in the governor's mansion which a member of his staff called "a musty old brick building . . . in derision called the 'palace.'"<sup>63</sup>

Johnston's message asking for a suspension of hostilities reached the general on April 14. His immediate reply led to a meeting with Johnston at Daniel Bennett's farm house a few miles west of Durham. There on April 17 and 18 Sherman granted terms to his adversary

<sup>61</sup> Zebulon B. Vance to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 17, 1866, Swain Papers.

<sup>62</sup> R. H. Battle to Cornelia P. Spencer, February 26, 1866, Swain Papers.

<sup>63</sup> Nichols, *Great March*, 296-297.

that restored to the South a large measure of its "status quo" ante-bellum condition. This generous agreement clearly shows that with Sherman, total war was a strategic not a vindictive matter.<sup>64</sup>

While these negotiations with Johnston were in progress, Sherman had the unpleasant task of announcing to his army the news of President Lincoln's death. In order to prevent any serious disorders, he delayed releasing the announcement until precautionary measures could be taken to insure the safety of the city.<sup>65</sup> This move in all probability spared Raleigh a fate similar to that of Atlanta or Columbia.

The general assumed that his peace terms would be acceptable to the administration in Washington and for several days all went well for him. Raleigh, unmarred by the ravages of war, made an impression on both Sherman and his soldiers. The men, with but few exceptions, acclaimed the city's lovely trees, stately public buildings, fine residences, wide streets, and well-kept lawns. To the members of the Eighty-sixth Illinois, "Raleigh was the handsomest city in Famous Dixie, it being neat and clean and its situation grand. . . ."<sup>66</sup>

The rural population of Wake and adjoining counties where Federal troops encamped did not fare as well as the citizens of the capital. George W. Mordecai wrote David L. Swain that farms in Wake, Orange, and Granville counties were "completely dispoiled of everything in the shape of provisions and forage." In addition many houses were either burned or torn down.<sup>67</sup> At Charles Manly's plantation three miles from Raleigh, the devastation was "thorough and unsparing." Manly listed as lost all weatherboarding, flooring, windows, and furniture in his dwelling houses. Barns, sheds, and cotton houses were stripped of siding; fences were burned; gear was broken up. All hogs and poultry were either driven off or killed. Medicine, "excellent brandy," whiskey, wine, and 200 gallons of vinegar was taken. Federal wagon trains came out every day until 150 bushels of corn, 15,000 pounds of fodder, 12,000 pounds of hay, and a few bushels of peas and wheat were hauled off.<sup>68</sup>

Approximately 30 miles west of Raleigh at the small university town of Chapel Hill, a division of Kilpatrick's cavalry was encamped.

<sup>64</sup> Barrett, *Sherman's March*, 226-244; Raoul S. Naroll, "Lincoln and the Sherman Peace Fiasco—Another Fable?" *The Journal of Southern History*, XX (November, 1954), 459-483.

<sup>65</sup> Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 351; Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1900), II, 465.

<sup>66</sup> Kinnear, *History of the Eighty-Sixth Regiment*, 110.

<sup>67</sup> George W. Mordecai to David L. Swain, May 15, 1865, Walter Clark Papers, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Clark Papers.

<sup>68</sup> Charles Manly to David L. Swain, May 16, 1865, Clark Papers.

Those cavalymen, however, resorted to very little pillaging and whiled away their time in much the same manner as the troops in Raleigh. Their commanding officer, General Smith D. Atkins, certainly was not interested in robbing the countryside. He was too busy courting President Swain's daughter, Ellie.<sup>69</sup>

While the troops were encamped in Chapel Hill, one could only speculate as to the outcome of this romance. Eleanor's parents certainly did not know, having refrained from questioning her on the subject. It was not until after Atkins' departure on May 3 that the long awaited announcement came. In a short note addressed to her parents "Miss Ellie" stated that she intended to marry General Atkins. She reminded her parents that she was twenty-one years old and capable of judging for herself. In the face of the furor caused by her decision, the strong-willed Eleanor wrote a friend that "but one voice can prevent this affair, and that is higher than man."<sup>70</sup> The Almighty did not see fit to intervene and the couple was married August 23, 1865. It was a victory for "true love," wrote Cornelia Spencer.<sup>71</sup>

Surely Atkins, as he led his troops out of Chapel Hill in early May, felt that war is not altogether hell.

Sherman's confidence that the war was over received a rude jolt on the morning of April 24 when Grant arrived at his headquarters with the news that the surrender terms were not acceptable in Washington. So once again Sherman met with Johnston. This time he offered, and the Confederate general accepted per force, the terms Lee had received at Appomattox.

Rebuffed in his efforts to befriend the South politically, Sherman did what he could to alleviate the economic distresses in the region around Raleigh. Army commanders were ordered to "loan" the inhabitants at once all the captured horses, mules, wagons, and vehicles that could be spared from immediate use. Generals were encouraged to issue provisions, animals, and any public supplies that could be spared "to relieve present wants and to encourage the inhabitants to renew their peaceful pursuits and to restore relations of friendship among our fellow citizens and countrymen." Foraging was to cease and all provisions acquired were to be paid for on the spot.<sup>72</sup>

To Johnston, Sherman expressed the hope that the animals "loaned" the farmers would be enough to insure a crop. In closing, he repeated

<sup>69</sup> David L. Swain was president of the University.

<sup>70</sup> Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill, Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 95.

<sup>71</sup> Cornelia P. Spencer Notebook, August 23-25, 1865, Southern Historical Collection. Cornelia Spencer was the daughter of Professor James Phillips.

<sup>72</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 322.

the familiar promise: "Now that the war is over, I am willing to risk my person and reputation as heretofore to heal the wounds made by the past war. . . ." <sup>73</sup> He went on to say that he thought his feeling was shared by his army and that of Johnston also. In his reply the Confederate general informed Sherman that in all of their interviews he had been impressed by his sincere desire "to heal the wounds made by the (past) war." The most amazing line in this letter was the usually impassive Johnston's confession that the misfortune of his life was that of having had to encounter Sherman in the field. <sup>74</sup>

Sherman's plans for departure were temporarily interrupted with the arrival in Raleigh of the New York newspapers of April 24. These papers carried over Secretary Edwin M. Stanton's signature a War Department bulletin implying that Sherman had deliberately disobeyed Lincoln's orders concerning surrender negotiations and that for "bankers gold" he might allow Jefferson Davis, who was fleeing south at the time, to escape. <sup>75</sup>

The publication of this bulletin made Sherman angry. Reacting as if he were a caged lion, the general, before members of his staff, lashed out at Stanton as a "mean, scheming, vindictive politician who made it his business to rob military men of their credit earned by exposing their lives in the service of their country. He berated the people who blamed him for what he had done as a mass of fools, not worth fighting for, who did not know when a thing was well done. He railed at the press . . . which had become the engine of villification. . . ." <sup>76</sup>

Bitter at northern politicians and the press, Sherman now considered as his best friends the defeated Confederates and the soldiers of his own army. In a letter to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, Sherman voiced a strong feeling for the people of the South. He told the judge that in case of war against a foreign foe he "would not hesitate" to mingle with the southerners and lead them in battle. <sup>77</sup> In the same temper he wrote his wife, Ellen: "The mass of people south will never trouble us again. They have suffered terribly, and I now feel disposed to befriend them—of course not the leaders and lawyers, but the armies who have fought and manifested their sincerity though misled by risking their persons." <sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 320.

<sup>74</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 336-337.

<sup>75</sup> *The New York Times*, April 24, 1865; Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 365.

<sup>76</sup> Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz with a Sketch of His Life and Public Services from 1869 to 1906 by Frederick Bancroft and William A. Dunning* (New York: The McClure Company, 3 volumes, 1908), III, 116-118.

<sup>77</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part III, 411.

<sup>78</sup> Howe, *Home Letters of Sherman*, 350.

On April 28 Sherman summoned to his headquarters in the Governor's mansion all corps and army commanders. He explained to them their duties after his departure. The necessary orders were completed and on April 29, Sherman departed by rail for Wilmington. He could leave Raleigh knowing he had honestly endeavored to shorten the road to reunion. If the terms first offered Johnston had been accepted, the southern people would have resumed the place they held in the Union in 1860, and the evils of congressional reconstruction might have been forestalled.

## REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA NONFICTION, 1963-1964

BY H. C. BRADSHAW\*

North Carolina writers published more than 30 books of nonfiction during the year July 1, 1963-June 30, 1964; this is an impressive total. While some of the books contribute only to the numerical total, there are some of a quality which merit more than passing notice. Some may be accurately evaluated as scholarly, some as popular, and the classifications are not, in this case, mutually exclusive.

While most titles in the nonfiction category are either history or biography, one concerns law, *Foreign Divorce*, by James H. Boykin; another prisoner rehabilitation, *Work-Earn and Save*, by Allen H. Gwyn; still another reports a European trip, *European Report, 1963*, by Mr. and Mrs. Holt McPherson; and a fourth portrays the ever-alluring Cape Hatteras, *The Cape Hatteras Seashore*, by David Stick and Bruce Roberts. A collection of nostalgic essays, *Light and Rest*, by Thad Stem, Jr., and a work of literary analysis and criticism, *Elizabethan Drama and Shakespeare's Early Plays*, by Ernest William Talbert, add still more variety.

Four titles deal with the Negro, past and present: Harry Golden's *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes*; Frenise A. Logan's *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894*; *In Quest of Freedom*, by Virgil A. Stroud; and *E-Equal-Ity Education in North Carolina Among the Negroes*, by Hugh Victor Brown.

Among the seven biographies on the list, two are about Baptist ministers: *The Cullom Lantern*, by James H. Blackmore, and *Papa Wore No Halo*, by Susan H. Jefferies. Other biographical subjects include an educator, *Blanford Barnard Dougherty*, by O. Lester Brown; a physician, *Mountain Doctor*, by LeGette Blythe; an editor, *My First Eighty Years*, by Clarence Poe; a botanist, *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany*, by Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley; and a racketeer, *God's Gambler*, by R. Frederick West.

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\* Mr. Bradshaw, editor of the editorial page of *The Durham Morning Herald*, delivered this paper at the morning session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 4, 1964.

If an output of two county histories—*Ashe County, A History*, by Arthur L. Fletcher and *History of Tyrrell County*, by David E. Davis—seems a small addition to the county history shelf, six works on college history—if we may include in this category the Dougherty biography as a history of Appalachian State College, the Cullom biography as a picture of Wake Forest College, and Chancellor Robert B. House's reminiscences of college life, *The Light That Shines*, as a view of The University of North Carolina—plus three other titles make up for any deficiency in the local history category. The three college histories are *The History of Western Carolina College*, by William Ernest Bird; *A History of Chowan College*, by Edgar V. McKnight and Oscar Creech; and *The University of North Carolina Under Consolidation 1931-63: History and Appraisal*, by Louis Round Wilson. To these we may add one local church history, that of Mocksville's First Presbyterian Church by James W. Wall; one boarding school history, *Ladies in the Making*, by Ann Strudwick Nash; and the account of a local enterprise, a hotel begun and never finished, *The Fleetwood Story*, by James H. Toms.

Other histories in the year's output take us much farther afield. Glenn Tucker's *Dawn Like Thunder*, a history of the Barbary Wars, is set largely in the Mediterranean world, with Americans, of course, playing major roles. *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*, by Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., is a narrowly specialized study in detail of a limited period in the history of Aleppo, a Syrian city of great antiquity. Page Shamburger's *Tracks Across the Sky*, which takes us not quite so far away and not so far back in time, relates the beginning of the air mail service in this country.

In the list is some good, even fascinating reading; let us consider first some of the biographies.

Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley's biography of John Clayton is an important contribution to the history of American science. Clayton was a remarkable figure. Native of England, planter in Virginia, clerk of the Gloucester County Court, Clayton assembled and cataloged data on the flora of his section and made several trips to the more remote parts of Virginia for specimens of plant life. He corresponded with and sent specimens to leading contemporary botanists at home and abroad, as John Bartram of Pennsylvania, Carolus Linnaeus of Sweden, Johann Friedrich Gronovius of Holland, and Peter Collinson of England.

The Berkeleys have carried on exhaustive research concerning this unusual man. Because of gaps in the discoverable data, they have not been able to record the full account of Clayton's life. But

they have used to advantage the material they have been able to find, and the result is a significant work. The authors merit commendation for making available the life story of a man, who though distant from fellows of kindred spirit and similar botanical interests nevertheless carried on scientific labors which contemporary scholars in the field recognized as valuable. Isolated in life, John Clayton has been happily rescued from an undeserved obscurity in history by the Berkeleys.

One of the most important contributions in the entire range of Tarheel biography was made during the year in Clarence Poe's autobiography, *My First Eighty Years*. Dr. Poe, whose lamented death took place only two months ago, richly deserved the accolade of North Carolina's first citizen. Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, his interests, like those of Chremes in Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*, touched every area of concern to humanity. He campaigned no less indefatigably for better farm living than for better farming methods. His advocacy of the crepe myrtle is responsible for its planting by the hundreds of thousands on lawns and driveways. Clarence Poe, who was largely self-educated though brilliantly so, was a staunch friend of education at both the public school and higher education levels. His work in promoting better health, notably in bringing into being the North Carolina Medical and Hospital Care Commission, has contributed immeasurably toward the expansion of health care facilities in the state. A continuing concern was the enrichment of spiritual life in better churches and a vital ministry on their part. Of his life and work, this native of Chatham County and longtime resident of Raleigh writes with characteristic charm. A rich content is enlivened by an easily readable style. The intimate insights and important events and developments in twentieth-century North Carolina history make the Poe autobiography a helpful source book as well as an absorbing personal story. It must be added, though, that we could wish for a fuller relation at some points. What Clarence Poe meant to the spirit and the pursuit of progress in North Carolina has been incalculable. We are fortunate that he has recorded his story in his distinctive way.

A story of extraordinary dedication is contained in the biography of Dr. Gaine Cannon—*Mountain Doctor*—by LeGette Blythe. Seeking rest from his medical practice in Pickens, South Carolina, Cannon went to his farm at Balsam Grove. Using his leisure to catch up on his reading about his favorite hero, Albert Schweitzer, he saw in Balsam Grove the opportunity to apply the Schweitzer philosophy of service. From then on, he was a mountain doctor.

Mr. Blythe has told the story with insight; the personalities of

doctor and patients come alive in the sure and sympathetic presentation. His account is vital, direct, and intimate, rich in human interest, abounding in delightful stories of that inimitable breed, the old-time southern mountaineer. Copious illustrations of Gaine Cannon at work supplement the text. In summary, *Mountain Doctor* is more than the biography of a physician working in the southwestern North Carolina mountains. It is a picture of medical practice among a people whose remoteness has kept alive a primitive way of life. It is a contribution to social understanding as well as an inspiration for service.

An entertaining book to read, *Papa Wore No Halo*, by Susan Herring Jefferies, was in places disappointing. Papa, David Wells Herring, Baptist preacher and missionary to China, emerges in clear enough relief. But some of the situations which were crucial in Papa's career appear in something of a haze. His controversy with the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, for example, needs a background explanation which by its absence leaves the reader with unanswered questions about the place of the disagreement in missionary history and its significance in missionary practice. One gets the impression that this book was written largely from personal memories and family reminiscences. Had these been supplemented by research in mission records and history, the biography of David Wells Herring would have been a much more valuable contribution to missionary history. As it is, *Papa Wore No Halo* is the portrayal of a man and his personality—as undoubtedly the author intended it to be—rather than a portrait of the missionary set in the frame of missionary history of his generation. Mrs. Jefferies gives vivid pictures of missionary life in China and momentous and thrilling experiences in the family's life there.

If the county history offering this year is small in volume, one of the books in the field, Colonel Arthur L. Fletcher's history of Ashe County, more than makes up for lack of quantity in its exceptional merit. Comprehensive and adequately detailed, without becoming monotonous or tedious, this history of Ashe County deals with various aspects of its life: political and governmental; military; religious; educational; agricultural, mining, and industrial; financial; utilities; transportation; fraternal; medical; and legal. One chapter is devoted to the depression of the 1930's—all too many county histories cut off before that period. The most distinctive chapter concerns the folklore of the county with special emphasis on home remedies used in illnesses, including treatment of "cansers." For all its comprehensive coverage, the book is weak in its presentation of social history. One gets only glimpses, instead of a clear full picture, of the way Ashe County people have lived through the years. While the history is not

documented, it is obviously based in large measure on records, other source material, and secondary sources which can be regarded as dependable. Conspicuously and happily lacking is reliance on exaggerated recollections of old-timers. Colonel Fletcher's account of Ashe County is one of the better county histories. It shows research in the assembling of data, judgment in evaluation of sources, and care in the selection of material.

Two of the books dealing with the Negro—one with his past, the other with his present—merit mention. The significance of the period 1876-1894 which Frenise A. Logan selected for his study of the Negro in Tarheelia is that it was the era in which the political influence of the Negro began to decline, the seeds of the white supremacy doctrine were sown, and the pattern of racial segregation as this generation knew it prior to the contemporary removal of barriers took form. The section on the Negro in politics is a fitting prologue to Helen G. Edmunds' *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1895-1901*. Dr. Logan's and Dr. Edmunds' works provide an exceptionally thorough survey of the Negro in North Carolina between the end of Reconstruction and the triumph of white supremacy in the election of 1900. In addition to political history, Dr. Logan treats economic and social history to give a well-rounded picture of Negro life and the Negro's role in the life of North Carolina.

Harry Golden's *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes*, while relating the current desegregation process to the late President, extends well beyond the limits of the title. In addition to detailing the removal of legal barriers separating the races, Mr. Golden shows some of the obstacles in public opinion to desegregation. The content of *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes* is not an original contribution to the history of racial desegregation. That topic has been well covered in books, magazine articles, and newspaper features. In tying the subject to President John F. Kennedy and making him something of a symbol for the civil rights movement, Mr. Golden found a new lead for a familiar story. He has selected from the mass of available data a representative sampling which makes his book a good study of this troubled era. To history Mr. Golden adds his interpretations both of the order of Negro society—he stresses the fact that it has been a matriarchy—and of the effect of desegregation on the southern white and Negro. In brief, Mr. Golden, essaying the role of prophet, foresees that desegregation will emancipate the southern white and require the Negro to work the harder to achieve in the larger competition he will face.

One of the most valuable of the year's nonfiction offering, in giving

information, is *The Peanut Story*, by F. Roy Johnson. Its packaging does not attract—in fact is deceptive of the true worth of the book, which is a comprehensive, documented history of peanut production. It constitutes a worthwhile reference work on this staple of northeastern North Carolina's agricultural economy.

Of the history titles on the list, the most significant in its contribution to the preservation of the nation's history is Glenn Tucker's *Dawn Like Thunder*. Detailing the record of the Barbary Wars, it corrects the popular, textbook-fostered misconceptions of what actually took place, particularly in the settlement, in the conflict between the United States and the Barbary States of North Africa. Exhaustive research made possible definitive treatment of a neglected episode in American history. It includes the account of one of the most memorable, but for most people forgotten, exploits in American military annals, the thousand-mile march across North Africa led by William Eaton and Lieutenant Presley Neville O'Bannon of the Marines, of which the high point was the capture of Derna—and its fruitlessness. Mr. Tucker is quite effective in showing that the peace which brought the fighting to an end was less a confirmation of the victory American exploits gained than a compromise with the Bashaw of Tripoli. The significance of the Barbary Wars, as Tucker sees it, is not so much a crushing of the Barbary States and stopping their piratical depredations and the payment of tribute to them, which continued another decade, as in giving the Navy "a glorious beginning" and providing Navy officers with preparatory training for the War of 1812.

*The Cape Hatteras Seashore* is distinguished for superb photography by Bruce Roberts and vividly descriptive text by David Stick.

As *The Peanut Story* merits a more pleasing typographical vehicle, so does Judge Allen H. Gwyn's *Work-Earn and Save*. The merit of the book is its significance for programs of prisoner rehabilitation. More than a vindication of one judge's experiment in helping humans who have taken the wrong track to find a better way, it is a source book to justify the extension of this experiment and a constructive prisoner rehabilitation program.

The one volume of literary criticism concerns one of the most productive and original eras in the history of English literature, the Elizabethan, and what was probably its most vital form, the drama. A general analysis of early Elizabethan drama gives Ernest William Talbert a springboard to the more specialized waters of the era's foremost figure, Shakespeare, the four hundredth anniversary of whose birth has been observed this year. Professor Talbert limits his study to the earlier plays of the master, comedies and historical dramas.

Designed essentially for the scholar, *Elizabethan Drama and Shakespeare's Early Plays* makes a definitive contribution to the study of English drama.

Three books in the list should be read for sheer enjoyment. They contain information, but their entertainment value transcends their other values. Chancellor Robert B. House's collection of reminiscences of university life and, in larger measure, of university personalities in his student days a half-century ago, is, to be sure, a valuable contribution to the history of The University of North Carolina. But its nostalgic charm has appeal for every old graduate, not only of Chapel Hill, but also of any other institution of distinction and tradition. Its greatest weakness is Chancellor House's compulsive tendency to apotheosis. My own knowledge of other garden spots—there are a few, you know—assures me that there were serpents in the Edens of even our idealized boyhoods, as there were in the first Eden. And I am sure that there were serpents in the Chapel Hill paradise of 1912-1916, although Chancellor House has scrupulously omitted mention of all save the hazing tragedy of 1912. But if apotheosis is a weakness, a tower of strength in *The Light That Shines* is the reminder of great teaching and its power to enlighten and enliven the lives of students through the subsequent years.

Thad Stem, Jr.'s, *Light and Rest* is a collection of brief essays, largely nostalgic, with the avowed purpose of entertaining through calling to mind the pleasant life of a day now gone, but within the memory of those who have reached the middle years. As they entertain, they preserve episodes in social history which the future historian of the Tarheel scene cannot afford to overlook. For us who are Mr. Stem's contemporaries and share similar memories, though, the merit of his work is its capacity to divert and entertain. The style possesses a lyric quality—not unexpected in a man who is also a poet—and there is a specificity which creates the atmosphere of reality. Though many of the essays take the reader back in memory, the over-all effect is appreciation of human kind and human worth—an ever contemporary lesson.

These last three works discussed in this review constitute its dessert course. If Chancellor House's *The Light That Shines* is the sweet potato pudding (grated, of course) and Thad Stem's *Light and Rest* the homemade ice cream (eaten from the dasher), Ann Strudwick Nash's *Ladies in the Making* is the plum pudding with hard sauce. This is the story of the Nash-Kollock School in Hillsboro—the school for girls conducted by Sally and Maria Nash (daughters of Chief Justice Frederick Nash and granddaughters of Governor Abner

Nash) and their cousin, Sarah Kollock. It is a fine water color—if I may change the metaphor used a sentence or two ago—of a genteel school for genteel young ladies of genteel families. The aim of the school is succinctly expressed in the title of the book; and the school was symbolic of an educational ideal which held that the purpose of schooling is to produce a lady or a gentleman and that book learning is secondary and supplementary to that objective. It was, in its simplified way and under prevailing circumstances, an application of John Witherspoon's profound and valid dictum, "Truth is in order to goodness."

As social history, *Ladies in the Making* is fascinating. The merit of its style is love for the subject. It portrays with tender grace a day that is dead. And though the day is dead, it possessed qualities which would make life in the alive today more pleasant and more enjoyable. The blend of formality and courtesy—and now I mix my metaphors with abandon and without apology—oils the wheels of human contact and smooths the rough roads of the day's demands in family living, work, and civic activity.

More than any other book in this nonfiction offering, *Ladies in the Making* is representative of the new interest in preserving North Carolina history and of the reminders that Tarheelia too has a fine tradition and heritage of gracious living and high thinking.

# THE CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL: A REPORT

BY NORMAN C. LARSON\*

It is extremely difficult to stand before a group of people with whom I have become quite familiar over the past several years, and realize that, in all probability, this will be my final performance of this nature. It is also very difficult to realize that it *actually was* four years ago that I stood in this same spot and outlined the proposed activities of the then-forthcoming centennial.

But time *has* passed, and this *is* my final appearance, and these two facts cannot be altered. And the centennial anniversary of the War Between the States *has* virtually ended.

This morning, however, I am not here to bemoan the addition of a few more gray hairs or lament over extra girth where it is most apparent. Neither shall I regret that with the end of the centennial comes also the end of my employment, nor do I plan to memorialize or eulogize the activities of the commission I represent.

I could say, and honestly so, that our commission is the finest of the 44 similar groups throughout the nation, but I won't. I will not say that our staff, in spite of its many changes, has remained one of the most loyal and productive in state government; without these dedicated people the progress we have made would not have been possible. I will not mention the co-operation extended to us by the State Department of Archives and History, from the director on down, which has been one of our mainstays during the past four years and say that, without it, we would long since have collapsed.

No, I'll not say these things because they don't need to be said. You know them; I know them; so also does the centennial-minded nation.

Rather than eulogize or memorialize them, I should like to utilize the brief time allotted me to do exactly as is suggested in your program—give you a report of centennial activity in and about North Carolina, and perhaps, at the same time, evaluate what it has all meant to this state and to the country.

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\* Mr. Larson, Executive Secretary of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, presented this speech at the morning session of The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 4, 1964.

As you are aware, the past four years have seen North Carolina and, indeed, the entire nation gripped in what can only be called "the throes of a minor miracle." This "minor miracle," of course, is the Civil War Centennial, that greatest of all commemorative events which has been with us since February, 1961. This singularly-American phenomenon has made itself felt from Maine to Florida, and from New York to California. It has caused some historians to shudder; others, to jump with glee. It has caused archivists to cringe (especially some I know), newspaper editors to rant, and members of reactivated Confederate and Union regiments and ladies of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to ascend to a special "Seventh Heaven."

In Mississippi one could find 10,000 Confederate colonels, complete with sash and saber, sideburns and sidearms. In Pennsylvania, a real-live, dyed-in-the-wool J. E. B. Stuart has thrilled children of all ages by posturing himself atop his strutting steed. In a New Jersey schoolroom, a "Blue and Gray" history section daily has fought the war. And in Columbus, Ohio, a Polynesian restaurant has flown a Confederate flag.

We have refought the battles of Philippi, Manassas, Front Royal, Winchester, Antietam, Gettysburg, and many others—fought all, fortunately, with a minimum of casualties.

We have staged parades, written books, held balls, and arranged cake sales and special displays. We have microfilmed old records and compiled rosters.

In North Carolina we have salvaged blockade-runners, raised sunk-en ships, dedicated monuments, staged pageants, and even commemorated the capture of a single piece of artillery (a twelve-pound Whitworth cannon).

And now we should pause and ask ourselves, "Has it all been worth it?" To me, the answer is quite obvious: Yes! For out of the hullabaloo and pageantry, the serious research and writing, there has come and there will come a better understanding of this most crucial period in the history of our nation.

It is true that not all of us will have garnered a more intensified knowledge of the Battle of Antietam because we have seen it re-enacted; we will not remember the abortive peace attempt of February, 1861, because a commemorative program was held; but at least we will be aware of the existence of these events. Our publications have reached thousands of school children and *will* reach more. And remember, this figure is increased many times when we consider that there are some 44 additional centennial commissions in the country that also distribute publications. These books and pamphlets have

also made the job of teaching just a little bit easier by proving to be the supplemental materials so much needed in our classrooms.

Many of the commissions have published serious, *good* histories of their home states in the war—publications which otherwise might not have been produced. Commissions, such as those in New York and Ohio, have published series of booklets on various subjects, all of which have found a definite place in the over-all story of the period. Other state commissions have undertaken intensive research projects, which, in years to come, will aid the scholar and historian.

Each of the 45 Civil War centennial commissions in the United States has conducted its own program as it has seen fit. No specific master plan was developed and no specific direction given, so the centennial has evolved as a varied and all-inclusive event. To give you some idea of this variety, I should like briefly to outline our program of the past four years; for it includes most of the techniques utilized by other states, and it is indicative of centennial activities throughout the country.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission has been one of the largest and most productive of the nation's commemorative groups. Our membership has consisted of 25 appointed and three ex officio members. While the commission is political in origin, we have never become political in purpose, and we have managed to keep our approach at the historical level, where it belongs.

Our staff has been one of the best, and consists at the present time of two professional historians, an editorial assistant, a public information officer, two stenographers, and an executive secretary. Our budget, which has been utilized mainly for staff maintenance and publications, has remained constant at approximately \$60,000 a year and is surpassed only by Virginia's.

We began our operation in April, 1960, in a somewhat dingy corner of the State Archives and History Department with a staff consisting of a jack-of-all-trades assistant and me. Our initial problem was to work out a program and draw up an estimated budget for the first year of the centennial. Having done this, we presented the suggested program and budget to the commission members at our first plenary meeting. With a few minor changes, the program was accepted and we were in business.

One of our first thoughts was that our plans were too ambitious to be carried out by staff alone. We therefore asked Governor Luther H. Hodges to request that each county's board of commissioners appoint a group to work with us in planning and conducting the centennial program at a local level. Governor Hodges did this and commissioners

in 77 of North Carolina's 100 counties complied with his request. Organizational and instructional materials were then mailed to committee members and work was commenced.

The commission itself was organized into committees, with each member assuming a committee role best suited to his or her abilities. In addition to commission members, selected outsiders (specialists in their fields) were invited to participate with us. Eleven committees were formed, covering such areas as drama; audio-visual aid; school education; publications; graves and markers; special events; legislation; documents, manuscripts, and museum items; re-enactments; the Confederate Museum; and the Confederate Festival. In the beginning each committee met as needed to work out a program for the staff to follow. The result of this work may be seen in our accomplishments to date.

In 1961 and 1962 we were extremely active in the field of drama. A group of outstanding North Carolina writers was prevailed upon to combine its talents and, under the direction of playwright Paul Green, to produce three one-act plays for high school, college, and community theater use. Betty Smith (of *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* fame), Manly Wade Wellman, and George Brenholtz were our authors.

The potential development of a new and up-to-date Confederate Museum in Richmond, long a personal dream of mine, was the result of initial planning by our Confederate Museum Committee. At our suggestion, the Confederate States Centennial Conference adopted this as a major project. Another request from this group, to the city of Richmond, resulted in the donation of a building and badly-needed land to the Confederate Literary and Memorial Society, custodians of the old White House of the Confederacy which is now the Confederate Museum. We hope that the White House will eventually be restored to its 1861-1865 appearance and that the additional buildings and land will be better utilized to tell the story of the Confederacy.

Of our many activities, our most productive work, perhaps, has been in the field of publications. We have published the aforementioned one-act plays; promotional literature; pamphlets on the battles of Fort Macon, New Bern, and Gettysburg; the booklet, *A Guide to Military Organizations and Installations, North Carolina, 1861-1865; Front Rank*, a book telling the story of North Carolina in the Civil War, by Glenn Tucker; and *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem*, the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band history, by Harry H. Hall. We have also reprinted a 1929 offering, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy*. We are currently preparing for publication an index to

Civil War materials in the State Department of Archives and History and a history of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment. Consideration is being given at the present time to the publication of a history of Fort Fisher and the two major battles associated with it.

The commission's most monumental effort to date is the compiling and editing of a new roster of North Carolina troops, 1861-1865. The first volume of this estimated twenty- to thirty-volume work is now ready for the printer and is scheduled to be published in the spring of 1965. A second volume should appear shortly thereafter. Publication of subsequent volumes will cover an estimated span of three or four years and will be carried out by the State Department of Archives and History. This project, the largest of its kind undertaken by a state commission, has been recognized nationally as the most outstanding contribution of any centennial commission. Much inspiration for this effort has come from State Archivist H. G. Jones; without his constant assistance, the project would not have been possible.

Early in the centennial, we undertook the marking of the North Carolina Civil War sites not already adequately indicated as such, and the ones not scheduled for treatment as state historic sites or parks. New Bern, Roanoke Island, and Averagesboro Battlefield are a few of these. A new-type highway marker was developed by the commission and has been adopted by the State Department of Archives and History for use in its marker program.

One of the most successful phases of our program has been that of audio-visual education. With the co-operation of key personnel from leading radio and television stations in the state, we have seen the production of two television dramas, five half-hour documentaries, one hour-long musical program, and numerous interview and short feature programs. These shows were produced at little or no cost to the commission. All of North Carolina's major centennial events have received radio and television coverage, and we feel that through the broadcasting media we have succeeded in reaching a maximum number of Tarheels with the centennial message.

A by-product of our audio-visual committee work is in the infant stage and has yet to be given public exposure. This is a radio and television broadcasters' historical association, which we hope will evolve from this committee and eventually lead to a new technique in the preservation of North Carolina's records.

Re-enactments have also been handled by this commission; and, while approached with trepidation by many, they have all been of a satisfactory nature. At our suggestion, the Alamance County Confederate Centennial Committee undertook the organization, or rather,

reactivation, of one of the state's most outstanding fighting units—the Sixth North Carolina Regiment. The regiment has a current strength of approximately 150 men and can produce a minimum of 50 participants for any program or re-enactment. Commanded by Burlington industrialist and commission member, W. Cliff Elder, the regiment has participated in all major re-enactments to date and is preparing for the battle re-enactment at Aversboro in March, 1965.

In the field of in-school education we have had perhaps the least amount of success. While we have provided many illustrated lectures for individual classes and placed literature in the hands of the pupils themselves, we did not, until 1963, succeed in making what might be termed a mass “pitch” to the students or teachers. In that year, however, we placed our publication *Front Rank* in virtually all school libraries, where it is now used as a supplementary teaching device for seventh- and eighth-grade classes.

Commemorative programs have been many and varied. These have ranged from a simple ceremony in February, 1961, marking the one hundredth anniversary of the last time that the “Stars and Stripes” was flown in Wilmington (incidentally, this brought about the return of that very same flag to Wilmington), to the gala Confederate Festival in May, 1961, which served as a kickoff for our program. Coming in between and since these events have been literally hundreds of programs, not only on a state-wide scale, but also at the local level; most of these have been conducted by the county committees. Outstanding among these programs have been the anniversary programs noting the battles of Roanoke Island, New Bern, and Fort Macon; Colonel William Lamb Day, held in July, 1962, at Fort Fisher; and a Civil War musicale held in Winston-Salem. We have also participated in the commemorations of events at the national level, such as those at Manassas, Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, Kennesaw Mountain, and many others.

Many of our committees have collected documents and manuscripts of the Civil War period and have insured their preservation either by photostating or depositing them in state or local archives. The best example of such may be seen in the work of our Forsyth County committee, which has prevailed upon the Wake Forest College Library to establish a Civil War documents section. This committee has also been instrumental in collecting many historically important records and manuscripts which are kept by the college.

We could go on mentioning other aspects of our program, but since time is limited I must now bring this talk to a close. In doing so, however, I should like to mention one or two of our “pet” projects—pro-

jects which have really not been completed, but which have been our biggest "attention-getters" to date. These are the salvage operations conducted off the coast of North Carolina and the resurrection and restoration of the Confederate gunboat "Neuse."

In March, 1962, a fierce coastal storm laid waste much of eastern North Carolina. In the Fort Fisher area, however, it worked to our advantage; or, more specifically, to the advantage of the State Department of Archives and History. Rather than causing great destruction, the storm revealed the remains of a sunken British steamer, "Modern Greece." United States Naval divers, while on a sort of "busman's holiday," discovered the wreck. They reported this discovery to officials of the department and this commission, who were soon off on a crash salvage program which lasted approximately a year and a half.

Under our direction, naval and civilian divers have recovered thousands of artifacts including rifles, bayonets, medical equipment, Bowie knives, and three large cannons (each weighing in excess of 6,000 pounds). The commission has been instrumental in procuring funds to conduct these operations and has assisted considerably in the establishment of an Archives and History preservation laboratory to process materials recovered from the sea. Incidentally, the work being done at the Fort Fisher laboratory is receiving not only state and national attention, but also world-wide recognition. We are quite proud of this aspect of the program and of all the people who have worked with us to bring it about.

The second of our "pet" projects has been the resurrection of the Confederate gunboat "Neuse" from the Neuse River, near Kinston. Under the direction of the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee, the project has been underway for approximately three years and at last seems on the way to completion. Some \$25,000 has been raised at the local level and put into salvage work. The gunboat is now out of the water and permanently situated at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial just a few miles upstream from the spot where it had lain for 100 years. Plans now are to construct housing for the "Neuse" and a nearby museum to display artifacts recovered from it. Two fund-raising projects are currently being carried on by the Lenoir County committee along with this commission: the selling of commemorative medals of silver, silver oxidize, and bronze, which depict the "Neuse" on one side and the original Confederate Naval Seal on the other; and the issuing of commissions in the Confederate Navy to those who wish to contribute.

In conclusion, I am reminded of an article which appeared in some scholarly publication at the onset of the centennial and was entitled "The Civil War Centennial—Cerebration or Celebration?" My contention has long been that both of these are needed in a program of this magnitude, and I strongly feel that we have succeeded in providing some degree of contentment for the scholar *and* the layman. If this be true, then I feel that the purpose of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission has been fulfilled.

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- ✓ HOYT, EDWIN PALMER. Spectacular rogue: Gaston B. Means. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1963. 352p. \$5.95.
- ✓ JEFFERIES, SUSAN HERRING, Papa wore no halo. Winston-Salem, John Fries Blair, 1963. 457p. \$4.95.
- ✓ MITCHELL, MEMORY FARMER. North Carolina's signers, brief sketches of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence and the Con-

<sup>6</sup> Winner of the Mayflower Award, 1964.

- stitution. Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1964. 61p. 25¢.
- ✓ PATRICK, REMBERT WALLACE. Aristocrat in uniform, General Duncan L. Clinch. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1963. 226p. \$5.50.
- ✓ POE, CLARENCE HAMILTON. My first 80 years. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1963. 267p. \$4.75.
- ✓ WEST, ROBERT FREDERICK. God's gambler. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1964. 235p. \$3.95.

*New Editions and Reprints*

- ✓ CAMPBELL, CARLOS CLINTON. Great Smoky Mountains wildflowers. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1964. 88p. \$3.00.
- ✓ CRAVEN, AVERY ODELLE. Edmund Ruffin, Southerner, a study in secession. Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, 1964. 283p. \$8.00.
- ✓ DEMOND, ROBERT ORLEY. The loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution. Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, 1964. 286p. \$7.50.
- ✓ GAY, JAMES. A collection of various pieces of poetry, chiefly patriotic. With an introduction by Richard Walser. Charlotte, McNally & Loftin, 1964. 42p. \$3.00.
- ✓ GOLDEN, HARRY LEWIS. Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes. Greenwich, Conn., Fawcett Publications, 1964. 240p. 60¢.
- ✓ GUNN, ROBERT LOUIS. Driver's license law. Chapel Hill, Institute of Government, 1963. 118p. \$2.00.
- HELPER, HINTON ROWAN. The impending crisis of the South: how to meet it. New York, Collier Books, 1963. 346p. \$1.50.
- ✓ LEWIS, HENRY WILKINS. Primary and general election law and procedure, a guidebook for county and precinct election officials in North Carolina. Chapel Hill, Institute of Government, 1964. 146p. \$2.00.
- ✓ MCKENNA, RICHARD MILTON. The Sand Pebbles, a novel. Greenwich, Conn., Fawcett Publications, 1964. 528p. 95¢.
- MORGAN, ERNEST, editor. A manual of simple burial. Burnsville, Celo Press, Arthur Morgan School, 1964. 64p. \$1.00. *yes ordered*
- ✓ OATES, WAYNE EDWARD. The Christian pastor. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1964. 258p. \$5.00.
- ✓ RAYNOR, GEORGE. Sketches of old Rowan. Salisbury, [Author?], 1963. unpagged. \$2.50.
- SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. David, warrior and king, a Biblical biography. New York, Pocket Books, 1963. 389p. 50¢.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Devil's harvest, a novel. New York, Pocket Books, 1964. 188p. 50¢.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sangaree. New York, Popular Library, 1964. 318p. 60¢.
- SMITH, BETTY. Joy in the morning. New York, Bantam Books, 1964. 250p. 75¢.

## BOOK REVIEWS

✓ *Southern Savory*. By Bernice Kelly Harris. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. 256. \$5.00.)

The countless readers who have enjoyed the homely flavor of *Purslane*, *Portulaca*, *Janey Jeems*, *Wild Cherry Tree Road*, and other writings of Bernice Kelly Harris will find especial delight in *Southern Savory*, a series of impressions and reminiscences. The tar is as thick on the heels of the writer whose fame has spread beyond the bounds of the state and nation as it was when she was a little girl in Wake County in the early years of the century.

The little country girl whose experiences and emotions are recorded in Part One of the book was destined to be a writer. For her, Rocky Branch tumbling over rocks became Niagara Falls; the mud puddle in the hog lot was transformed into the river which Christiana had to cross over into the New Jerusalem; and a sapling served as a steed which she rode to Astolat. Even without a steed that shining city of romance could be reached, for she writes: "I rode to Astolat even when I churned and sloshed buttermilk and dreamed." She became a part of all that she read or dreamed. Though she was oftenest the Lily Maid, others took their turn, among them Scott's Rebecca, the Biblical Ruth, and Queen Victoria.

The enchantment of Astolat did not blind the little girl to the absorbing interests to be found in Poole's Siding. There was Grandpa Kelly, whose Republican bias was a source of embarrassment to his kin; Grandpa Poole, who "talked to the Lord as though He were on the bench by him"; Aunt Martha, who "moved in cool sweet dignity," and who "praised everything, including the Psalms and cornbread"; and Cousin Will, who "made a career of visiting." One of the neighbors was a figure of comedy and pathos—Mr. Claude, a scholarly minister who did not abandon his necktie, his standup white collar, and his derby hat even when he was forced into farming because "he had run out of churches." The Latin with which he addressed his livestock did not keep them out of other people's fields nor discourage the grass from growing in his own.

These and many more observations the child saw with clear, keen eyes and the mature woman remembered and re-created with sympathetic candor in *Southern Savory*.

Part Two introduces the reader to Seaboard, the small town in Eastern Carolina in which Mrs. Harris has lived more than forty years—first as teacher, then as wife, and always as writer. Here she became a vital part of the life of the small place. She organized some of her friends into a playwriting group, which was unique while it lasted. “Scenarios split time with Rhode Island Reds; expository devices, with salad combinations; and kings who paid the wages of sin, with casseroles.” From these and other neighbors, as from her kith and kin in Poole’s Siding, she drew characters and situations which appear in her plays and novels.

Because she has Wordsworth’s “exquisite regard for common things,” Mrs. Harris does not find life in a small town flat, stale and unprofitable; nor is it tainted with the dregs of evil. Her Seaboard is not *Main Street* or *Peyton Place*. Rather, she sees it as did Edgar Lee Masters when he wrote:

Life all around me here in the village:  
Tragedy, comedy, valor, and truth,  
Courage, constancy, heroism, failure —  
All in the loom, and oh what patterns!

“Small towns,” Mrs. Harris writes, “cannot be generalized or poured from one mold any more than human being can. . . . Along with its general faults, each has its individual virtues.” Seaboard’s kindness she characterizes as “comprehensive and warm and spontaneous . . . creative kindness to humanity.” While surveying farming conditions for the Federal Writers’ Project, she found, as she talked with hunger-bitten sharecroppers and tenant farmers, “beauty among penury and want and despair.”

Mary Lynch Johnson

Meredith College

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✓ *Folk, Region, and Society: Selected Papers of Howard W. Odum.* Edited by Guy B. Johnson, Rupert B. Vance, George L. Simpson, and Katharine Jocher. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Introductory notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 480. \$8.00.)

Howard W. Odum was one of the brightest lights ever to adorn the campus of The University of North Carolina. He was highly respected throughout America as a sociologist. Through his teachings, writings, and inspiration, he played the leading role in establishing

sociology as a college and university discipline throughout the entire South. Many of his former graduate students are now department heads and respected teachers in many states including all southern ones.

He was more than a sociologist and teacher of sociology; he was a man of many facets—folklorist, prose poet, and breeder of pedigreed Jersey cattle. He gave generously of his time to students and young teachers and served the state, region, and nation as head or member of numerous committees, commissions, and other groups. He was president of the American Sociological Society in 1930. Honorary degrees, and national and state awards were bestowed upon him. Several leading universities invited him to be visiting professor or lecturer.

*Folk, Region, and Society* contains selected papers from limited areas of Odum's writings. The editors are four of his former graduate students who were very close to him and are perhaps best qualified to compile this volume which appears ten years after Odum's death.

Following a brief biographical foreword, the book is divided into four parts, each of which has sub-sections.

Part I. *The Negro Folk: Interpretation and Portraiture*, is edited by Guy B. Johnson, with introductory note to ten papers.

Part II. *The Region and Regionalism*, is edited by Rupert B. Vance, with introductory note to seven papers.

Part III. *The Folk and Folk Sociology*, is edited by George L. Simpson, with introductory note to seven papers.

Part IV. *Sociology in the Service of Society*, is edited by Katharine Jocher, with introductory note to 12 selected papers.

The book contains a Bibliography of Odum's writings divided into books, monographs; articles, brochures, chapters, pamphlets; publications which he edited such as *Social Forces*, which he also founded. Some of his earlier works are lost and thus not listed. The chronological arrangement has been followed in order to show the development in Odum's thinking.

This book is a labor of love by four outstanding students and long-time close associates of his. He probably would have selected them to edit this nondefinitive volume which deals only with his writings as a sociologist.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr.

The University of North Carolina  
at Chapel Hill

✓ North Carolina Lands: Ownership, Use and Management of Forest and Related Lands. By Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho (Washington, D.C.: The American Forestry Association. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xx, 372. \$6.00.)

Since the days of Joseph Austin Holmes and Joseph Hyde Pratt at the turn of this century, the interest of North Carolinians in conservation has been sustained by the increasing importance of timber to the state's economy. The most extensive study of conservation in North Carolina to date is the work of two foresters, James Yoho of Duke University and Kenneth B. Pomeroy of the American Forestry Association.

Unlike other states in which similar studies have been made, private land ownership predominates in North Carolina. Following a lengthy historical discussion of land laws in North Carolina, the authors conclude that maintenance of private landholdings has been the "unswerving policy" of the state. By 1908 "almost every acre had been patented to private applicants." While federal, state, and local government agencies have reacquired considerable North Carolina lands over the years, most holdings are still private.

The chief concern of the authors involves what they call the "forestry problem" in North Carolina. This problem stems from the unusually high percentage of commercial forests held by small landholders. In an exhaustive analysis of these holdings, perhaps the most impressive part of the study, the authors explain how more conservation practices will be needed if future supplies of timber are to be kept abreast of the state's needs. "Although the quantity, if not the quality, of standing timber seems adequate for current demands," they warn, "there is no assurance that this balance will continue indefinitely."

Accompanying this analysis is a body of specific recommendations that will be helpful to many of the state's enterprises. For example, the state's furniture industries are advised to increase their own landholdings and to launch a vigorous campaign "designed to make landowners more conscious of the value of hardwoods."

The chief weakness of the study is in its organization. Unrelated topics are treated together without explanation. The second chapter on evolution of land ownership is essentially a catalog of undigested facts. A more complete indexing of such information would be helpful.

In spite of these shortcomings, the authors have made a useful study of an important area of North Carolina's economy. It will be

of interest to the state's foresters in particular and to all students of the history of conservation and landholding in North Carolina.

David N. Thomas

East Carolina College

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*ms* Essays in American History. East Carolina College Publications in History. Volume I. (Greenville: Department of History, East Carolina College. 1964. Pp. vi, 182. \$1.50.)

*Essays in American History* contains six articles, all by faculty members of the Department of History at East Carolina College (although graduate students are eligible to contribute to the series) and all clearly good enough to appear in the historical journals for which their subjects are appropriate. The titles of the articles, which are as follows, provide a brief summary of the volume's contents: Alvin A. Fahrner, "Commodore James Barron, United States Navy (1769-1851), Scapegoat of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* Affair"; Charles L. Price, "The Railroad Schemes of George W. Swepson"; Lala Carr Steelman, "Georgia's Reaction to Reconstruction: The Constitutional Convention of 1877"; Joseph F. Steelman, "Progressivism and Agitation for Legal Reform in North Carolina, 1897-1917"; Hubert A. Coleman, "Establishment of a Separate Air Force Medical Service after World War II"; and John C. Ellen, Jr., "Piedmont and Mountain Political Newspapers of North Carolina, 1850-1859: A Compendium."

The major significance of this publication derives from the nature of the series of which it is the initial volume rather than from the nature of the individual articles. *Essays in American History*, as Volume I of *East Carolina College Publications in History*, has an importance out of proportion to its contents, size, and price.

A critical question confronts the historical profession. How can provision be made for ample media of publication, especially for articles, for the rapidly growing body of historians who increasingly wish to publish and who are increasingly pressured by their institutions to do so? The journals of historical associations are not sufficient to meet the need. Furthermore, establishing more associations and more journals is not a wholly satisfactory solution. Already many historians are oppressed by the solicitations from the numerous existing associations and by the responsibilities of membership.

A promising answer to the question is supplied by this volume. In inaugurating its own series in a tasteful but low-budget format,

East Carolina College has demonstrated that a modestly-financed institution with a modestly-paid faculty can provide itself with a channel of publication for articles and offer a service in scholarship to research libraries and the few but eager specialists to whom these articles are important.

The volume's title may mislead some readers. These articles are not "essays" in the sense that the authors attempt to be highly literary, interpretive, or personal. These are conventional research pieces, no more, no less.

Experimentation with genuine essays in some future volume might enhance the series' attractiveness. Good essays, of course, are manifestly more difficult to produce than good research articles, and ironically the associations have devised no media for the development of good essayists. Perhaps East Carolina can demonstrate that a series such as its *Publications in History* can enrich the body of historical literature by diversifying it as well as by simply enlarging it.

In any event, it is hoped that East Carolina will continue its good work, and that other institutions will consider the possible advantages of similar publications.

Oliver H. Orr, Jr.

North Carolina State of The  
University of North Carolina  
at Raleigh

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Robert Carter of Nomini Hall: A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century. By Louis Morton. (Charlottesville: Dominion Books, a division of the University Press of Virginia. 1964. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 332. \$2.75.)

This is a reissue (paper cover) of Morton's well-documented study which was first published in 1941 and reprinted in 1945 by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. Except for minor changes in the introductory material, the present book is identical to the 1945 edition.

Aware of the excellent work done by Philip A. Bruce and Thomas J. Wertenbaker on the development of Virginia's plantation system after 1700, Morton addressed himself to the "new" economic and social problems which arose in that colony after 1750. Accordingly, instead of writing a biography of Robert Carter, he undertook an investigation of the economic and cultural aspects of life on Carter's numerous plantations. Six chapters are devoted to plantation economy, and three to the interrelationships among plantation life,

the Carter family itself, and the actualities of culture in Virginia after 1750.

The author called attention to Carter's use of tenants, an aspect of eighteenth-century plantation life largely neglected by historians. He also noted the unexpectedly large number of *white* skilled laborers on Carter's plantations. He pointed out that crops other than tobacco were extensively grown after 1770, raising questions as to the "plight of the planter" on the eve of Revolution. Furthermore, Carter's abandonment of the Anglican Church, becoming first a deist, then a Baptist, led Morton to question the religious convictions of other Virginia planters.

A few historians have pursued the path pointed out by Morton. It is to be hoped that the reissue of this provocative study is an indication that there will soon be more.

Robert W. Ramsey

Hollins College

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A *History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860*. By James C. Bonner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. viii, 242. \$6.00.)

*A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* is based on a doctoral dissertation. Dr. James C. Bonner, the author, has taught history at West Georgia College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Emory University; he is now chairman of the Department of Social Studies at Woman's College of Georgia. Professor Fletcher M. Green, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, inspired this and other similar studies, made by his graduate students, notably *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860*, by C. O. Cathey.

Relying upon a wide variety of sources and treating his subjects in considerable detail, Dr. Bonner has produced a volume well worth the attention of those interested in the early history of agriculture in Georgia and the South. In fact, the colony as originally chartered by King George II included much of the mid-South. The interaction of people, both landowners and slaves, to the variation of soil, climate and other natural resources, and the quest for knowledge about new crops are described and well documented.

Efforts to produce and export silk to England, the introduction and disappearance of rice as a principal crop along the Atlantic Coast, the expansion of upland cotton and the resulting soil exhaustion and

emigration, the striving for economic self-sufficiency and southern nationalism, and the emergence of leaders and organizations to promote various commodities or agriculture in general are some of the subjects of extended research by Dr. Bonner. The last several chapters trace in considerable detail the history of specific plants and animals of ante-bellum agriculture in Georgia.

The year 1860 was a propitious termination date for the book. The beginnings of mechanization of farming, the increasing restiveness brought on by slavery, and the agitation for more knowledge on farm subjects and for a system of education for farm people are much in evidence in the last twenty years of the period covered by Dr. Bonner.

The book is interesting to anyone who seeks to understand the early history of the agrarian South. Chapters dealing with specialized subjects and the extensive bibliography will be useful as reference material for scholars.

D. W. Colvard

Mississippi State University

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Republican Party in Georgia: From Reconstruction Through 1900. By Olive Hall Shadgett. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1964. Backnotes, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 210. \$6.00.)

The admitted "story of a fight which was lost almost before it began," this is the first full treatment of Georgia's Republican party during the last quarter or so of the nineteenth century. Georgia, like other southern states, had been very much a two-party arena in the ante-bellum period. But the circumstances and conditions surrounding the birth of the Republican party in Georgia in 1867, as the radical phase of Reconstruction got underway, made "almost inevitable" the party's downfall.

Summarizing fairly quickly the relatively familiar Reconstruction part of the story, Professor Shadgett, Political Science department, Georgia State College in Atlanta, shows how the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 hastened the party's decline in Georgia. When the national Democratic party accepted Horace Greeley, the Liberal Republican nominee for the presidency, as its own candidate, Joseph E. Brown, the controversial wartime governor, and other Georgia Republicans seized the opportunity to cross the bridge, as Mrs. Shadgett puts it, "from the foundering Republican party of Georgia to the Democratic majority."

Factionalism and the struggle for control of federal patronage, familiar matters to all students of the history of southern Republicanism, played major roles in sapping the party's strength and are traced in subsequent chapters. Co-operation with various independent movements gave Georgia Republicans some encouragement in the 1880's, but the Populist revolt of the 1890's gave promise of more far-reaching successes against the dominant Democrats. That Populist-Republican fusion never materialized in Georgia to the extent that it did in North Carolina appears to have been because of the fact that the Georgia Populists feared too close an identification with Republicans; and the Negro Republicans soon discovered that "the Populists wanted their votes but not their company." In other words, Tarheel Populists, at least for a while and until the Democrats mounted the racial barricades in 1898 and 1900, were grudgingly willing to countenance not only Negro voting but limited Negro officeholding. Georgia Populists could never bring themselves to pay such a price, and therein perhaps lay one important difference between the agrarian revolt in the upper South and that of the deep South.

While many of the ills of Georgia's Republicans were self-inflicted, Professor Shadgett suggests in her conclusion that at the end of the century the party suffered a final crushing blow that came from without. This was the establishment by the Democrats of their state-wide nominating primary in 1898 and its quick development, in 1900, into the *white* primary. Opposition to Democratic candidates in the general election virtually ceased after 1900. And few there were who would have dreamed that Georgia, the Empire State of the South and the unfailing bastion of Democracy, would move into the Republican presidential column in 1964.

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

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Thomas County During the Civil War. By William Warren Rogers. (Tallahassee: Florida State University. [Florida State University Studies: Number 41], 1964. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 112. \$4.50.)

Thomas County, situated in southwestern Georgia on the Florida border, was remote from the centers of military action and political decision during the Civil War, yet the people who lived there be-

came deeply involved in the events of the war and in its political, economic, and social consequences. William Warren Rogers, Assistant Professor of History at Florida State University, relates the story of the increasing involvement of the people of Thomas County and the changes that the war wrought in their lives. Beginning with a brief survey of the social and economic conditions in Thomas County in 1861, Professor Rogers leads his reader through successive chapters dealing with preparations for war, the records of Thomas County units in the regular army and in the state militia, provisions, life in camp and on the home front, agriculture and slavery, the prisoner of war camp near Thomasville, and the final distintegration of defeat. The treatment of these varied topics is based on what appears to be an exhaustive examination of local private sources, public records both printed and manuscript, and collections of manuscripts at universities in Georgia and North Carolina.

The lack of unity, which is the chief fault of the book, comes largely from the nature of the task that has been undertaken. A county is seldom a geographic entity, and only in a limited way a political unit. Socially and culturally counties can rarely be distinguished from surrounding areas. It is therefore well-nigh impossible to create from the limited materials of so brief a period any unified view. In this instance the unity is supplied by the war, and the general effect is of peripheral comment. Rather than being considered as only a minor item in Civil War bibliography, Professor Rogers' book should more properly be recognized as the second of three volumes of a history of Thomas County from 1826 to the present. Until the publication of the final volume, the judgment of any part of the complete work must remain tentative.

Edward M. Steel, Jr.

West Virginia University

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Slavery in the South: A Collection of Contemporary Accounts of the System of Plantation Slavery in the Southern United States in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Edited and with an Introduction by Harvey Wish. *Materials of American History Series*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1964. Introduction, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 290. \$4.95, cloth; \$1.95, paper.)

This is one of a projected series called *Materials of American History*, and it is an excellent beginning. This particular volume concerns slavery in the South as seen from the contemporary accounts

of Negroes—both slave and free—of visitors from the North and from Great Britain, and of southerners, principally slavery protagonists. In great part, these are the familiar authors, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Fanny Kemble, Frederick Law Olmsted, Thomas Dew, George Fitzhugh, but there are some less well known commentators that add fresh notes to the discussion. In the Negro collection, Charlotte Forten who wrote of slavery on the Sea Islands of Georgia (she saw its aftermath during Reconstruction) is a beautifully written, most appealing account of the children she saw as a young teacher. Of the visitors' accounts, Olmsted is most factual and objective; Fanny Kemble, the most emotionally involved; and Charles Mackay, the English poet and journalist, the most discerning of the broader social and political implications and effects of slavery. Indeed, Mackay's article is both good reading and timely, if one substitutes racial discrimination for slavery in this section of the book. This reviewer wishes that the editor had included a few passages from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, even though it is fiction, but it had such tremendous impact on both North and South, that he could have justifiably included it.

The southern writes include Thomas Jefferson, who did not believe in slavery but in the equality of the Negro, and Hinton Helper who spoke for the poor whites. Otherwise the authors are the familiar pro-slavery writers.

As implied above, the book has a curious timeliness that adds to its value. Historical documents both illuminate the past and explain the present; these selections not only do that, but they illuminate the present also, giving new insight into the contemporary discussions of racial prejudice and discrimination.

The editorial work is good, as is the press work. This early number augurs well for the series.

Philip Davidson

University of Louisville

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The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction. By James M. McPherson. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 474. \$10.00.)

Prior to 1861 all authentic abolitionists, regardless of the schisms within their ranks, crusaded for immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation and shared a common belief that real freedom

for the Negro could come only with civil and political equality. Therefore, the ultimate goal of the abolitionists was not attained with the Emancipation Proclamation or the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. The thesis of this book is that abolitionism after 1861 retained its separate identity as a movement distinct from the Republican party and influenced the formulation of war and Reconstruction policies. Although this book presents a revisionist interpretation of a significant part of Civil War and Reconstruction history, Professor McPherson does not resort to polemics. He writes with considerable restraint, and he painstakingly documents his presentation from extensive research in manuscript and contemporary printed sources.

In 1861 the abolitionists closed ranks to advocate immediate and universal abolition of slavery, the enlistment of Negro soldiers on equal terms with whites, government assistance for the education of the freedmen, confiscation of rebel lands and their redistribution among the former slaves, the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the establishment of legal guarantees for Negro civil and political equality. All these goals, except lands for the freedmen and elements of discrimination in the army, had been achieved by 1870. Professor McPherson makes no claim that the abolitionists were solely responsible for these achievements. He acknowledges that the policies were adopted because of military necessity or political expediency. He does prove, however, that the abolitionists helped to create the conditions that made the adoption of their program expedient. The Civil War transformed the abolitionists from "despised fanatics" into "prophets honored in their own country." In their new-found popularity, the abolitionists served as the conscience of the radical Republicans and worked vigorously and effectively to win support for their program.

The success of abolitionist principles was only temporary. Freedom and legal equality for the Negro had in fact been adopted because of expediency and not because of northern acceptance of the idealistic equalitarian principles of the abolitionists. When it became expedient after 1870 to abandon equalitarianism it was abandoned. But all was not lost. There had been significant beginnings made in Negro education and whatever advances the Negro has made in recent times toward equality has been based in large part on the foundations laid by the abolitionists.

One hesitates to criticize such an excellent study as Professor McPherson has written. The fact, however, that his research was confined almost exclusively to libraries and manuscript depositories

located in eastern states means that he has not given the attention to the western abolitionists that they deserve. Abolitionism, particularly evangelical abolitionism, did continue to exist as a strong and active force, independent of the Republican party, in the Old Northwest during the Civil War and Reconstruction. This reviewer would also wish that more attention had been given to the political role of the abolitionists in the former Confederate states during Reconstruction. This subject is disposed of in one paragraph in the book.

Clifton H. Johnson

LeMoye College

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Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Notes and index. Pp. viii, 294. \$7.50.)

For two decades Professor Wendell H. Stephenson, now of the University of Oregon, has been engaged in research on historians who have influenced the study and teaching of southern history. His sketches have appeared in various professional journals, and three of them (on William E. Dodd, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Walter L. Fleming), along with a penetrating essay titled "The Southern Avenue to Now," were published in 1955 in his book, *The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy*.

Of the 12 essays in *Southern History in the Making*, ten have been published previously and are reprinted with minor up-dating. These include sketches on seven historians—William Garrott Brown, Herbert B. Adams, William P. Trent, John Spencer Bassett (whose story is divided into two chapters), George Petrie, Phillips, and Charles W. Ramsdell; one archivist—Thomas M. Owen; and a philosophical essay titled "A Quarter Century of American Historical Scholarship." The two previously unpublished chapters comprise a sketch of William A. Dunning and a brief, delightful analysis of "Twenty-five Years of Southern Historical Writing." Then there is a 24-page introduction, sub-titled "The Making of a Book," a remarkable piece of Stephensonian wit and wisdom that ought to be required reading for all graduate students.

The author, who himself has contributed significantly to the elevation of southern history as a field of research, brings to light little known backgrounds and experiences of men who laid the foundation for modern historical scholarship in the South. He has humanized his

subjects, and in so doing has produced biographical sketches that are as delightful as they are revealing. Here is the story of Dunning's expulsion from Dartmouth for hell-raising; of Brown's inspiring battle against disease; of Bassett's courageous stand for academic freedom; of Adams' encouragement of scholarship-holding students from the South; and of Phillips' unfulfilled desire to return to his native state of Georgia.

But the lasting value of the essays is in Professor Stephenson's evaluation of the pioneer historians of the South and their works. Names like George Petrie and William P. Trent are all but forgotten except to a few historians; yet, as the author so effectively points out, they too, like Adams and Dunning, lit candles in the minds of their students. And how many young historians recognize the name of Thomas M. Owen, the lawyer-politician who, along with other southerners like R. D. W. Connor and J. G. de R. Hamilton of North Carolina and Dunbar Rowland of Mississippi, fathered the movement for archival and manuscript repositories in the South? The names and contributions of these and other lesser known pioneers in southern history will be perpetuated as a result of Professor Stephenson's sketches.

The essays in book form are less satisfactory than they were as articles in journals because of repetition (for instance, several essays contain essentially the same story of Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins) and an overworking of some viewpoints (*e.g.*, the "dry-as-dust" monographs at the turn of the century). This reviewer hopes that Professor Stephenson will yet carry out his original plan to write a "comprehensive history of southern history" which he envisioned twenty years ago.

*Southern History in the Making* is well documented, attractively printed, and contains an exceptionally good index. But the Louisiana State University Press cannot be forgiven for using a cumbersome combination of notes both at the bottom of the page and also at the end of the book.

H. G. Jones

State Department of Archives and History

The Pursuit of Southern History: Presidential Addresses of the Southern Historical Association, 1935-1963. Edited by George Brown Tindall. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 541. \$8.50.)

The Presidential Address, which climaxes the orgiastic rite of the "annual dinner," is—to quote a former president of one of them—"inescapably implanted in the customs of American . . . professional organizations." It is, he continued, an "inevitable and often painful ordeal that we are periodically compelled to undergo." "Inevitable" and "painful" they may be, but presidential addresses seem to attract prospective editors. The editor of a professional organization other than the Southern Historical Association once suggested republishing the presidential addresses of his society. Such a publication, he pointed out, presented no problems of selection (all) or arrangement (chronological). This particular project was abandoned when the wise president of the organization pointed to the unevenness of the addresses and expressed doubts that any potential market really existed for them.

In editing the present agglomeration, Dr. Tindall had problems neither of selection nor of arrangement. He includes all addresses from the first through James W. Silver's dramatic "Mississippi: The Closed Society," delivered in 1963. They are presented in the order in which they were given—or would have been given if World War II had not caused the cancellation of three meetings. The editor even had the advantage of an earlier analysis of the first 15 addresses—H. C. Nixon's delightful "Paths to the Past: The Presidential Addresses of the Southern Historical Association," *The Journal of Southern History*, XVI (February, 1950), 33-39.

The addresses fall, generally, into three categories, although they are not so arranged: southern historiography, sectionalism and the Civil War, and life in the old and the new South. The point of view and the scholarship of some of them are outdated; several of them were taken from or related to books that had been or would be written. Later scholarship very likely has changed conclusions that were valid at the time they were made.

The person interested in the history of public records in the South, for example, would find Ernst Posner's recent *American State Archives* of more value than J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton's "Three Centuries of Southern Records, 1607-1907," written more than 20 years ago. In discussing the Tennessee frontier and land speculators, Thomas Perkins Abernethy in 1937 obviously could not have used

William H. Masterson's biography, *William Blount*, published 17 years later.

It seems likely, moreover, that a reader interested in Thomas D. Clark's newspaper studies would find his *The Rural Press and the New South* of somewhat greater value than his "The Country Newspaper: A Factor in Southern Opinion, 1865-1930." Bell Irvin Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank* are much more useful to those interested in the life of the common soldier during the Civil War than is his "A Time of Greatness." And Silver's *Mississippi: The Closed Society* is a more thorough discussion than is his shorter address of the same name.

It is unfortunate that some of the addresses have been wrenched out of the context of their time. The opinions expressed by A. B. Moore in 1942, for example, are no longer widely accepted; his defense of segregation and his denunciation of efforts to "subvert the social system of the South" may no longer represent Dr. Moore's point of view. It is probable that there are other addresses that the authors would prefer to have forgotten rather than dragged out anew and paraded before a sophisticated and scoffing audience.

It is this reviewer's opinion that this is one book that would have been better left unpublished.

One final comment: When *will* publishers learn that notes are more useful printed at the bottom of the page rather than in the back of the book as they are in this case? Oddly enough, some readers actually read the notes, and it is most frustrating to attempt to locate one when it is printed with dozens of other notes at the back of the book.

Thornton W. Mitchell

State Department of Archives and History

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Upton and the Army. By Stephen E. Ambrose. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 190. \$5.00.)

Few persons other than thorough students of American military tactics and policy ever heard of Emory Upton. This fact alone would justify this biography. Fresh out of West Point, Upton rushed into the conflict of 1861 with great enthusiasm. His dash and determination plus the exercise of good military judgment impressed his superiors and made him a marked man, although he was not responsi-

ble for any great Union victories. He saw service at Spotsylvania, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and in the Valley, but his most pleasing experience was his service under James H. Wilson in the invasion of Alabama near the close of the war. Although he rose to brevet major general by the age of twenty-six, his impatience and distrust of citizen soldiers, especially political generals, developed within him a gnawing discontent that he never overcame.

It was in the postwar period and in the fields of tactics and military policy, rather than in active leadership of troops, that Upton distinguished himself and left a lasting impression of his talents. His volume on *Infantry Tactics* became the text at West Point; following an extensive tour of study abroad he published *The Armies of Asia and Europe*; and after his death his *Military Policy of the United States* was published by the War Department.

Throughout his career Upton stressed the efficiency and economy of moderate-sized, well-trained armies rather than great masses of untrained citizen soldiers. He became well known in military circles for his statement that "twenty thousand regulars at Bull Run would have routed the insurgents, settled the question of military resistance, and relieved us the pain and suspense of four years of war." He strongly advocated complete federal control of such armies; he refused to spend time attempting to work out a system that "could both give America a professional army and satisfy the States' Righters." He further argued for complete control of military affairs by military men.

Upton's theories were discussed by persons in high positions. Many agreed, but no great reforms were forthcoming. Upton could have borne controversy in which he could fight back, but he was unable to endure being ignored. Feeling that his life had been a failure, that, although many listened, no one with authority was willing to push for action, Upton no longer desired to live. He took his own life at the age of forty-one.

His biographer does not feel that his life was a failure. He sees Upton as one "who was proud of his profession" and who "helped keep alive a sense of pride and purpose in an army that might otherwise have sunk into a permanent morass. He was a devoted public servant who strove to anticipate and meet his nation's needs. At times his vision was narrow, but his contributions were real. When he killed himself he was certain of failure. He was wrong. Emory Upton both symbolized and helped preserve the best in the army."

This is an excellent study of an important figure in American

military history. It is strongly recommended to all who are interested in military tactics and policy.

J. H. Parks

The University of Georgia

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Lincoln's Gadfly, Adam Gurowski. By LeRoy H. Fischer. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 301. \$6.95.)

To students of the Civil War, Adam Gurowski has long been known, at least vaguely, as a Washington gossipmonger and radical Republican fanatic who wrote (among his 19 published books) a three-volume diary covering the war years. Now, in LeRoy H. Fischer's study, the eccentric Pole stands out as a recognizable person, with all his mannerisms, his accent, and his inevitable blue goggles. His earlier career, as a Polish revolutionary and then as a Russian bureaucrat and Pan-Slav propagandist, is adequately set forth. His career after 1849, as a lecturer, journalist, State Department clerk, and diarist in the United States, is fully covered, with especially detailed treatment of the diary itself. Gurowski's diary is the most important single source for Fischer's study, but a great many other sources also have been used; indeed, the research may fairly be described as exhaustive. The only serious question about the book concerns the importance of its subject. Gurowski is here described as "Lincoln's gadfly" and is revealed as the author of a number of letters to Lincoln, but no evidence is offered to show that any of these letters influenced Lincoln in the slightest. Gurowski, it is said, was the only man whom Lincoln ever feared as a possible assassin, but the solitary source for this is a later recollection of Lincoln's bodyguard, Ward Hill Lamon. It is contended, moreover, that Gurowski kept "the most faithful and complete record" of the thinking of radical Republicans, and that he "delineated a clear community of interests and ambitions among Radicals." Yet, on the showing of Fischer's study itself, Gurowski never remained for very long on good terms with any of the radicals, except possibly Edwin M. Stanton. And, on the showing of the three volumes of the diary, it would appear that Gurowski seldom if ever gave voice to such a thing as a radical consensus but, fanatic that he was, usually represented nobody but himself. Fischer's study won the \$5,000 literary award presented in 1963 by the War Library and Museum and the

Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

Richard N. Current

The University of Wisconsin

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The Meaning of the American Revolution. By Dan Lacy. (New York: The New American Library, 1964. Illustrations, chronology, bibliographical note, index. Pp. 308. \$5.95.)

Dan Lacy's name is well known to many readers of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. State supervisor of the Historical Records Survey of North Carolina and coeditor with Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the *Historical Records of North Carolina*, Mr. Lacy has not previously written at length on the American Revolution. This may well be a virtue, for he brings to this volume a detachment enabling him to steer a steady course between the conflicting schools of Revolutionary scholarship.

Was the Revolution a conservative movement or a liberal-radical movement? Generally, Mr. Lacy leans toward the neo-Whig interpretation of the Revolution: of a movement to preserve political theories and institutions that had evolved during a century and a half of Colonial development. Yet the Revolution was radical in the sense that for the first time a new nation was literally created on the principles of equal rights and government by consent. One of the most admirable features of this lucidly written volume is the author's placing of the Revolution within its world context. Here the closer military and commercial unity of the eighteenth century, the influence of Enlightenment thought on the founding fathers, and the dynamic impact of the Revolution upon Europe are well described. It seems, however, that recent scholarship would call into question a number of the author's remarks about suffrage and land ownership. Nor was the British army "radically reduced" in size in 1763, especially when compared with reductions following earlier wars. Minor reservations aside, this is a book that literate laymen will read with genuine profit in the mid-twentieth century world of nationalism and revolutions. For under the sure guidance of Mr. Lacy one sees both the unique and the universal features of the American Revolution.

Don Higginbotham

Louisiana State University

Justice Daniel Dissenting: A Biography of Peter V. Daniel, 1784-1860. By John P. Frank. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1964. Notes, table of cases, index. Pp. xii, 336. \$7.95.)

Justice Peter V. Daniel was not one of the great jurists of the United States Supreme Court. His moderate intellectual ability and verbose and twisting prose style made him only an average nineteenth-century justice. Few of his colleagues however, surpassed Daniel in his immovable dedication to principle and firm resistance to change.

Daniel studied law with Edmund Randolph of Virginia, married Randolph's daughter and moved into the state's ruling clique. For twenty-three years he served on the Virginia Council of State and as Lieutenant Governor and became a major Jackson-Van Buren lieutenant in Virginia. President Martin Van Buren named Daniel a federal district judge in 1836 and in February, 1841, appointed him to the United States Supreme Court.

In the two decades before the Civil War the voice of Justice Daniel was that of a "high-church agrarian" who warned constantly against the growing influence of corporations and mercantile interests. He set forth in his numerous dissents a very narrow concept of the powers of the federal government. To the very end, Daniel refused to recognize jurisdiction of federal courts over corporations or to grant federal courts admiralty jurisdiction in inland waters.

Much of Daniel's work on the supreme bench concerned routine questions of little interest today. The justices spent several months each year attending to their circuit court duties. In Daniel's case this meant a three-month tour of 5,000 miles through the Southwest, a chore not calculated to improve his already bitter disposition.

Author John P. Frank admits that Justice Daniel was, in part, an old man dedicated to principles that have become obsolete. But there are areas in which his work is important to twentieth-century jurisprudence. These would include Daniel's view of the contract clause of the Federal Constitution in which he said that contract rights must yield where public good demands it, his denial that the federal commerce power is exclusive, his great respect for the jury system, and his views on the preservation of public lands.

John P. Frank, an Arizona attorney, has written the first full-length biography of Justice Daniel. It is a thorough and analytical piece of work. Frank's style of writing does much to enliven a rather colorless figure. This biography is most valuable as a case study of a nine-

teenth-century agrarian justice who grew embittered by his inability to change events.

Richard D. Younger

University of Houston

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History of the People of the United States: From the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. Selected and edited with introduction by Louis Filler. Materials of American History Series. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Company. 1964. Introduction, epilogue. Pp. 370. \$5.50, cloth; \$2.45, paper.)

Among those whose writings stand at the base of knowledge of the American past is John Bach McMaster. His eight-volume *History*, published over the years from 1883 to 1913, is the pioneer work in American historiography of social history; in his case told descriptively rather than analytically.

Professor Louis Filler has selected from this *History* eight abstracts devoted to life in the United States during eras of peace ranging from the Confederation and Constitution period to the Log Cabin and Cider Election of 1840. McMaster regarded peacetime as the norm of American life; hence, his methodology is best revealed in these periods. Professor Filler, however, suggests that if this selection is well received, a second volume confined to times of crises and change will be issued.

This is one of a new series of historical materials to be published; a series titled *Materials of American History Series*. It is to include reprints of important historical studies, collections of documents and memoirs, important biographies and the like. One can hope that the other volumes will be better edited than this one from McMaster. While Professor Filler has, no doubt, captured the essential spirit of the social historian, he has nowhere stated the sources of his selections. This may not be necessary to an appreciation of McMaster, but it would have been helpful to the reader to know the exact volumes from which these abstracts were taken.

Robert N. Elliott

North Carolina State of The University  
of North Carolina at Raleigh

The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society. Selected and edited with introduction and notes by Adrienne Koch. (New York: George Braziller. 1965. Pp. 669. \$8.50.)

Miss Koch has brought together in one volume selections from the writings and papers of five leading representatives of the American Enlightenment: Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. Since nearly all of the material has been previously published in standard collections, the major contribution of this work is the skill with which the editor, deeply versed in the period, has chosen from the voluminous papers of these five extraordinary figures significant and representative selections. When grouped in one volume, these writings not only offer convenient and rewarding reading but also support the thesis that Miss Koch argues in a penetrating introduction: the existence of a distinctive American Enlightenment. Rejecting the arguments that American thought was without originality and was merely derivative from European ideas, she sees as the essential factors shaping the American Enlightenment the struggle for independence and the subsequent groping with the problems of giving direction and commitment to the society and government of the new nation. The American Enlightenment was politically oriented, and the men represented in this book were learned and politically inventive, competent in abstract ideas and in their practical application. They were architects of ideas in a crucial period in the formation of American political institutions. Moreover, the writings of these men display the role of the greatest of all historical forces, the human agent.

The selections in the volume are arranged under the five authors. Each section begins with excerpts from such writings as may be considered autobiographical; next follow letters arranged in chronological sequence; extracts from other writings conclude each part. The selections clearly display that these highly individualistic men did not all think alike, nor act alike, nor write alike. But they shared a common commitment to the advancement of human freedom. Together the writings make clear the large body of systematic thought and the important literature which were the products of the American Enlightenment. Hopefully, the volume may serve to convince a wide audience of the richness of an American past worth knowing.

Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

University of Missouri

✓ A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Raymond W. Albright. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1964. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 406. \$12.50.)

Professor Albright, who is also an ordained priest of the Episcopal Church, teaches church history at the Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His book bears evidence of many years of devoted research and is filled with detailed information as well as sweeping accounts of trends and movements within the church in the United States. A chapter devoted to background information on the English heritage of the church is followed by a series of chapters on the development of the Episcopal Church in various regions: Virginia, elsewhere in the South; Massachusetts, other New England states; New York, and Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Subsequent chapters treat the history of the church in more or less chronological order from an over-all point of view. There are chapters on the church during the Revolution, the Civil War, and on the frontier. Others deal with the Oxford Movement and party spirit, modern thought, social action, the world-wide mission field, and with the church in the modern era.

The text is both readable (though long enough to require several sittings) and useful for reference. North Carolina's Bishops Ravenscroft, Ives, and Atkinson are treated adequately as are some of her earlier missionary priests, but this is too general a history to do more than place them in their time.

Each chapter is carefully documented with many of the citations being to manuscript and contemporary printed sources. A 16-page Bibliography will be useful to anyone interested in further reading on the subject. While the Index contains the names of a great many individuals and places mentioned in the text, it is by no means as perfect an index as many users might wish. The North Carolina reader, for example, will not be able to find the material on Clement Hall and on Valle Crucis through use of the Index. The book is attractively and substantially bound although there are no illustrations. Margins are rather narrow and lines of type are set close together giving each page a solid appearance. The small type seems even smaller on those pages which are broken by only two or three indentations for paragraphs.

William S. Powell

The University of North Carolina  
at Chapel Hill

## OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The State* is a magazine filled with interesting and useful information about North Carolina and North Carolinians. With the publication of *Index to The State Magazine*, covering 30 volumes published from June, 1933, through May, 1963, it is now possible to find material heretofore buried and lost so far as practical use is concerned. The 27 pages are set in three columns of fine print and the lack of capitalization, the use of abbreviations, and the general format make this particular index difficult for the general reader to use. As Bill Sharpe, who compiled the *Index*, points out in his prefatory remarks, the job was spread over a period of years and "some inconsistencies will be found in the way subjects have been classified. The compiler mentions this merely to inform the reader that the information he seeks may not be classified logically, but it is all here." A tremendous amount of information is indeed included, and librarians, persons doing research, and general readers will find it of great help to have an index to *The State*. Copies, at \$5.00 each, are available from Bill Sharpe, *The State*, Raleigh.

*The Country Youth: Autobiography of B. B. McGee* is the story of a native of Wilkes County, Bluford Bartlett McGee, who grew up in the Beaver Creek community. Born in March, 1832, McGee lived in the area of his birth until he went to California in 1849 at the age of eighteen. He failed to get rich from gold mining and was left a cripple with rheumatism resulting from exposure to weather and hardships of mining. He produced the story of his boyhood, an Indian story, and several poems during the period of his hospitalization. He eventually returned to the McGee home on Beaver Creek and died around 1883. McGee's writings have been reprinted by James Larkin Pearson, who points out that "this is the first book ever written by a native of Wilkes county. . . ." The 91-page booklet is available for \$1.00 from Pearson Publishing Company, Box 41, Sparta Road, North Wilkesboro, 28659.

*From England to North Carolina: Two Special Gifts*, by Ethel Stephens Arnett, was published by The Tryon Palace Restoration, New Bern. The 93-page booklet is illustrated and contains charts and notes. England's "two special gifts" were William Tryon, Royal Governor of North Carolina from 1765 to 1771, and William Sydney Porter (O. Henry), the noted writer. Mrs. Arnett traces the ancestry of both and shows their common descent from the Shirley family of

England. Copies of the publication may be obtained from Tryon Palace, New Bern, or from Straughan's Book Shop, Inc., 116 West Market Street, Greensboro, for \$2.00 plus 25 cents mailing charge.

*Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, by John H. Wheeler, was originally published in 1851. The book has long been valued for its coverage of North Carolina history, with emphasis on the 1780 to 1850 period. The sketches from 1584 to 1851 were compiled from original records, official documents, and statements obtained by the author. Sketches of distinguished North Carolinians were also included. John Hill Wheeler, who had served as treasurer of the state, was the first native of North Carolina to devote considerable time to the history of his own state. A second printing in 1925 was small and has long been scarce. The Regional Publishing Company has now reprinted the work as it originally appeared, with the addition of a one-page "Publisher's Preface." It is unfortunate that the publisher did not have a competent historian write an introduction to the new reprint. Copies of the book, 480 pages, may be ordered from the publisher at 521-523 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland, 21202, for \$10.00.

Volume 46 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, published by The University of North Carolina Press, is entitled *Laudatores Temporis Acti*. Edited by Mary Francis Gyles and Eugene Wood Davis, the publication contains studies in memory of Wallace Everett Caldwell. More than a dozen colleagues, friends, and students of Professor Caldwell contributed to the volume. All of the essays are in the field of ancient history, the subject taught for years at The University of North Carolina by Professor Caldwell. Copies are available from the The University of North Carolina Press for \$2.50.

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*History of Union County*, by H. Nelson Walden, is a small book of 79 pages, available for \$5.00 from Heritage Printers, Inc., Charlotte. The author, in the Introduction, says that he has "not attempted . . . the writing of a completely definitive, encyclopedic history. This thesis makes no pretensions in that direction. It has been shaped by the amount of information available, time limitations, financial limitations, the judgment of the author. . . ." Such a statement is unnecessary to anyone who reviews the book. It is unfortunate that the author was unable to do more detailed research in original records

and that careless errors in footnote and bibliographical entries were made. The inclusion of the Bibliography and Index merit recognition.

Theodore Newsom's *U.S. Pocket History* is a handy reference work for students of American history. Brief paragraphs on subjects ranging from "A.B.C. Powers" and "Abolitionist" to "York, Canada" and "Yorktown" are included in the 160 pages. The Preface indicates that the author did not intend to discuss men of significance in state affairs but only to include those of national importance. *U.S. Pocket History* is available for \$2.95 from The Naylor Company, 1015 Culebra Avenue, P. O. Box 1838, San Antonio, Texas.

✓ The Reverend Harry R. Mathis has compiled and edited a book entitled *Along the Border*. It is a history of Virgilina, Virginia, and the surrounding area in Halifax and Mecklenburg counties in Virginia and Person and Granville counties in North Carolina. In addition to general information about the area, there are histories of local churches and organizations. Many names are included, making the publication of interest to genealogists. Illustrations add to the value of *Along the Border*. The book was printed by Coble Press, Oxford; copies of the 344-page book are \$7.00.

*Readings in American Values*, by William Miller, is a 369-page book of public documents. The documents are designed in content and layout so that they will be read and the theme, "the elaboration of the *values* by which Americans have conducted their public affairs," will be clear. Documents which one would naturally expect to find in such a book as this are included and it is hardly necessary to mention such writings as the Mayflower Compact, Declaration of Independence, Constitution of the United States, and Emancipation Proclamation. Others are less well known, but their significance makes their inclusion appropriate. Examples are Horace Mann's Fifth Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education, Senator Albert J. Beveridge's Speech on Retaining the Philippine Islands, and the Charter of the United Nations. Readers will find this book a rich source for quick reference to the basic documents of American history. Copies of the paper-bound publication are available from the publisher, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, for \$3.75.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

## DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

### *Director's Office*

The Tryon Palace Commission met at New Bern on November 15-16.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke in Sparta on November 20 at the dedication of the Robert L. Doughton Wing of the Alleghany County Hospital and the unveiling of a historical marker to Doughton.

The George Washington Statue Commission, of which Senator Hector MacLean is chairman, held a luncheon meeting at the Velvet Cloak Motel in Raleigh, November 25.

Dr. Crittenden, Mrs. Joye Jordan, and other staff members held meetings with the joint legislative committee, of which Representative James B. Vogler of Mecklenburg is chairman, to place plaques in the Capitol and in the State Legislative Building.

On January 14 Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, executive director of the National Historical Publications Commission; met with various staff member of the Department to discuss the Colonial Records Project and certain other projects which might possibly qualify for grants from the Commission.

The Raleigh Historical Sites Commission met Tuesday, February 16. Mr. W. S. Tarlton reported on the result of the recommendations of the historic zoning proposals of the North Carolina Legislative Council. The Council, through a special committee, has been studying the possible need in North Carolina for enabling legislation permitting municipalities to do historical zoning. Mr. Tarlton stated that the Council, at the present time, has decided not to recommend action to the General Assembly. A report was made on the City Cemetery; adequate lighting will be provided. Mrs. Raymond Murray and Mrs. Bruce Carter were appointed to supervise repairs and improvements.

On Washington's birthday Dr. Crittenden attended the initial meeting, in the Governor's Mansion, of the advisory committee on furnishings for the mansion. Mrs. James Semans of Durham was elected chairman and Mr. Charles Stanford of the North Carolina Museum of Art vice-chairman. A preliminary discussion was held.

Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, president, and others of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association met in the Department's assembly room February 23 to discuss plans for the development and maintenance of Historic Halifax.

Dr. Crittenden continued to travel to various places in the state and to meet with, and deliver addresses to, many historical groups.

*Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

With the permission of Lieutenant Governor Robert W. Scott, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts began the significant experiment of sound-recording sessions of the State Senate on the opening day of the 1965 General Assembly. For several years the feasibility of recording on sound the proceedings and debates of the two houses has been discussed and equipment and personnel were made available by the division on a trial basis. If successful, and if the General Assembly provides the necessary funds, it is expected that all sessions of both houses will be recorded beginning in 1967. As was pointed out in the department's request before the Joint Appropriations Committee, the legislative journals give little more than a skeleton of what goes on in the sessions, and newspaper accounts are always incomplete and often distorted. A sound recording, however, taken directly from the amplification system in the chamber, records for posterity not only what is said and done but also the voices of the legislators.

The long-awaited *Guide to Private Manuscript Collections in the North Carolina State Archives* is expected to be available for distribution by mid-summer. The new guide will describe all private collections received through June 30, 1964, and will be available for \$5.25 from the Division of Publications.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the mid-winter Council meeting of the Society of American Archivists, of which he is treasurer, in Washington, D.C., December 27-30.

Among the more significant acquisitions of the Archives in recent months were the 1963 correspondence and papers of Governor Terry Sanford (111 boxes); the records of the Governor's Press Secretary, 1961-1965 (ca. 35 boxes); the records of the Governor's Special Assistant for Cultural and Educational Affairs, 1961-1965 (20 boxes); minutes, dockets, and records of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1800-1930 (332 volumes); original case files of the North Carolina Supreme Court, 1800-1909 (300 reels, 16 mm. microfilm); a 16 mm. motion picture film of the Lafayette Escadrille, made by the French government in 1916; and copies of 11 letters of a Confederate soldier, Lewis Waynick.

Two long-range projects have been completed: the processing and arrangement of the papers of Reginald A. Fessenden, inventor of voice-radio communication (95 boxes); and the abstracting of the extant original returns and newspaper accounts of elections in North Carolina for president, governor, congressmen, state conventions, and constitutional amendments for the period 1790-1900.

Mr. Don Nichols was transferred from temporary to permanent status as Archivist I, effective January 1; and Miss Doris Sanders was employed as Archivist I (temporary), effective February 16.

The Local Records Section has completed the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Rutherford and Warren counties. Section operators are now at work in Rockingham and Wayne counties and county operators are microfilming in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties. Forty-eight counties have been completed to date.

Varying types and quantities of original records have been received from Rutherford and Warren counties. Large quantities of papers from Anson and Hertford counties have been processed. Microfilm copies of records of Burke and Mecklenburg counties and of a number of churches have also been made available to the public. Complete lists of these are available in the Search Room.

On January 11 Mr. Donald E. Tedder was employed as a Clerk III (microfilm cameraman); Miss Patricia A. Brafford resigned as Stenographer II on January 30.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), addressed training classes of municipal administrators and registers of deeds, held at the Institute of Government, Chapel Hill. His article entitled "Municipal Records and Records Management" appeared in the February issue of *Popular Government*, published by the Institute of Government.

During October, the State Records Section salvaged 131 cubic feet of records of the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education damaged and water-soaked in the Warren Building fire on October 1. The records, individual case files of registered and licensed practical nurses, were separated, dried, and reassembled. Many of the files had been burned, however, and in January the board and the department agreed that the surviving records, which were incomplete and unusable, would be destroyed.

The Civil Defense Agency schedule has been approved, thus completing schedules for all state agencies. A revision program has already been started, however, and new schedules for the Industrial Commission and the Department of Agriculture are awaiting approval.

During the quarter ending December 31, 1,322 cubic feet of records were received in the State Records Center, and disposal was made of 1,161 cubic feet. The staff performed 9,070 references during the same period.

Mr. Claude R. Moore, Jr., resigned as Records Management Consultant I effective December 31. On January 1, Mrs. Rebecca K. Clegg, formerly Archivist II, was promoted to Records Management Consultant I; Miss Elizabeth Ann Peters, formerly Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II; and Mr. William B. Batton, formerly Clerk III in the Local Records Section, was promoted to Archivist I and transferred to the State Records Section.

#### *Division of Historic Sites*

The Historical Highway Marker Advisory Committee met in Chapel Hill on November 19 and approved ten markers. The marker for Robert L. Doughton was dedicated in special ceremonies held in Sparta on November 20.

Visitation for the calendar year 1964 at the nine historic sites totaled 452,411. For the month of January, 1965, 19,726 persons visited the sites as compared to 7,211 for the same month last year.

Bids for the \$30,000 visitor center-museum at the Richard Caswell

Memorial were opened on February 11. The low bids exceeded the budget by some \$3,000. Before continuing plans for the museum some adjustments will be made in the specifications to bring the project within the budgetary limits.

The Cupola House in Edenton is undergoing restoration supervised jointly by the Cupola House Association, the Historic Edenton and Chowan County Commission, and the State Department of Archives and History. Several members of the staff, particularly Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., are assisting with this project. The major changes will include a new heating system, a completely revamped electrical service, and the reproduction of the elaborate woodwork in the downstairs rooms. Measured drawings of the original woodwork, now on display at the Brooklyn Museum, have been made and this work is being supervised by Mr. Wilbert Kemp. Mr. David M. Warren, President of the Cupola House Association, is co-ordinating the entire project which will be an outstanding period house when completed.

At the Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site the stables have been restored. Mr. James E. Ivey, Historic Site Assistant, was able to procure enough old materials to finish approximately one-half the interior. When the remainder is completed the space will be used to exhibit farm implements and tools of the 1860's.

Construction has been started on the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum. Preliminary plans are being made for the exhibits to be installed later in 1965.

Exhibits for the Fort Fisher State Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum are being prepared by Mr. Frank Walsh, Mr. Robert Mayo, Mr. John D. Ellington, Mr. J. Alfred White, and Mr. James R. Vogt. Mr. Walsh is continuing the search for artifacts to use at Fort Fisher. Persons wishing to donate or lend items may write him at Box 1881, Raleigh. A series of events commemorating the centennial of the battles and the fall of Fort Fisher were held January 10-17. A number of the staff members attended the January 15 program.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, made a trip to Yadkin College with Mr. James E. Holmes, son of a former president of the college which closed in 1924. Mr. Tarlton has suggested to a group interested in preserving one building and the site of the college that it undertake a private restoration project utilizing the building as a museum. There are a number of empty dwellings in the immediate vicinity which might be privately restored and used as the nucleus of a village-wide restoration.

### *Museums Division*

During the fall 38 school groups were given guided tours of the museum and the 1842 Allen Kitchen. Special features included demonstrations of weaving, spinning, and quilting, and a lecture on the Colonial Period. Free printed materials were given to tour members.

Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, was elected secretary of the Carolinas Press Photographers Association which met in Charlotte October 18.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Assistant to the Museums Administrator,

attended the opening of the U.S.S. "North Carolina" Battleship Memorial Museum in Wilmington on November 11.

A program of early North Carolina folk music and modern ballads was presented by Miss Lydia Fish of Raleigh on November 22. This was the third program in a series for the public on the last Sunday of each month. An overflow crowd attended.

The Mobile Museum of History was on display in Wilmington and Fort Fisher January 11-15 in connection with the commemoration of the Battle of Fort Fisher.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, attended a Council meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C., January 21, and she and Mrs. Sue Todd, Registrar, attended the Antiques Forum Workshops in Williamsburg, Virginia where they studied a special collection of English porcelain, January 28.

They met with museum personnel in High Point February 4 to discuss technical problems of forming a new museum there.

In addition to the tours of the museum, the education staff now serves as temporary guides at the Governor's Mansion until docents can be provided.

### *Division of Publications*

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, is on maternity leave March 1-June 14. During her absence, Mrs. Violet W. Quay, Editorial Assistant II, is acting as head of the division.

For the fourth quarter, 1964, total receipts were \$9,573 with \$7,818 being retained by the department and \$1,755 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 429 documentary volumes; 13 copies of the *Index to The North Carolina Historical Review*; 10 letter books of governors; 935 small books; 11,167 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 360 Tercentenary pamphlets); 4,425 leaflets and brochures; and 3,275 copies of the list of publications available from the department. In addition to this total of 20,254 were 1,961 copies of the Winter, 1965, issue of *The Review* and 2,234 copies of the November issue and 2,238 copies of the January issue of *Carolina Comments*.

Dr. Oliver W. Holmes and Dr. Frank Evans of the National Historical Publications Commission were in Raleigh on January 14 to discuss the editing and publications of the papers of James Iredell, Sr. Dr. Don Higginbotham of Louisiana State University is editing this series of papers. Dr. Horace Raper of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute came to Raleigh December 31 for a conference on his work as editor of the papers of W. W. Holden.

### *Colonial Records Project*

Information regarding the governmental documents that have been inventoried is being assembled according to agency of origin, date, and other categories. Priority is being given to higher court records. Because of the great mass of extant records of higher courts, condensation will be

necessary before publication. Although it is expected that minutes, pleading, and certain other documents will be published in full, it is believed that samples of routine documents accompanied by calendars of the surviving papers for each term of court will suffice.

#### NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

On December 4, 1964, Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary, spoke to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society on the progress of the commission during its four-year existence.

In Washington, D. C., on December 21 and 22, Mr. Larson met with commission staff members relative to the publication of a roster of North Carolina troops in the Civil War, and with the United States Civil War Centennial Commission and with Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan to discuss 1965 programming.

The Board of Directors of the North Carolina Confederate Corporation met in Raleigh on December 30.

Activities commemorating the centennial of the fall of Fort Fisher took place in Wilmington and at the fort during the week of January 10-17. A memorial program was held at the Carolina Beach Community Center on January 15; a dramatic reading entitled "This is How it Happened," written and directed by Isabel Martin Williams and Billie Hyatt McEachern, was presented at Thalian Hall; Wilmington College had special exhibits during the week; and a television film on Fort Fisher and Wilmington, written and produced by Mr. Larson and members of the commission staff, was presented by Station WECT-TV. Interdenominational services in St. James Episcopal Church January 17 concluded the week of special events.

On January 21 and 22 Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones traveled to Greensboro to make plans for the centennial of the dissolution of the Confederate Cabinet on April 25, 1865, and to Asheville to discuss the commemoration of the Battle of Asheville, April 6, 1865.

In Kinston and Washington on January 25 Mr. Larson and Mr. Robert Jones planned, respectively, for the Battle of Kinston commemoration, and for possible televising by WITN-TV Washington a film on the "Neuse," to be entitled "The Ram and the River."

Several planning meetings were held for the battle re-enactment to be held on the Averagesboro Battlefield March 20.

On February 12 Mr. Larson was in Washington, D. C., to attend a Lincoln Birthday luncheon given by President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and to discuss the possible participation of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey in the commemoration at the Bennett Place, April 24.

Mr. Larson met with the South Carolina General Assembly on February 17 and attended a commemorative program on the anniversary of the Battle of Columbia. He also visited the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to discuss that state's participation in the Averagesboro re-enactment.

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Professor Nicholas Mansergh, Smuts Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge University, England, is Visiting William K. Boyd Professor of History at Duke University during the spring semester. Richard A. Preston of the Royal Military College of Canada has been named to fill this chair beginning September, 1965.

Professor W. B. Hamilton edited *The Transfer of Institutions* (Duke University Press, 1965) in the Commonwealth Studies series of Duke University. Included in the volume are "The Transfer of Western Education to India," by Professor Robert I. Crane, and "The Transfer of British Military Institutions to Canada in the Nineteenth Century," by Professor Richard A. Preston.

Among the participants in the program of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., December 28-30, were the following from Duke University: Professor John Tate Lanning, Professor Calvin D. Davis, Dr. Gillian T. Cell, Professor William B. Hamilton, Professor John S. Curtiss, and Professor Richard L. Watson, Jr.

Professor Anne F. Scott has edited and written an introduction for a new edition of Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Harvard University Press, December, 1964). She also edited *The Many Lives of North Carolina Women*, the report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, and on February 1, appeared on WUNC-TV's "Encounter" series in a program devoted to the subject of women's employment.

Professor William E. Scott will be on leave in 1965-1966; he has received grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Duke University Research Council for research in Europe on "The Origins of the Second World War, 1933-1939." He will be much of the year at the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, Germany. Professor Scott's *Alliance Against Hitler: The Origins of the Franco-Soviet Pact* (Duke University Press, 1962) is being published this spring in a French edition by Editions Payot, Paris, as *Le Pacte Franco-Sovietique*.

The rapid development of the School of Liberal Arts of North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh since its establishment in 1963 resulted, on February 1, in the division of the Department of History and Political Science into two separate entities, the Department of History and the Department of Politics. Dr. Preston W. Edsall, who administered the combined disciplines for more than sixteen years, was designated head of the Department of Politics and Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw was named head of the Department of History.

Dr. Murray S. Downs has written an article, "George III and the Royal Coup of 1783," which appeared in *The Historian* for November, 1964. Dr.

Marvin L. Brown is editor and translator (with Marta Huth) of *Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965). A condensation of the book under the title *Baroness on the Battlefield* was the *American Heritage* Book Selection for the issue of December, 1964. The following are serving as part-time instructors during the 1964-1965 academic year: John B. Cameron, Robert G. Sherer, Dean S. MacMurray, Louis E. Schmier, and James K. Huhta.

The federal government (United States Office of Education) has accepted and agreed to finance a summer institute in Recent United States History for Secondary School Teachers, to be sponsored and staffed by the East Carolina College History Department. Dr. John C. Ellen is director and Dr. Henry Ferrell is associate director of the institute.

On February 13 Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke on "Nathanael Greene" to The Major Benjamin May Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution. Dr. George Pasti's article "Comparative Studies of East Asian and Western History: Some Topics and Problems," appeared in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, October, 1964. Dr. Albert Diket wrote an article entitled, "John Slidell and the 'Chicago Incident' of 1858," which was published in *Louisiana History*, Summer, 1964.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, reports that Mr. Thomas C. Parramore and Mrs. Rosalie Prince Gates have been promoted to Assistant Professors.

Meredith College will have two representatives in the Social Science Conference at Mars Hill College March 12-13. Dr. Frank Grubbs will speak on "An Evaluative of Samuel Gompers as a War-Time Leader," and Dr. Sarah Lemmon will speak on "The Relationship of Geography to Ancient Egyptian Art," and will also moderate a panel discussion on "The Freshman Survey Course: Problems and Suggestions for Improvements."

#### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association opened the sessions of Culture Week, December 2, with a luncheon at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, Washington, D. C., chairman, presided. Other officers are Mrs. J. E. Winslow, Hertford, vice-chairman; Mrs. Burwell Evans, Manteo, secretary; Mr. Chauncy S. Meekins, Manteo, treasurer; Mr. Martin Kellogg, Jr., Manteo, general counsel; Mr. William S. Powell, Chapel Hill, historian. Mr. John W. Fox, Manteo, general manager of "The Lost Colony," gave a report on the 1964 season. A \$1,000,000 construction program for historic Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island was outlined by Mr. Karl T. Gilbert, superintendent of Cape Hatteras National Seashore Park. The project included a visitor center, an administration building, a utility area, quarters for employees, and a rehearsal center for

"The Lost Colony." These improvements were made possible through the acquisition and donation of about 135 acres of land by the Roanoke Island Historical Association, two anonymous donors, and the State of North Carolina.

On December 2 the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh. The following officers and board members were elected: Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., Raleigh, president; Mrs. Cyrus D. Hogue, Jr., vice-president; Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Raleigh, secretary; Mr. Otto Festmann, Asheville, Mr. Cyrus D. Hogue, Wilmington, and Mrs. Louis V. Sutton, Raleigh, board members. Plans were announced for the 1965 Cultural Arts Tour in the spring. The evening address was given by Mr. Leslie Cheek, Director, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Winners of the 1964 North Carolina Artists' Annual Exhibition were announced at the evening session. Mr. George Bireline, associate professor of design at North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh, won the first prize of \$1,000 with a large oil painting, "Red Shift." He also won the \$750 North Carolina State Harrelson Fund Award with another large canvas, "Colossus." Other awards went to Miss Thelma Bennett, Winston-Salem, a woodcut, Mr. Morris Parker, Raleigh, a steel construction, and Mr. Robert Partin, Greensboro, a lithograph pencil drawing. Following the meeting a reception and a preview of the Exhibition for artists, members, and guests were held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a subscription dinner December 2 in Raleigh. The officers are Mrs. Peter W. Hairston, Advance, president; Mr. Ogden Deal, McLeansville, vice-president; Mrs. James Ficklen, Greenville, secretary; Mrs. Jean Fonville, Charlotte, treasurer; Mr. Eugene Messick, Raleigh, executive secretary.

The eighth annual Music Day, sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs was held December 2 in Raleigh. Officers are Mrs. Arvids Snornieks, New Bern, president; Mrs. Louise Y. Workman, Charlotte, Mrs. Mahlon O. Board, Greensboro, Mrs. Frank M. Sinclair, Charlotte, vice-presidents; Miss Jessie Ross Morris, Charlotte, and Miss Kathryne D. Suter, New Bern, secretaries; and Mrs. Ray Holshouser, Kannapolis, treasurer. The afternoon concert featured Mr. Rex Cooper, junior pianist, Raleigh; Mr. Michael Kelly, student pianist, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and the Opera Theatre of The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, directed by Mr. Paul Hickfang. Dr. Lee Rigsby, Dean of Music at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, spoke at the dinner meeting. Winners in the 1964 composers contest sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music were announced by Mrs. David B. Sutton. Mr. Lee Reynolds of St. Pauls won first place for "Overture for Band." His tone poem, "Four Days," based on the assassination of President Kennedy, won honorable mention. Other winners were: vocal division, professional class, Mrs. William H. Jordan of Greensboro, accompanist and church organist; vocal division, amateur class, Mrs. E. V. Williams, Jr., Asheboro piano teacher. A musical pro-

gram was given by the Duke University Music Department under the direction of Mr. Allan Bone. The evening program was presented by the Concert Choir of East Carolina College under the direction of Mr. Charles Stevens, and the North Carolina State Ballet directed by Mr. John Lehman.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Raleigh December 3. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Horace P. Robinson of Littleton, president; Mr. Henry J. McMillan, Wilmington, vice-president; and Mrs. Ernest Branch, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. Congressional district vice-presidents elected are: Mr. Edmund Harding, Washington; Mrs. Elias Carr, Macclesfield; Mr. John R. Taylor, New Bern; Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Raleigh; Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem; Mr. Robert H. Frazier, Greensboro; Mr. Chatham C. Clark, Elizabethtown; Mrs. Ernest Ives, Southern Pines; Mrs. E. M. Land, Statesville; Mrs. J. D. Lineberger, Shelby; and Mrs. N. D. Angier, Flat Rock. Reports on Preservation Projects were given as follows: Old Stone House, Mr. E. L. Hardin, Salisbury; Cupola House, Mr. David M. Warren, Edenton; Historic Hillsborough, Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, Hillsboro; "Fort Defiance," Miss Mary Maynard, Lenoir; The Carson House and Old Fort, Miss Mary M. Greenlee, Old Fort; Historic Halifax, Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, Raleigh; Historic Beaufort, Dr. John Costlow, Beaufort; Historic Swansboro, the Reverend Tucker R. Littleton, Swansboro; Harmony Hall, Mr. Chatham Clark, Elizabethtown; Bethabara, Mr. Stanley A. South, Wilmington.

Mr. Henry N. Flynt, president of the Heritage Foundation at Deerfield, Massachusetts, re-created with slides and commentary an early New England community for the afternoon meeting of the society. The society has received a \$100,000 grant from the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York. To qualify for money from the grant, communities will be required to advance local funds on a matching basis.

The Charles A. Cannon Awards, presented annually by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, Concord, were given at the evening meeting to the following persons for their contributions in the historical field: Mr. Ernest L. Hardin, Salisbury, for preservation of the Old Stone House, 1766, at Granite Quarry in Rowan County; State Senator P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president of the Coastal Historyland Association, for work with East Coast historic sites; Mr. Gordon Gray, Winston-Salem and Washington, D. C., for his achievements as president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and for his assistance to Old Salem; Miss Elizabeth D. Horne, Wadesboro, for work toward restoration of Tryon Palace. Other features of the evening session were the color films, "Land of Beginnings," which features tours of North Carolina's Coastal Historyland, and "Mirror of the Past," a visit to Tryon Palace. Both films were made by the North Carolina Film Board. A reception for society members and their guests followed the night session.

The North Carolina Museums Council met December 3 at Raleigh. Dr. Charles H. Blake, president of the Hillsborough Historical Society, served as moderator of a panel discussion on "Governing Bodies and Supporting Groups of Museums." Mr. Robert B. Mayo, Exhibits Curator, moderated a panel discussion on "Methods, Techniques, and Materials of Museum Exhibit Programs," at the Exhibits Workshop, December 4. A slide program explained the Bentonville Battleground exhibits and other related exhibits. A discussion session followed. Officers are as follows: Mr. Frank Walsh, Raleigh, president; Mr. Bruce Black, Manteo, vice-president; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Brad Hawkins, Greensboro, Mr. Benny Keel, Chapel Hill, Mr. William L. Hamnett, Raleigh, and Robert Schlageter, Charlotte, members of the board of directors.

The executive committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, December 3. The Reverend Charles Lynn Brown, president, presided. Other officers are: Mrs. Carl T. Durham, Chapel Hill, executive vice-president; Mr. Lester C. Gifford, Hickory, Mr. James McClure Clarke, Asheville, Mr. Voit Gilmore, Southern Pines, Mr. Jan P. Schinhan, Kannapolis, and Mr. William H. Westphal, Greensboro, vice-presidents; Mr. William R. Cherry, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Benjamin F. Swalin, director.

The sixty-fourth meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held in Raleigh December 4. The following officers and board members were elected: Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, president; Dr. Paul Murray, Greenville, Professor Forrest W. Clonts, Winston-Salem, and Mr. Armistead Maupin, Raleigh, vice-presidents; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Raleigh, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. E. R. McKethan, Fayetteville, and Dean W. E. Byrd, Cullowhee, board members. Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, Durham, reviewed North Carolina nonfiction of the year. A report on the Confederate Centennial Commission was given by Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary. Dr. Vittorio Giannini, president of the North Carolina School of the Arts in Winston-Salem, spoke on "Arts for Tar Heels—A program for the Future." Dr. Paul Murray, presented the R. D. W. Connor award for the best article published in *The North Carolina Review* to Dr. Richard Bardolph, Greensboro, for his article "Inconstant Rebels: Desertion of North Carolina Troops in the Civil War," which appeared in the Spring, 1964, issue.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Raleigh, council member of the American Association for State and Local History Awards, presented awards given by the association to North Carolinians. Receiving an award of merit as co-publisher of *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590*, was Mr. Lambert Davis, Chapel Hill, who accepted the award for The University of North Carolina Press. Certificates of commendation were presented to Mr. Hal Wilson, Washington, on behalf of station WITN for "Portrait of Bath Town," and to Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham, on behalf of station WTVD for "Durham Station."

Mr. McDaniel Lewis, chairman of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History, presented special awards to Mr. Norman Larson and Colonel Hugh Dortch for their work with the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. Certificates were presented to all members of the commission and to its staff marking the completion of the extended observance of the South's cause.

Mrs. Ina W. Van Noppen presided at the luncheon meeting. Mr. John G. Barrett, Lexington, Virginia, spoke on "Sherman's March Through North Carolina." Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris presented the 1964 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mr. E. S. Gregg of Statesville for his volume, "Reap Silence." Mrs. E. J. Kratt of Charlotte presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award to Mr. Randall Jarrell of Greensboro for "The Bat-Poet." Secretary of State Thad Eure presented the Tar Heel Junior Historical Association awards to the following: arts division, Gaston Spindles, Junior Historian Club of Robinson School, Gastonia; literary division, group winner, Stephen Cabarrus Club of Harrisburg School; individual award, Miss Betty Lou Howell, Seaboard High School.

Mr. Ovid W. Pierce, well-known novelist and member of the faculty at East Carolina College, Greenville, presided at the dinner meeting. Dr. James W. Patton, Chapel Hill, gave the presidential address entitled "Serious Reading in Halifax County, 1860-1865."

Dr. Patton presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. George V. Taylor, Jr., Chapel Hill, spoke on "History, Literature, and The Public At Large."

Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Chapel Hill, presented to Mr. Glenn C. Tucker, Flat Rock, the Mayflower Cup for *Dawn Like Thunder*, a history of the war between the United States and the Barbary Powers of North Africa during the Jefferson and Madison administrations. The award for non-fiction is sponsored by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina. Miss Clara Booth Byrd, Greensboro, presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Award to Mr. John Ehle of Chapel Hill and New York for *The Land Breakers*, a novel dealing with pioneer living in North Carolina's mountains before the Revolutionary War. This award is made annually by the Historical Book Club of Greensboro for the best book of fiction published during the year.

Following the evening session, a reception was held for members and their guests.

The fifty-third annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held in Raleigh December 4 with Dr. Holgar O. Nygard, Durham, presiding. Other officers are Dr. Guy Owen, Jr., Raleigh, Mr. Jan Schinhan, Kannapolis, and Professor Robert A. Woody, Durham, vice-presidents; and Dr. Daniel W. Patterson, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer. Professor

George P. Wilson, Greensboro, spoke on "Shakespeare and North Carolina Folklore." "Using North Carolina Folklore in Fiction" was the title of a paper by Dr. Guy Owen, Jr. Messrs. Jeff and Gerret Warner, singers of Duke University, gave a program of "Ballads and Blues."

On December 5 the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast honoring the society's officers and the winner of the Mayflower Award, Mr. Glenn C. Tucker. Officers are as follows: Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt, Chapel Hill, Governor; Mrs. William T. Powell, High Point, Deputy Governor; Mrs. William O. Crottes, Charlotte, secretary; Mr. Dumont Clarke, Jr., Asheville, treasurer.

Mr. H. Glen Lanier, High Point, presided at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Poetry Society December 5 in Raleigh. Other officers are Mrs. Sallie Nixon, Stanley, vice-president; Mrs. Joy D. Rorie, Charlotte, secretary; and Mrs. Mary Louise Medley, Wadesboro, treasurer. Readings of winning poems in the North Carolina Poetry Society Contest (1964) were heard. Miss Charlotte Young gave a report on the work of the Poetry Council of North Carolina; introduced Mr. E. S. Gregg of Statesville, winner of the 1964 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award; and presented the Oscar A. Young Memorial Cup to Dr. Victor B. Small, Clinton, for his book, *The Feel of the Earth*.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians was held in Raleigh December 5, with Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., presiding. Mr. Charles Dunn, Durham, made the presentation of the Smithwick Newspaper Award to Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City, for the history of the Outer Banks of North Carolina. Mr. Salisbury had won the award two times previously and had received honorable mention on four earlier occasions. (Word has been received of the death of Mr. Salisbury, December 24, 1964, at Morehead City.) Other winners were Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, East Carolina College, Greenville, for an article on Panacea Springs, and Mrs. Margaret McMahan, Fayetteville, for two articles, "The Hales' Effect on Journalism in North Carolina." Honorable mentions went to Mr. Lewis Philip Hall, Wilmington, and Mrs. Barbara Short, Durham.

Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett, Greensboro, spoke on "The Last Days of the Confederacy." Mr. Edwin Dougherty, Boone, was elected president and Miss Mary Louise Medley, Wadesboro, and Miss Lena May Williams, Chapel Hill, were re-elected vice-presidents.

Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., presided at the joint luncheon of the society and the North Carolina Poetry Society. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Greensboro, chairman of the Tryon Palace Commission, gave a slide program on the palace as the concluding event of Culture Week.

The Beaufort Historical Association met at St. Paul's parish house November 30 and was presided over by Dr. John Costlow, president.

Reports were given by committee chairmen. Mrs. William Williams, Beaufort, spoke on early American silver and displayed her collection.

The executive committee of the North Carolina Conference Historical Society met November 24 at Saint James Methodist Church to plan a commemorative service which was held at 3:30 P.M., Sunday, December 20, at the Whitakers Chapel Methodist Church near Enfield. Whitakers Chapel was the site of the first annual conference of the dissident Methodist Protestant Church which convened December 10-20, 1828. Bishop Paul N. Garber, resident Episcopal head of the Raleigh area of the Methodist Church, and one of Methodism's historians, was the speaker for the historical observance.

The Moore County Historical Association met November 24 at Southern Pines. Reports were given on the repairs of the Alston House; on the House in the Horseshoe, near Carbondon; and on the old Shaw House in Southern Pines. The Highland Flingers from a Fayetteville high school gave a program. Mrs. Pat Raney announced an antique show for March 24, 25, and 26.

Two local historical projects—to restore the birthplace of Dr. Hugh Bennett and to restore and preserve the Patrick Boggan home on East Wade Street in Wadesboro, have been merged under the title of Anson County Historical Society. The committee designated to prepare a certificate of incorporation for Anson County Historical Society is Mr. F. Fetzer Mill, chairman, Mr. L. P. McLendon, and Mr. M. D. McLendon.

The newly-formed Franklin County Historical Society met January 21, at Louisburg College. Officers are as follows: Mr. Lindley S. Butler, Louisburg College, president; Mr. T. H. Pearce, vice-president; Miss Lucy P. Burt, secretary; and Mr. W. J. Shearin, treasurer. Dr. Gerald Shinn reported on the project to restore the Franklin Academy building, erected in 1804, for use as a county museum.

The Chatham County Historical Society met November 30 at the courthouse in Pittsboro. Mr. Charles R. Broyles spoke on "Indian Relics."

The Rockingham County Historical Society met November 30 at the County Center. The following officers were elected: Mrs. S. R. Prince, president; Mr. Henry Anderson, Leaksville, and Mrs. W. T. Lauten, Madison, vice-presidents; Miss Nancy Withers, secretary; and Mr. Knox Lively, Sr., Reidsville, treasurer. Mr. Allan Lewis, Wentworth, who has served as president for the past several years, was named an honorary vice-president. Plans for the sponsorship of a tour of Rockingham County were discussed. Mrs. Claude Dunaway, president of the Fine Arts Festival Association, spoke on "Fine Arts and History." A historical category has been established in the Fine Arts Festival to be held in April at St. Luke's Episcopal Church at Spray.

The Gaston County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting December 4 at the Lion's Club Building in Gastonia. Mr. Benjamin Moomaw, director of the Kings Mountain National Military Park, spoke on the Battle of Kings Mountain. Mr. Brice T. Dickson is president of the society.

Mrs. Douglas Wilkinson, member of the board of directors of the Railroad House Historical Association, requests memorial gifts in addition to gifts of labor and materials by Sanford business firms for the restoration of the town's oldest residence. The authentically-furnished house will serve as a future office of the Sanford Chamber of Commerce and a meeting place for civic groups as well as a tourist attraction.

The Hyde County Historical Association officers are Mrs. Allen Bucklew, president; Mrs. Robert G. Baum, vice-president; Mrs. Juanita Miller, secretary; Mrs. Betty Spencer, treasurer.

The finance committee of the Haywood County Historical Society met in the historical room in the courthouse at Waynesville, December 8, to consider plans for construction or purchase of a museum for the society. Mr. Charles Woodard and Mr. Milton Brown are co-chairmen of the committee.

The Catawba County Historical Association met December 9 in the Community Room of Citizens Savings and Loan Association at Newton. The association accepted the offer of Mr. Charles C. C. Bost to purchase the old Rader homeplace lot on South College Avenue in Newton. Mr. Thomas Warlick, president, appointed a committee to investigate possible locations for a new, fireproof, historical museum for Catawba county.

The Catawba County Historical Association met again on January 6, at which time Mr. Thomas Warlick, president, presided over the business meeting. A copy of Wheeler's *History of North Carolina* will be placed in the Catawba County Historical Museum as a memorial to Mrs. B. R. McCreight. Mr. Erskine C. Dysart of Hickory gave a talk about the early settlers of Catawba County.

The Onslow County Historical Society met December 16 at the home of Miss Hathaway Price; 12 members were present. At the meeting January 20, in Richlands, Mrs. Collier Cobb gave a talk on American glass and displayed a portion of her collection. Mr. N. E. Day, president, presided over the business session.

The Burke County Historical Society met December 21 at the Morganton-Burke Library. Mr. Sam J. Ervin III, president, presided over the business session. Members examined the collection of the society's historical material and saw a demonstration of new equipment.

The Hillsborough Historical Society met January 15 at the Orange County Courthouse. Dr. Robert H. Woody, professor of history at Duke University, spoke on "Germans in North Carolina."

The Wilkes Historical Society held its quarterly meeting January 18 in the recreation room of Wilkesboro Baptist Church. Mr. T. E. Story, president, presided; a film entitled "Road to Carolina" was shown.

The Union County Historical Society met January 14. Mr. S. Glenn Hawfield, president, presided and presented a suggested outline for a history of Union County. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, staff historian of the State Department of Archives and History spoke about the writing of a county history.

The Johnston County Historical Association met at Centenary Methodist Church in Smithfield January 17. Mr. Norman Larson of the Confederate Centennial Commission outlined plans for the proposed centennial commemoration at Bentonville.

A committee of the Asheville Chamber of Commerce has sponsored a project to incorporate the Museum of the Southern Highlands to preserve and display historical artifacts of the region, as well as to stimulate interest in the history and traditions of the area. At a meeting December 12 the following officers were elected: Mr. George Coggins, president; Mr. Samuel Beck, vice-president in charge of the museum project; Miss Augusta Barnett, secretary; Mr. Norman A. Greig, treasurer. Directors include Mr. Carol White, Cherokee, Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Black Mountain, Mr. George M. Stephens, Sr., Mr. J. Nick Davis and Colonel Paul Rockwell, Asheville.

The Cherokee County Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution held a joint meeting January 14, at the Murphy Power Board building in Murphy. Reports were made by Mrs. Robert Easley, Mr. Joe Ray, and Mr. L. T. Block.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., of Wilmington, has issued its Fourth Handbook which features on the cover a photograph of the Latimer House. Current officers are Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr., president; the Reverend Mortimer Glover, vice-president; Miss Leila Stack, secretary; Mr. Ludlow P. Strong, treasurer; and Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, archivist.

Announcement has been made of the formation of The North Carolina Book, Map and Print Club. The club plans to issue a yearly bulletin listing the interests of the members and any items they would like to exchange. All persons who are interested in building personal collections and libraries of North Carolina books, prints, maps, and paintings may join by writing to The North Carolina Book, Map and Print Club, R. F. D., Box 30, Winnabow.

The Cabarrus County Historical Society had its organizational meeting January 28 at the Community Center in Concord. The following officers were elected: Mr. A. Campbell Cline, president; Mr. A. K. Rouse, Kannapolis, and Mrs. Smoot Lyles, vice-presidents; Mrs. Harris Nierenburg, secretary-treasurer. One of the major long-range projects is the writing and publication of a history of Cabarrus County. Mr. Bernard Cruse spoke about the wealth of history in the county.

The Wayne County Historical Society met at the Wayne County Courthouse January 19. Mr. Conway Rose gave an illustrated talk on "The Tuscarora: a Close-up of Their Villages, Hunting Quarters and Habits."

The Carteret County Historical Society met January 16 at the Webb Civic Center, Morehead City. Mr. Thomas Respass, secretary, presided over the business session and was elected treasurer to fill the unexpired term of the late F. C. Salisbury. A committee was appointed to draft a resolution in memory of Salisbury, a former president and charter member of the organization. Part of the tribute follows: "More than forty years ago he came among us, a stranger from northern New York. . . . His natural bent for history gradually concentrated on the annals of Carteret County . . . resulting in a wealth of authentic local history which otherwise might have remained unpublished."

The Person County Historical Society met January 30 at the Courthouse in Roxboro. The business session was followed by the election of new officers.

The Pitt County Historical Society met January 28. Officers elected were Dr. Robert Lee Humber, president; Miss Tabitha DeVisconti, Farmville, vice-president; Mrs. W. I. Wooten, secretary-treasurer. Dr. Herbert R. Paschall spoke on colonial records and hailed John Simpson as the "father" of Pitt County, which was separated from the area then known as Beaufort County.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met January 30 at Pack Memorial Library, Asheville. Officers elected were Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, president; Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary, Brevard, vice-president; Miss Cordelia Camp, Asheville, secretary-treasurer. Several committee reports were heard.

## THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook*, which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review*. Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

