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Summer 1965

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$4.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for \$1.00 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—Fighting Cocks. Drawing by Gerald P. Finn, September 18, 1947. Reproduced from the cover of *Johnson's History of Game Strains* with the permission of Mr. W. T. Johnson, Americus, Georgia. For article on cockfighting, see pp. 306-314.

The North Carolina Historical Review

VOLUME XLII

PUBLISHED IN JULY, 1965

NUMBER 3

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POLITICS AND PIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA: THE FUNDAMENTALIST CRUSADE AT HIGH TIDE, 1925-1927

BY WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.*

Few localities felt the impact of the socio-intellectual crosscurrents of the 1920's more acutely than North Carolina. In the phraseology of the times, the state was in the throes of "a new day," "a bloodless revolution," and "a new phase." Such terms attempted to indicate a complex of material and intellectual changes which converged upon the nation in the era after World War I. Some of the innovations sprang directly from the war; others were products of movements long in existence and brought to fruition by the war. Whatever the origins of the new environment, the average North Carolinian experienced a profound uneasiness in the presence of twentieth-century realities which he could no longer ignore or glimpse from a comfortable distance. The passing of the old order sent a tremor through the state and occasionally induced spasms of popular disorientation which produced indiscriminate, almost blind, assaults upon phenomena associated with the "new day." Since most North Carolinians viewed the world through the eyes of orthodox Protestant theology, no aspect of the post-war era disturbed them more than its secular and irreverent tone. Even the hallowed creeds "upon which men have staked their hopes of eternal salvation" came under fire. A predominantly rural people accustomed to theological certainties and steeped in individualistic piety contemplated such "unsettlement" as the work of dark, satanic forces. Anything less than the obliteration of ideas and concepts responsible for the "loosening of old restraints" would jeopardize North Carolina's status as a "Christian Commonwealth." When the theory of evolution came to be considered the most pervasively dangerous of these concepts, the zealous defenders of religious orthodoxy assumed the tactics of embattled, panic-stricken warriors making a

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last-ditch effort to save their historic faith from the onslaughts of infidels.¹

The war on evolution erupted in 1920 when a Baptist paper in Kentucky published articles by T. T. Martin, a Mississippi evangelist, demanding the dismissal of President William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College, because of his open espousal of the theory of evolution. The Martin-Poteat affair precipitated far more than an agitation among Baptists.² It sparked a disturbance which increased in scope and intensity throughout the first half of the post-war decade. The "God-or-gorilla" theme became the subject of newspaper editorials, public debates, denominational squabbles, pronouncements by academicians, Bible conferences and speeches by William Jennings Bryan. Many North Carolinians were first introduced to Charles Darwin and his theory by itinerant evangelists whose highly emotional sermons aroused widespread suspicions about the orthodoxy of the churches and the state-supported educational institutions. The specter of infidelity induced many citizens to join in a frantic search for means to insulate their religious certitude against the encroachments of "godless" science and "vague-minded" modernistic theology. Their first efforts aimed at the elimination of evolutionists from church-related colleges and the incorporation of Bible courses into the public school curriculum. In neither case was their success sufficient to guarantee the safety of their eternal verities.³

Religious fundamentalists were convinced that the decisive moment had arrived in 1925; North Carolina must either remain an "old-fashioned Christian Commonwealth" or succumb to the forces of the

¹ Gerald W. Johnson, "North Carolina in a New Phase," *Current History*, XXVII (March, 1928), 843-848; W. C. Jackson, "Culture and the New Era in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (January, 1925), 12-15; E. C. Brooks, "The Development of Social Harmony" (an address, 1927), Eugene C. Brooks Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham; *Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, November 19-24, 1919* (Raleigh: Advocate Publishing Co., 1919), 55; Walter Lippman, "The South and the New Society," *Social Forces*, VI (September, 1927), 1-5; W. A. Harper, *Character Building in Colleges* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1928), 190-191; Sylvester Hassell, *Evolution* (n.p., 1925), 1-3.

² See Suzanne C. Linder, "William Louis Poteat and the Evolution Controversy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XL (April, 1963), 135-157, hereinafter cited as Linder, "Poteat and the Evolution Controversy."

³ Gerald W. Johnson, "Saving Souls," *The American Mercury*, I (July, 1924), 364-368; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 15, 21, July 27, August 15, September 13, 1921, February 24, November 19, 1922, May 6, November 6, 16, 1923, February 14, 15, 20, 29, and March 14, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; *The North Carolina Lutheran*, I (September, 1923), 4; Keith Saunders, *The Independent Man* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, c. 1962), 188-204, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Independent Man*; *The Mission Herald*, XXXIX (June, 1925), 8; Stephen Gardner to Robert Winston, December 5, 1924, Robert W. Winston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; *The Goldsboro News*, August 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 24, 25, 1926.

antichrist. Encouraged by Governor Cameron Morrison's banning of two "evolution textbooks" in 1924, the defenders of orthodoxy launched their offensive to obliterate the Darwinian menace by statute. Their spokesman was D. Scott Poole, a newspaper editor and prominent Presbyterian layman, who represented Hoke County in the legislature. His antievolution bill reached a vote in the House of Representatives only after a prolonged series of heated debates and tedious parliamentary maneuvers. Amid frayed tempers and a near riot, the measure was defeated by a vote of 67 to 46.⁴

Scarcely had the House disposed of the measure when the anti-evolutionists served notice that they would return for a showdown in the legislative session of 1927. They immediately reorganized their forces and quickened the tempo of their agitation. The death of Bryan shortly after the Scopes trial in 1925 provided them a martyr and renewed their zeal for the cause that he championed. Their crusade ultimately won endorsement from the Junior Order of Mechanics, the State Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Free Will Baptists, chambers of commerce, parent-teacher associations, and local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan. Local boards of education sought to guarantee the moral purity of public schools under their jurisdiction by the introduction of Bible courses, the elimination of "evolutionary teachings," and the censorship of school libraries. A favorite target of the anti-evolutionist offensive was The University of North Carolina. Even the martyred Bryan had referred to the institution as a breeding ground of infidelity in his last, undelivered address at Dayton. Harry W. Chase, the Massachusetts-born president of the university, had incurred the wrath of the fundamentalists by his vocal opposition to the Poole Bill. Condemned as a "Damned Yankee" and "a homeless liberal" who was "ruinin' our boys," the harassed Chase seriously considered resigning his post because of the ferocious attacks upon him.⁵

⁴ See especially Edgar W. Knight, "Monkey or Mud in North Carolina," *The Independent*, CXVII (May 14, 1927), 515-516, 527; Maynard Shipley, *The War on Modern Science: A Short History of the Fundamentalist Attacks on Evolution and Modernism* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927), 87-110, hereinafter cited as Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*.

⁵ Nell Battle Lewis, "North Carolina," *The American Mercury*, VIII (May, 1926), 41-43; *Minutes of the Thirty-First Annual Session of the Eastern Convention of the Original Free Will Baptists, 1926* (n.p., 1926), 5; *Journal of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1925* (n.p., 1925), 34, 47, 92; *The Statesville Landmark*, August 12, 1926; *The Mooresville Enterprise*, August 20, 1925; *The Union Republican* (Winston), July 23, 1925; *The Durham Morning Herald*, May 26, 1925; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints Upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [1936]), 229; Louis Round Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930: The Making of a Modern University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 511-526.

By the close of 1925 the antievolutionists could claim several significant achievements in spite of their failure in the legislature of that year. Morrison's elimination of certain textbooks, the actions of local school boards, and the agitation within several major denominations went far toward accomplishing the aim implicit in a state-wide anti-evolution law. Yet, opponents of evolution continued to insist upon such legislation as a prerequisite for the return of godliness. Poole had already indicated his intention to renew the fight in 1927; and Zebulon Vance Turlington, a prominent Presbyterian and an influential Democratic legislator from Iredell County who championed Poole's bill, announced in August, 1925, his willingness to exert even greater effort now that he understood "the full gravity of the situation."⁶

By February, 1926, various rumors about an impending antievolution crusade began to take shape. L. D. Bass, a Baptist minister in Madison, predicted that "some of the biggest anti-evolution guns in the country" including John Roach Straton, William B. Riley, and T. T. Martin, would invade the state during the spring and summer to give the "liberals and modernists a thorough shelling." During the Scopes trial Martin, field secretary of the Anti-Evolution League of America, had announced that his organization would "move in on North Carolina next." From Washington, Jonathan Daniels of *The News and Observer* reported rumors to the effect that North Carolina fundamentalists were perfecting their organization for the purpose of forcing an anti-evolution plank into the platform of the state's Democratic party. He also claimed that, according to some sources, former Governor Morrison would spearhead the crusade. While none of these rumors was completely true, widespread circulation indicated that something was in the wind.⁷

The fundamentalists believed that the most propitious moment to launch their new campaign for an antievolution statute was the period immediately prior to the Democratic primaries early in June. Victory in the primary was tantamount to election in solidly Democratic North Carolina; therefore, the antievolutionists had to initiate their crusade in time to force the hands of the candidates for the legislature on the evolution question during their campaigns. Their aims were to make evolution the central issue of the campaigns and to elect enough legislators sympathetic to their cause to insure the passage of a bill

⁶ *The Mooresville Enterprise*, August 20, 1925; *The Greensboro Daily News*, August 16, 1925; *The News and Observer*, August 16, 1925; *Charity and Children*, XL (August 27, 1925), 4.

⁷ *The News and Observer*, February 21, April 25, 1926; *The North Carolina Lutheran*, III (December, 1925), 4.

outlawing Darwinism in the schools. Politicians who had previously shied away from the issue because of its explosive nature contemplated the revived antievolution crusade with mounting anxiety. Many of them perceived only too clearly the validity of the observation: "If a candidate comes out for the teaching of evolution, he wouldn't have as much chance as a Catholic." Since the fundamentalist zealots brooked neither ambiguities nor equivocation, the political moderate might well expect to be the "chief sufferer" in the campaign.⁸

The first steps toward the creation of a state-wide antievolution organization took place secretly early in April, 1926. Public notice of these efforts first occurred on April 16, when 32 ministers and laymen representing various denominations met in the First Baptist Church of Charlotte. Their announced purpose was to launch an organization to combat "all influences in the schools that tend to destroy the faith of the people in the Bible as the Inspired Word of God." The organization, known as the Committee of One Hundred, would be under the direction of native fundamentalists representing the 100 counties of the state. The group also passed resolutions expressing its opposition to the union of church and state and its endorsement of all efforts to eliminate antichristian doctrines from the public schools. By the close of this session it was apparent that Presbyterians, primarily from the Piedmont region, would dominate the new campaign and that Charlotte would be its headquarters.⁹

On May 4, 1926, the same day that the Episcopalians officially denounced efforts to restrict freedom of teaching, over 300 antievolutionists gathered in Charlotte "to fight the teaching of anti-Bible doctrines in the schools." When the Chamber of Commerce denied this group use of its building on grounds of "propriety," the gathering convened in the auditorium of the Carnegie Library where, after singing "How Firm a Foundation," it officially launched the Committee of One Hundred. The crusade to marshal the antievolution sentiment in the counties was to be waged under the motto, "Make Our Schools Safe For Our Children." Shortly after his election as permanent chairman, Judge Walter S. Neal of Laurinburg assured the audience: "We are going to organize the state from stem to stern and anyone who thinks otherwise is badly fooled. Sentiment is against us in some of the large towns but in the rural sections it is all the way and we are going to organize every county and stir them up."¹⁰

⁸ *The News and Observer*, April 25, 1926.

⁹ *The Charlotte Observer*, April 17, 1926; *The News and Observer*, April 17, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, April 22, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, April 17, 1926.

¹⁰ *The News and Observer*, May 6, 1926.

After transferring its proceedings to the more spacious quarters of the Second Presbyterian Church, the committee drew up a fundamentalist credo which was incorporated into the organization's lengthy platform. This document disavowed any intention of uniting church and state, then proceeded to insist upon barring from all public educational institutions teachers whose religious beliefs deviated substantially from the conservative theology embraced by a majority of the Christian taxpayers of the state. This so-called "moral suasion" platform was designed to serve as a basis for a "direct treaty" to be negotiated by the committee with each state-supported college. If the college refused to accept this procedure or failed to react "properly," the committee promised "to take the matter directly to the legislature." Obviously, the organization intended to concern itself primarily with the state colleges rather than the public schools. Perhaps the latter had been, or were being, sufficiently cleansed of the heresy by the local activities of the antievolutionists. At any rate, the committee hoped to force colleges in line by threatening another legislative fight over evolution.¹¹

Despite its threat and promises, the Committee of One Hundred was permanently injured by the intemperance and disorder of its opening session. The wild applause, inflammatory addresses, and vitriolic attacks upon Chase and other university personnel precluded calm deliberations. So unbridled did the language become that the chairman had to remind the orators that they were "in a house of God." The proceedings, however, became utterly rowdy when a group of self-styled "friends of the University" invaded the fundamentalist gathering. The leader of this contingent of "interlopers" was Charles W. Tillett, Jr., a young attorney of Charlotte, who had persuaded several civic leaders in various parts of the state to join him in an effort to stifle in its infancy this new antievolution drive. While the resolutions committee was in session elsewhere, the floor was opened for general discussion. Robert Lassiter, one of Tillett's cohorts, immediately raised the question whether all those present would enjoy the privileges of the floor. After some hesitation the chairman agreed to extend the rights of voting and speaking to all present, an action which gave Tillett and his associates legal standing in the session. During the lunch hour this group which then included E. D. Broadhurst, a Greensboro attorney and an outspoken critic of antievolution

¹¹ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 4, 5, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926.

legislation, plotted its strategy for a showdown with the fundamentalists at the afternoon session.¹²

The proceedings during the afternoon were marked by a mounting resentment of the intruders, flaring tempers, and angry outbursts. When Tillett criticized efforts by churchmen to gag scientific research, H. B. Searight, moderator of the Presbyterian Synod, suggested that "those who are not in sympathy with us might go elsewhere and form an organization of their own." But William Shaw, Paul Ranson, Frank McNinch, and William T. Shore, all civic leaders and university alumni, remained to pose embarrassing questions and to engage in heated exchanges with official spokesmen of the committee. Shaw described the "absurdity" of any effort to make orthodox Christianity a test for membership in a state college faculty. He reminded his audience that such a restriction would automatically eliminate all Jews and Catholics from state-supported institutions. Thomas R. Glasgow, a Charlotte businessman who had joined Tillett's group, continued the discussion by a critical analysis of the committee's attempt to "make a religious creed a prerequisite for holding a civil office."¹³

These remarks triggered a general uproar among the antievolutionists who, disagreeing among themselves over the interpretations of their ultimate aims, were soon absorbed in bitter arguments with one another. E. D. Broadhurst finally managed to gain the floor to deliver a brief speech which reduced the proceedings to utter pandemonium. He claimed that the "bitter-tongued" utterances of the ministers during the session were sufficient to destroy the layman's respect and reverence for the clergy. Then, he concluded: "Don't make this a church war. You are a lot of scared preachers gathered together. I've listened to your voices and seen your actions today and I tell you I'm discouraged."¹⁴ At this juncture, the Reverend McKendree Long, a Presbyterian preacher, exclaimed: "My God shall not be murdered in His own House!" And Walter West, a young, broad-shouldered Methodist minister from Lincolnton, took off his coat, doubled up his fists, and charged toward the altar to deal with "this modernist interloper from Greensboro." Only the restraining hands of several spectators prevented a fist fight at the church altar. This extraordinary

¹² Robert W. Winston, *Horace Williams: Gadfly of Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 211-213, hereinafter cited as Winston, *Horace Williams*; *The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 7, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, May 6, 10, 1926.

¹³ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 6, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, May 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 5, 6, 1926.

¹⁴ Quoted in Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*, 102.

episode climaxed the meeting and overshadowed the remainder of the session. The unfavorable publicity given the initial meeting of the Committee of One Hundred irreparably damaged its reputation and lent credence to the prediction that North Carolina was destined for a "Kulturkampf."¹⁵

At the same time that native fundamentalists were organizing the the Committee of One Hundred, outside forces poured into the state to lend their aid to the antievolution cause. True to his promise during the Scopes trial, T. T. Martin headed this contingent of "foreign" anti-evolutionists who invaded North Carolina in the spring of 1926. Since the death of Bryan the national antievolution movement had lacked a single individual to fill the Great Commoner's position. But a leading contender for the Bryan mantle was Charles F. Washburn, a wealthy realtor in Florida and the founder of the Bible Crusaders of America. Established to continue Bryan's antievolutionist crusade, it rapidly became one of the most militant organizations of its kind. Its personnel consisted largely of veteran fundamentalist campaigners such as T. T. Martin who became Director-General of Campaigns of the Bible Crusaders while retaining his post in the Anti-Evolution League of America.¹⁶

Fresh from the field of victory in his native Mississippi, which had enacted an antievolution law, Martin arrived in Charlotte on April 28, 1926, and established headquarters in the Clayton Hotel. He immediately announced plans for a whirlwind campaign throughout North Carolina in an effort to pave the way for the passage of an anti-evolution statute by the next legislature. Martin and other representatives of national antievolution societies who joined him emphasized the crucial significance of the state in their nationwide campaign. "If North Carolina could be won," they reasoned, "the nation could be won" and federal legislation to banish Darwinism could be enacted.¹⁷

Both Martin and his chief lieutenant, V. T. Jeffreys of New Jersey who had been dispatched to Charlotte by the Anti-Evolution League, expressed a desire to work with the Committee of One Hundred. In fact, they hoped to co-ordinate the campaigns of the local and national

¹⁵ Winston, *Horace Williams*, 214; *The Charlotte Observer*, May 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 6, 1926.

¹⁶ *The Crusaders' Champion*, I (December 25, 1925), 1-4; *The North Carolina Lutheran*, III (December, 1925), 4; see also, Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1954), 57-61.

¹⁷ *The Charlotte Observer*, April 29, May 1, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, April 29, 1926. The battle cry of the Crusaders was: "North Carolina holds the key to the Nation. As it goes, so goes the nation." See Harbor Allen, "The Anti-Evolution Campaign in America," *Current History*, XXIV (September, 1926), 895.

organizations. Martin exerted every effort to ingratiate himself with the committee by adjusting his own plans to coincide with those of the local organization. He conferred with A. R. Shaw, a Presbyterian minister prominent in the committee, but utterly failed to establish the desired contact. He did not even obtain an invitation to attend the committee's opening session on May 4. Reasons for the committee's coolness toward Martin are not difficult to find. In addition to being suspicious of "foreigners" in general, the committee undoubtedly realized that Martin's rather notorious reputation among North Carolinians because of his vicious war on William Louis Poteat would scarcely enhance its cause. Moreover, since the organization was seeking to influence a state election, aid from outside forces would be a liability rather than an asset. Thus the committee sought desperately, although in vain, to prevent any identification of its crusade with that of the Martin entourage.¹⁸

Although disappointed by the committee's attitude, Martin proceeded with his plans for a state-wide campaign under the direction of representatives from various national antievolution groups. Like a military general about to launch an offensive, he divided the state into districts and designated one or more of his lieutenants to supervise the campaign in each district. District headquarters were maintained in Charlotte, Hendersonville, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh. Among the most notable members of Martin's task force were Andrew Johnson of Kentucky, Jeffreys, and three Texas evangelists, Raleigh Wright, J. F. Hailey, and W. E. Hawkins. The essential task of these district commanders was to arrange public debates on evolution, distribute antievolution posters and literature, and organize local antievolution societies to be affiliated with a national organization.¹⁹

Martin sounded the keynote of his campaign in a well-advertized address delivered in Charlotte May 9, 1926. A massive, flag-draped portrait of Bryan filled the rear of the stage from which he spoke. His address, characterized by invective and sensationalism, was largely a reiteration of antievolution themes which he had expressed on many earlier occasions, especially in his tract, *Hell and the High Schools*. At one dramatic point in his speech Martin declared: "Our only hope is to carry the fight to the people and drive every evolution teacher and every evolution book out of every tax-supported school in America." As he closed his address, he pointed to the picture of Bryan

¹⁸ *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 3, 1926; *The News and Observer*, April 29, 1926; *The Charlotte Observer*, April 29, May 1, 6, 1926.

¹⁹ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 4, 6, 9, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 3, 6, 8, 1926.

and shouted: "There is the greatest statesman that was every draped with the American flag. The picture was taken while Mr. Bryan and I were at Dayton." The outburst of applause which followed was disproportionate to the small crowd that attended his performance.²⁰

On May 12, 1926, the Anti-Evolution League of North Carolina, an affiliate of the national society of which Martin was field secretary, was incorporated by three North Carolinians. Two of the incorporators were citizens of Charlotte who had not previously been conspicuous in the antievolution agitation. The third, however, was James R. Pentuff, an active figure in the Committee of One Hundred and in the war on Poteat. Actually the antievolution league was controlled by Martin, but for purposes of publicity it was an organization of native vintage. It was a device to attract support among North Carolinians and to provide Martin with a liaison between outside and native fundamentalists. Apparently hoping to devote full time to league activities, Pentuff promised to publish a magazine, *The Citizen's Review*, which would serve as the organ of the organization. Although subscriptions to the publication were sold at the rallies held by Martin's troupe, the magazine was never published. Subscriptions probably did not indicate success for such a venture. In fact, the anti-evolutionists found it increasingly difficult to arouse enthusiasm at their rallies, much less to raise cash. The size of the audiences, small from the beginning, continued to dwindle. On several occasions the crowd dispersed before the orators completed the addresses.²¹

This apathetic response prompted the World's Christian Fundamentals Association to dispatch Arthur I. Brown, a Canadian physician turned evangelist, to assist Martin. A veteran antievolutionist whose impressive academic pedigree received careful attention in Martin's publicity, Brown delivered addresses in various sections of the state. He assailed Poteat, proclaimed the "end of time was near at hand," and described all evolutionists as atheists. *The Greensboro Daily News* regretted that the Vancouver surgeon had "quit medical doctoring for divinity dosing." But even the hostile *Daily News* conceded that he possessed "far more sense, scholarship, personality, and platform ability than most of the agitators." Brown ultimately joined Martin's

²⁰ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 11, 1926; William N. Crow, "Religion and the Recent Evolution Controversy with Special Reference to the Issues in the Scopes Trial" (unpublished Bachelor of Divinity thesis, Duke University, 1936), 69.

²¹ *The Hendersonville Times*, May 5, 12, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 10, 13, 1926; *The Evening Telegram* (Rocky Mount), May 13, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 12, 1926.

headquarters in Charlotte in an effort to bolster the sagging fortunes of the crusade.²²

It was left for Martin himself to stage the spectacle which presumably would accomplish such ends. He announced his intention to debate evolution in public with some well-known atheist approved by the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. H. L. Mencken was his choice of a protagonist, but when Mencken ignored his challenge, he agreed to debate with Howell S. England of Detroit, a representative of the association. No sooner had Martin made known his plan to stage such a debate than an avalanche of criticism descended upon him. City and county officials denied him use of facilities under their jurisdiction, and the Charlotte clergy closed the doors of their churches to him. The Charlotte chapter of the Ku Klux Klan vehemently opposed the presence of an atheist in their city and promised to give England "a quick send off" if he dared to contaminate its environs with his presence.²³

Distressed by this unexpected turn of events, Martin claimed that his proposed debate had been "grossly misunderstood." He tried in vain to correct the widespread impression that the debate was to deal with "atheism versus Christianity" rather than Genesis versus Darwin. Apparently the Klan had misunderstood his purpose, and because of the misunderstanding, had decided to prohibit the debate in a manner comparable to Martin's proposed restrictions on evolutionists. Those who perceived the irony of Martin's complaints about the lack of respect for freedom of speech in Charlotte believed that the crusader had run afoul of the same kind of intolerance that he had so long preached. Certainly the Klan's argument that a "non-believer" should be prohibited from defiling their "church-going community" was similar to that employed by the evangelist against modernists and evolutionists. Martin, however, never appreciated the irony of his new role as a defender of "free speech."²⁴

Finally, after two weeks of negotiations, he rented a dance pavilion located outside the city limits of Charlotte. Here, in such unimpressive surroundings, Martin and England staged their debate on May 31, 1926. Their topic was: "Should the teaching of evolution, that man descended from a lower order of animals, be excluded from tax-supported schools." Taking the negative, England used a monkey

²² *The Raleigh Times*, May 18, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 18, 21, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 17, 24, 1926.

²³ *The Mooresville Enterprise*, October 29, 1925; *The Charlotte Observer*, May 23, 24, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 24, 1926.

²⁴ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 22, 23, 26, 1926.

named "Genesis" to illustrate his arguments; and Martin, in his turn, reached a new high in his use of invective against evolutionists. Although the debate possessed many features of the vaudeville performance, it was "a listless affair" attended by fewer than 200 people. The presence of the Klansmen hostile to an atheist being so near their city undoubtedly dampened the enthusiasm of many prospective curiosity-seekers. Disheartened by the series of disasters, climaxed in this debate, Martin withdrew from North Carolina deeply resentful of the "unfair" treatment accorded him.²⁵

With his departure the burden of the fight fell to the Committee of One Hundred. But even the native fundamentalists were in serious trouble. The turbulence of the committee's original session had clearly taken its toll. Shocked by the unbecoming behavior of their cohorts, some of the most active and prestigious supporters began to desert the organization. A. A. McGeachy, a well-known Presbyterian clergyman whose church had been the scene of the stormy session, resigned immediately. Although he still agreed with the original aims of the committee, he was "entirely out of sympathy with the spirit" in which it "was now attempting to accomplish them."²⁶ William E. Price, the first secretary-treasurer of the organization who was a candidate for the legislature, abandoned the committee before the primary; and the warm endorsement of the fundamentalist movement by Julian Miller in his *Charlotte News* turned into utter contempt following the tumultuous session of the committee on May 4. Other desertions took place within a few months, and even Judge Neal, ostensibly because of ill health, left the organization before the end of the year.²⁷

Martin's sensational tactics and the fiasco of the committee's first session irreparably damaged the antievolution cause in North Carolina. Both shocked the sensibilities of North Carolinians in general and disillusioned many who still believed that evolution ought to be barred from the classroom. Few were willing to risk "the good name" of the state in a Scopes trial, and many were wearying of the whole discussion. Even *The Charlotte Observer*, one of the most persistent friends of fundamentalism, believed that the antievolution crusade under Martin had degenerated "into a cheap show of the common order."

²⁵ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 27, 30, June 2, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 3, 1926.

²⁶ A. A. McGeachy to Howard W. Odum, May 8, 1926, Howard W. Odum Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

²⁷ *The Greensboro Daily News*, May 6, 1926; Winston, *Horace Williams*, 216; *The Statesville Landmark*, November 8, 1926; *The News and Observer*, May 9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 1926.

By June 2, 1926, *The Observer* had become convinced that the "state has had enough of this monkey business for quite a spell."²⁸

For a while, however, the political campaigns prior to the primaries on June 5, 1926, failed to reflect this waning interest. The antievolutionists had entered the political arena with the avowed purpose of electing men to the legislature who sympathized with their aims. Although the State Democratic Convention late in April had been "the most pacific of gatherings" without a single reference to evolution, the politicians were by no means certain of such harmony in the primaries. Events during May indicated that their anxiety was justified. *Charity and Children*, a Baptist paper, lamented: "Religion and politics are mightily mixed these days. Preachers will take a larger part in the campaign than usual this season, and politicians will misquote more of the Bible than ever before." Most people agreed that evolution was an issue in the campaign, and some believed it was the "paramount issue." *The Greensboro Daily News* was convinced that "the monkey had replaced the donkey in Tar Heel Democracy." Certainly the antievolutionists, especially the Committee of One Hundred, were urging all candidates for the legislature to state publicly their stand on the evolution question. *The Stanly News-Herald* (Albemarle), which urged its readers to "vote as you pray," maintained that such a declaration by the candidates was mandatory in view of the "vital issues" at stake in the evolution controversy.²⁹

Candidates were by no means oblivious to these pressures, and in some contests the issue of evolution did indeed play a crucial role. D. Scott Poole, unopposed in the Hoke County primary, again assumed the lead in the matter of antievolution legislation by promising to introduce another bill in the next legislature. His announcement was the signal for candidates to align themselves on the issue. In Stanly County, where the local newspaper ardently championed an anti-evolution statute, the primary designated as the county's legislator, Luther H. Bost, a Methodist steward and chairman of the local board of education, who shared the editor's views. Richmond County was the scene of a particularly heated legislative race involving candidates for both the Senate and the House. After a bitter fight in which evolution received a thorough airing on the political stump, the candidates who ran on the "Anti-Poole Bill Platform" were victorious. In Wilson County the Ku Klux Klan and antievolutionists tried in vain to unseat

²⁸ *The Charlotte Observer*, June 2, 1926.

²⁹ *The News and Observer*, April 28, 30, 1926; *Charity and Children*, XL (June 3, 1926), 4; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 4, 8, 1926; *The Charlotte Observer*, June 6, 1926; Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*, 94.

veteran legislator Henry Groves Connor, Jr., largely because of his opposition to the Poole Bill in 1925. A similar effort to defeat Nat A. Townsend of Harnett County also failed. J. C. Braswell, a Nash County physician and outspoken champion of antievolution legislation, was "a clearcut casualty" in the primary fight over Darwinism. He was defeated by a young Baptist and Wake Forest-educated lawyer, Otway B. Moss of Spring Hope. Another Baptist and Wake Forest alumnus, Walter J. Matthews, ran on an anti-Poole Bill platform in Scotland County, the home of Judge Walter Neal and a center of anti-evolutionist agitation. Matthews roundly defeated the incumbent Angus D. Currie, a Presbyterian who had voted for the Poole measure in 1925.³⁰

The politics of evolution provoked widespread excitement in Wake and Pasquotank counties. In Wake County, which encompassed the state's capital city, the antievolutionists received a stunning defeat in spite of their vigorous efforts in behalf of Sherwood Upchurch. They flooded the county with handbills adorned with pictures of Upchurch pointing to a monkey and exclaiming: "I may look like him but I refuse to claim kin." No less spectacular was the campaign in Pasquotank County waged by William O. Saunders, the crusading editor of *The Independent* (Elizabeth City) whose repertory of invective had long been directed at fundamentalist evangelists, William Jennings Bryan, and the Committee of One Hundred. Running on an "anti-Ku Klux Klan and anti-Fundamentalist platform," Saunders was overwhelmingly defeated by J. Kenyon Wilson, a corporation lawyer supported by the county politicians. Although Saunders characterized the primary results as a victory for "Isaac, Jacob, and Abraham," it is doubtful whether the Pasquotank voters were registering their support of antievolution legislation as much as they were disapproving the election of so controversial a figure as Saunders.³¹

Of all the primaries the one in Mecklenburg County, "the mecca of fundamentalism," promised to be the most turbulent. Two Presbyterians, J. Clyde Stancill and William E. Price, were elected. Although Price had resigned his position in the Committee of One Hundred before the primary, he still favored an antievolution law. The real fracas, however, took place in the runoff primary between two female aspirants for the House, Julia Alexander and Carrie MacLean. Julia Alexander, the incumbent, was a Presbyterian closely identified with the Committee of One Hundred and a staunch supporter of anti-

³⁰ *The Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 26, July 7, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, July 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 9, 15, 1926.

³¹ *The News and Observer*, June 8, 9, 1926; Linder, "Poteat and the Evolution Controversy," 153; Saunders, *Independent Man*, 91-93.

evolution legislation; Carrie MacLean was a Baptist and well-known attorney who publicly decried efforts to restrict freedom of speech. Miss MacLean's victory was interpreted as "a definite and positive defeat" for the antievolutionists. In the legislature of 1927 she was appointed to the Committee on Education where her vote against a second Poole Bill canceled the vote of her colleague from Mecklenburg, William E. Price.³²

Unquestionably the evolution issue loomed large in the political campaigns in the spring of 1926. Henry M. London, the state's legislative reference librarian, considered the issue significant enough to make it the basis for a portion of his analysis of the primary results. London calculated that less than 24 per cent of the legislators who supported the Poole Bill in 1925 were renominated, while over 37 per cent of those opposed to the measure retained their seats. According to his analysis the only legislator defeated for renomination who had opposed the Poole Bill was Frank C. Brinson of Pamlico County. He had been replaced by Veston C. Banks, a clerk in the Free Will Baptist Church which officially endorsed antievolution legislation. In the general election in November, 1926, a Republican unseated veteran Democratic legislator Will W. Neal of McDowell County, presumably because Neal's "fundamentalist constituents never forgave him for opposing the Poole Bill." Nevertheless, the public generally interpreted the outcome of the primaries as a serious, if not disastrous, setback for the antievolutionists. A sizable segment of the press agreed with *The Greensboro Daily News'* contention that the primaries offered irrefutable proof of North Carolina's refusal "to canonize the faith savers."³³

In spite of a setback at the polls and a depleted membership, the Committee of One Hundred doggedly pursued its original aims. On December 9, 1926, the organization underwent an administrative reorganization and changed its name to The North Carolina Bible League. On the same date Julia Alexander, secretary of the league, released the first issue of her periodical entitled *The Fundamentalist*. Shortly thereafter, the league's new president, McKendree Long, a Presbyterian minister, launched a whirlwind speaking tour of the state, and the organization's chief lobbyist, Thomas C. Bowie, a veteran Democratic politician from West Jefferson, prepared for the opening

³² *The Charlotte Observer*, July 5, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 4, 14, 1926; Shipley, *The War on Modern Science*, 97-98.

³³ *The News and Observer*, June 16, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, November 22, 1926; *The Greensboro Daily News*, June 15, 1926.

of the legislature.³⁴ When the General Assembly convened in January, 1927, the league possessed petitions bearing over 10,000 names to support its antievolution bill which Poole introduced after consulting Bowie and Turlington. League spokesmen mustered considerable eloquence in an attempt to persuade the House Committee on Education to give the bill a favorable report. But their pleas fell on deaf ears; a reshuffling of the committee membership since 1925 left the fundamentalists hopelessly outnumbered. When the committee rejected Poole's bill by a vote of 25 to 11, its legislative managers accepted defeat without attempting to get the measure before the House on a minority report.³⁵

The majority of North Carolinians during the 1920's undoubtedly subscribed to a fundamentalist theology in which there was no place for a belief in evolution. Yet, these same North Carolinians refused to heed the advice of those who prescribed an antievolution law as a remedy for "modern infidelity." The explanation in part lay in the fact that most North Carolinians were passive fundamentalists. Although anguished by the march of secularism, they remained receptive to the moderating influence of William Louis Poteat, Harry Chase, and other opponents of legislation designed to restrict freedom of thought and teaching. Their fundamentalism was far more flexible and spacious than that of the militant minority. The failure of the antievolutionists in North Carolina resulted not so much from public hostility to their beliefs as from aversion to their tactics. The shrillness of their clamor and their inclination to tamper with such principles as religious liberty and the separation of church and state seemed more dangerous than the infidelity which they claimed to be battling. Noncombative fundamentalists became disenchanted with the antievolution movement in the same degree to which it exhibited extremism. And after 1925 the antievolutionist zealots hastened their isolation by their extremist tendencies and ultimately sealed the doom of their movement by their sensationalism and intemperance.³⁶

³⁴ *The News and Observer*, December 10, 31, 1926; *The Statesville Landmark*, December 13, 30, 1926; *The Goldsboro News*, December 11, 1926; *The Fundamentalist*, I (December 9, 1926), 1-10.

³⁵ *The News and Observer*, January 26, 1926. The original of the Poole Bill of 1927, with the minority report attached, is in the Legislative Papers of 1927, Records Center, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

³⁶ For a provocative essay see Gerald W. Johnson, "The Religious Refugee," *The Century Magazine*, III (February, 1926), 399-404.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF BREVET MAJOR GENERAL SICKLES

BY JAMES ROY MORRILL III*

During the months immediately following the end of the war, North Carolina made steady progress under presidential reconstruction toward the restoration of normal relations with the Union.¹ The President's program was generally popular with the people of the state, who desired the quick completion of reconstruction. Johnson's appointment of William Woods Holden as provisional Governor in May, 1865, however, was not popular, and injected a divisive element into North Carolina politics. Holden, a former Democrat and secessionist who had become converted to unionism during the war, had led a long and active political career which had earned him many enemies, especially among pre-war Whigs. In the gubernatorial election of October, 1865, the anti-Holden elements pitted Jonathan Worth, a former Whig and a unionist, against the provisional incumbent. Defeated in the election and without a political future under existing circumstances, Holden in April, 1866, began to advocate congressional control of reconstruction. In January, 1867, he adopted the principle of universal Negro suffrage. Holden's faction, which in March, 1867, became the Republican party of North Carolina, claimed that the state was in the hands of unreconstructed rebels who sought to persecute Negroes and true loyalists. The Worth forces bitterly attacked Holden's advocacy of congressional reconstruction and heatedly denied that the state administration intended harm to any group. Maintaining that most consistent unionists supported the Worth government, anti-Holdenites, of whatever former party or beliefs, condemned radicalism and began to refer to themselves as conservative men who desired only reconstruction and

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¹ For an account of events in North Carolina during presidential reconstruction, see J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company [Number 114 of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 605 studies, 1897-1962] 1914), 106-206, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction*.

recovery. With the inauguration of congressional reconstruction neither desire was to be quickly realized.

The bill entitled "An Act to Provide for the More Efficient Government of the Rebel States," which became law on March 2, 1867, over the executive veto, terminated presidential reconstruction and initiated the congressional program. The act of March 2, which was supplemented by three later acts, fundamentally altered the status of the southern states by providing that the unreconstructed states be grouped into five military districts; that the President assign a general officer of the United States Army as commander of each district; that the commanders maintain the peace and protect the personal and property rights of individuals within the districts, using United States troops and military tribunals if necessary; that the existing state governments be provisional in nature and subject to modification or abolishment by the authority of the United States; and that a prescribed program be followed by each state in order to qualify its congressmen for readmission to Congress. The initial steps of the required program were as follows: that a state constitution consistent with the Constitution of the United States be formed by the people of each state, acting through a convention elected by the male citizens of the state, twenty-one years or older, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who had been resident in the state for at least a year, except those persons disfranchised for rebellion or for felony; and that the resulting state constitution extend the suffrage on the same basis as prescribed for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention.²

North Carolina conservatives received the reconstruction act with a mixture of despair and resignation. Faced with the twin disasters of Negro suffrage and military rule, the public realized that active resistance to the will of Congress was impossible. The people believed that the act was manifestly unconstitutional, but they held little hope in the Supreme Court of the United States. The only possible course was acceptance of the South's fate. If conservatives agreed that submission was a necessity, they were divided over whether positive co-operation with congressional reconstruction was wise or consistent with honor. One element argued that co-operation was judicious and prudent, for conservatives could thereby control the constitutional convention and prevent an ultra-radical constitution. Another faction, however, insisted that co-operation with Congress would be an endorsement of the South's humiliation and, therefore, dishonorable

² The further provisions of the act of March 2, 1867, are not herein given for they have no direct bearing on the subject of this paper.

and unthinkable. The existence of the latter faction provided radicals with the accusation, often voiced, that conservatives sought to obstruct the progress of reconstruction. Regardless of their differences over the question of co-operation, most North Carolinians anticipated military rule with considerable, and understandable, apprehension.³

It was realized that the district commander's personality and views would greatly influence the circumstances of reconstruction.⁴ A benevolent attitude toward the South would do much to ameliorate conditions, while a vindictive spirit would compound the state's misfortune. The announcement of the commander's name was awaited, therefore, with avid interest. Conservative newspapers expressed confidence that the commanding general to be appointed would be magnanimous and just in his relations with North Carolina.⁵ Although military government was considered inherently objectionable, it was viewed in some quarters as a bulwark against the greater evil of radical rule.⁶ Naturally anxious about the future, nevertheless, conservatives suggested that a wise district commander would allow the state's excellent civil machinery to function with a minimum of interference.⁷

The appointment of Brevet Major General Daniel E. Sickles as commander of the Second Military District⁸ could not have surprised many persons, for Sickles had served during presidential reconstruction as commander of the department which had consisted of North Carolina and South Carolina. Although North Carolinians were thus generally familiar with his post-war record, his career prior to 1865

³ For North Carolina's reaction to the reconstruction act and for the differing attitudes toward co-operation with it, see the March, 1867, issues of the following newspapers: *The Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Sentinel*; *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*; *The Old North State* (Salisbury), hereinafter cited as *Old North State*. See also the March, 1867, correspondence of Graham and Worth in William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth*.

⁴ *Sentinel*, March 12, 1867; *Old North State*, March 14, 1867; David L. Swain to Thomas Ruffin, March 19, 1867, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), IV, 174.

⁵ *Sentinel*, March 12, 1867; *Old North State*, March 14, 1867.

⁶ *Sentinel*, March 7, 12, July 9, 1867.

⁷ *Old North State*, March 14, 1867; David L. Swain to William Alexander Graham, March 15, 1867, Graham Papers. Worth did not hesitate to suggest this policy to the district commander. See Jonathan Worth to H. J. Harris, April 30, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 940.

⁸ The Second Military District consisted of North Carolina and South Carolina with headquarters originally set at Columbia but quickly changed to Charleston, South Carolina. R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina* (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc. 4 volumes, 1929), II, 285.

and his personal convictions were less well known.⁹ A lawyer who had risen through Tammany Hall to the New York state legislature and, in 1856, to the United States House of Representatives, Sickles had become an influential Washington personality and a confidant of President James Buchanan.¹⁰ Consistently supporting the latter's pro-southern administration, Sickles had defended the right of secession and had been reluctantly willing to see the southern states depart in peace. The South's resorting to violence, however, had terminated his sympathy with that section and had made him an active participant in the war. Apparently having no moral convictions on the question of slavery, Sickles had viewed the war as a struggle to preserve the Union rather than to alter institutions. He had risen steadily to the position of corps commander, only to have his active military career ended by the loss of a leg at Gettysburg. Shortly after that battle he had begun to urge "magnanimity and justice and conciliation" toward the South, which, he foresaw, was doomed to ultimate defeat. Insisting that the war effort should be pushed until the rebellion was crushed, he had voted as a Lincoln Democrat in the presidential election of 1864. In 1865, following the end of the war, Sickles had served as administrator for South Carolina. As department commander during 1866, he had understood southern fear of Negro domination but had grown impatient at white intransigence toward the Negroes. Indeed, patience and forbearance were not prominent among Sickles' attributes. A strong-minded individual, he sincerely desired to help the people of the South, but he sometimes lacked the tact and restraint to make his policies clear and acceptable to a sensitive and uneasy population. Reaction to his appointment as district commander was therefore mixed;¹¹ many persons undoubtedly suspended judgment until they could see how Sickles would wield the increased authority granted by the congressional reconstruction program.

The General's popularity among the white citizenry increased considerably as a result of the speech which he delivered upon his arrival at Charleston, the district headquarters. Addressing his remarks particularly to the colored populace, Sickles admonished the Negroes to seek honest employment and to avoid those persons who might

⁹ *Sentinel*, March 15, 1867. The best biography of Sickles is W. A. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), hereinafter cited as Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible*.

¹⁰ Sickles' political future was shattered in 1859, however, when after killing his wife's lover, he created a scandal by accepting his faithless mate back into his home. Swanberg, *Sickles the Incredible*, 47-76.

¹¹ *Sentinel*, March 15, 1867.

desire to create racial tensions. To allay fears of a pro-radical military rule, he promised to be impartial and nonpartisan in his administration of the district.¹² Encouraged and relieved by the speech, conservative newspapers called for obedience to and co-operation with the military authorities.¹³

If Sickles made a favorable first impression, his General Orders No. 1 provoked a mixed response.¹⁴ Emphasizing that the provisional governments of North Carolina and South Carolina were subject in all respects to the authority of the United States, the order declared that all present civil officials were to remain in office. It provided further that all local laws not in conflict with federal laws or regulations were to remain in effect. These provisions relieved conservative worries that the Worth administration might be abolished or the state laws radically altered. Other provisions of the order, however, evidenced a disturbing readiness to intervene in state affairs. If any civil official should fail to do his duty or if any state court should fail to provide justice, post commanders were to inform district headquarters. Post commanders were to arrest and try by military commission any offender against whom civil authorities failed or refused to act. These and other features of General Orders No. 1 established the pattern for Sickles' entire administration, for they reflected the General's conviction that he was empowered by the reconstruction act with all the authority of the United States. He considered himself to be not merely the executor of Congress' will, but, as a representative of that body, an official actually invested with the absolute authority of Congress. Conscientiously adhering to this interpretation—an interpretation to be challenged by both state and national officials—Sickles did not doubt that he could intervene in matters outside the reconstruction process itself.

Sickles' comprehensive interpretation of his authority can be illustrated by a number of his general and special orders. General Orders No. 3, for example, established a quarantine on port cities in order to prevent the spreading of certain diseases.¹⁵ A more disagreeable indication of his concern for the public welfare was the order that, in view of the serious grain shortage, no distilled spirits should be pro-

¹² *Old North State*, April 9, 1867, quoting the *Charleston Evening News* (South Carolina).

¹³ *Sentinel*, April 2, 4, 1867; *Carolina Watchman*, April 1, 1867; *Old North State*, April 9, 1867, quoting the *Charlotte Times*.

¹⁴ For a copy of General Orders No. 1 see *Carolina Watchman*, April 1, 1867; Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, First Session, 60-61, hereinafter cited as *Senate Executive Document No. 14*.

¹⁵ *House Executive Document No. 342*, Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 36-37, hereinafter cited as *House Executive Document No. 342*.

duced within the district.¹⁶ This was the kind of paternalism the state could do without, and the *Carolina Watchman* doubtless spoke for many indignant imbibers and manufacturers when it called Sickles an absolute despot who presumptuously fancied himself the moral guardian of the people.¹⁷

Two general orders, involving more serious consequences and implications, stimulated especially intense resentment and controversy. Stating that the collection of debts and the foreclosing of mortgages were worsening an already depressed economy, Sickles announced in General Orders No. 10 that no private debts incurred between December 19, 1860 (the date of South Carolina's secession), and May 15, 1865, would be collected; that no debts incurred prior to December 19, 1860, would be collected for a period of 12 months; and that no mortgages would be foreclosed for a period of 12 months.¹⁸ These and other provisions of General Orders No. 10 marked direct intervention in the financial life of the state and dramatically exemplified Sickles' sweeping interpretation of the reconstruction act. Militant objection to the order quickly appeared. In addition to the protests that the commander had exceeded his powers, much criticism sprang from the economic implications. While the order undoubtedly pleased the inarticulate debtor class, influential creditors were thoroughly angered by what they felt was unwarranted and illegal interference in economic matters. An additional irritant was the date December 19, 1860, for North Carolina had not seceded until May 20, 1861.

General Orders No. 10 stirred a tempest and proved to be the most fateful of Sickles' orders, but the most hated of his decrees was General Orders No. 32, which had two highly objectionable provisions.¹⁹ First, all citizens who had been assessed for taxes and who had paid taxes for the current year were declared eligible for jury duty, and it was proclaimed that such persons should be added to the jury lists. This provision reflected the General's sincere conviction that all citizens who met society's obligations were entitled to the same rights as the most favored citizens.²⁰ A second provision of General Orders No. 32 prohibited discrimination in facilities of public conveyance, includ-

¹⁶ *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 69-70.

¹⁷ *Carolina Watchman*, June 17, 1867.

¹⁸ *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 62-65. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 223, states that General Orders No. 10 was issued in response to the pleas of certain South Carolinians.

¹⁹ *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 70-71.

²⁰ Jonathan Worth to Mills L. Eure, June 29, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 988. Later, in August, a state court ruled that Negro freeholders were entitled to jury duty. See *Sentinel*, August 30, 1867.

ing railways, highways, and street and waterway transportation.²¹

Both features aroused strong resentment among the white population. The presence of Negroes on juries seemed a travesty upon the principle of impartial and intelligent justice.²² The *Raleigh Sentinel* emphasized the North Carolina requirement that jury members be competent, and, some months later, made it abundantly clear that Negroes, in the editor's judgment, had failed to meet that qualification:

We will guarantee that no intelligent lawyer of . . . the city of Boston could contemplate the spectacle, daily presented in our Courts, of negroes fresh from the corn-field and the hovel filling our jury-boxes, and sitting in judgment upon the most complicated issues of fact and the most vexed problems of law, without shuddering.²³

The criticism of the jury provision was exceeded only by the condemnation of the transportation section of General Orders No. 32. Conservatives vehemently protested that the social integration of the races was not required by Congress and that the provision was therefore completely unwarranted and illegal.²⁴ The specter of enforced integration increased the conservative emphasis upon racial differences and accelerated the attack upon the principle of democracy—policies already intensified by the growing allegiance of the Negroes to the Republican party of North Carolina.

General Sickles' intervention in the state's judicial system proved to be a most sensitive issue and the one about which the entire question of civil-military relations came largely to turn. General Orders No. 1, it will be recalled, had allowed North Carolina's civil and criminal courts to continue functioning, but the order had made it clear that the district commander was prepared to intervene or overrule as he deemed fit. Later orders specified the procedure by which the state's judicial system became completely and directly accountable to district headquarters.²⁵ Civil law officials were required, among other things, to report to the appropriate provost marshal all major crimes and the efforts being made to secure justice. At the other end of the justice process, district headquarters possessed appellate jurisdiction over all criminal courts within the district.

²¹ At least one conviction took place under this provision. See General Orders No. 74, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 54-55.

²² *Sentinel*, June 6, 1867; *Carolina Watchman*, June 17, 1867; Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 982-983.

²³ *Sentinel*, October 7, 1867.

²⁴ *Sentinel*, October 11, 1867.

²⁵ The chief order dealing with the relations between civil law enforcement and military is General Orders No. 34, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 47-48.

Exercising its appellate jurisdiction, district headquarters reviewed a number of North Carolina criminal convictions, some being upheld, others commuted, and still others reversed. Conservatives bitterly complained of excessive military interference and denounced each appellate decision as the act of an absolute despot. The protests grew louder when Sickles altered the structure and personnel of the state court system. Apparently convinced by reports from his subordinates that certain courts might be unjust toward Negroes, he ordered investigations which occasionally resulted in the removal of individual judges or the abolition of particular courts. The most serious such instance concerning North Carolina involved disputes at Fayetteville. There Sickles abolished the existing court and established a "provost court," consisting of three local men, which had jurisdiction over five surrounding counties. The post commander, moreover, could decide if any case should be tried by the military authorities.²⁶ The establishment of the court created widespread alarm and resentment,²⁷ which increased with the military arrest of a prominent Fayetteville resident, Duncan McRae, on the charge of inciting a mob to kill a Negro. McRae claimed to have been arrested without due process of law, and the affair stimulated further outcries against arbitrary military rule.²⁸

While an examination of the records establishes that military intervention in the state court system was not as severe as conservative lamentations would indicate, it should be re-emphasized that many individuals denied that Sickles had the authority to intervene at all. One prominent state judge, Augustus S. Merrimon, resigned his office because he could not accept the General's orders as law higher than North Carolina law.²⁹ His resignation illustrates the frustration among the state's jurists and the conflict over the extent of the commander's authority.

Direct military intervention in state affairs was not limited to judicial matters. Acting upon the reports and recommendations of subordinates, Sickles set aside several "irregular" municipal elections, postponed a number of other town elections, and appointed to or re-

²⁶ Special Orders No. 55, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 84-86.

²⁷ Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John H. Wheeler, October 31, 1867; Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 983, 1,070.

²⁸ For details of the case, see Jonathan Worth to General Nelson A. Miles, May 18, 1867; Jonathan Worth to H. H. Helper, June 13, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 958, 982-983.

²⁹ See Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, July 22, 1867; Jonathan Worth to A. S. Merrimon, August 1, 1867; Jonathan Worth to W. P. Bynum, August 1, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,007-1,008, 1,011, 1,012-1,013. See also, William Alexander Graham to David L. Swain, July 20, 1867, David L. Swain Papers, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

moved from certain normally-elective offices a number of specific individuals.³⁰ Before taking any such action, the district commander always investigated local conditions, and he continually justified his subsequent orders on the basis of necessity or justice.³¹ His tampering with elections and especially his spot removals and appointments undoubtedly struck many people, however, as the deeds of an arbitrary dictator.

From Charleston, then, emanated numerous orders which directly involved the military authority in the social, economic, legal, and political life of North Carolina. Conservatives noted wryly that Sickles was obviously enjoying himself, and one newspaper complained that the excessive number of orders would soon constitute a new code of laws for the state.³² If conservatives protested that many orders had nothing to do with the process of reconstruction, they criticized some of the General's actions concerning that process. As the date for registration of voters approached, Sickles chose the registrars from a list provided by the Freedmen's Bureau—a list containing some Negroes and some white Republicans—rather than from one submitted by Governor Worth. Conservatives charged that certain registrars were incompetent or ineligible for the position. When in late August district headquarters published an interpretation of what categories of persons were disfranchised by the reconstruction acts,³³ conservatives complained that the circular appeared too late to restrain the abusive interpretations of individual registrars.³⁴ It was feared, moreover, that the provision establishing several registration points within the same registration district would encourage individual Republicans to register and vote at each point.³⁵ During the registration period, conservatives criticized the military authorities for not guarding against the fraudulent registration of ineligible Negroes.

Of fundamental importance to the course of reconstruction in North Carolina was the personal and official relationship between General

³⁰ General Orders No. 5 required military subordinates to report any approaching local elections required by law and to notify district headquarters of any incumbents who were ineligible for office under the Reconstruction Act. See *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 62. For specific suspensions of elections and for removals and appointments see Special Orders No. 6, No. 15, No. 28, No. 37, No. 38, No. 45, No. 55, No. 71, and *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 75-76, 77-78, 79-80, 80-81, 81, 82, 84-86, 89-90.

³¹ Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 227, states that all removals and appointments were made in accord with an agreement between Sickles and Worth that no elections be held until after the meeting of the constitutional convention. If such an agreement existed at first, Worth certainly did come to deny that Sickles possessed a general removal and appointment power.

³² *Old North State*, June 8, 1867.

³³ Circular dated August 27, 1867, *House Executive Document No. 342*, 58-60.

³⁴ *Sentinel*, September 17, 1867.

³⁵ See General Orders No. 18, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 66-68.

Sickles and Governor Worth. Striving to maintain the dignity and functions of the state government, yet aware that his administration could be modified or abolished at any time, Worth found his position a difficult and frustrating one. Personally convinced that the reconstruction act was unconstitutional, but feeling bound officially to consider it valid,³⁶ the Governor had decided not to resign because of his dilemma, but to remain in office for the sake of administrative continuity and the welfare of the state.³⁷ Worth pledged himself to co-operate with the district commander in the task of reconstruction,³⁸ but fundamental and harmonious co-operation between the two men was impossible because of their conflicting interpretations of the commander's authority. Quickly challenging Sickles' broad construction, the Governor became the champion of those persons who maintained that the district commander could not independently exercise congressional authority but could only execute the stated will of Congress and act to preserve the peace and protect personal and property rights. The state government, Worth argued, was not the tool of the military will, but rather the proper agency of civil government subject to the laws of North Carolina.³⁹ Distressed by what he considered an unwarranted assumption of power, the Governor denied that Sickles had the authority to interfere in the state's court system, to enact social and economic legislation, and to make removals and appointments of state and local officials.⁴⁰ The difference of interpretation provided a basis for continuing disagreement in which Worth was inherently at the disadvantage. The Governor's appeals to Charleston for restriction of military intervention in state affairs proved unavailing.⁴¹

Worth met frustration in his efforts to keep Sickles out of civil affairs and he suffered great anxiety about the reported machinations of North Carolina Republicans. Worth detested the principles and methods of the new state party,⁴² and he constantly worried that false accusations by Republicans were undermining the district comman-

³⁶ Jonathan Worth to B. S. Hedrick, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,000.

³⁷ Jonathan Worth "to his brother," May 8, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 949.

³⁸ Jonathan Worth to D. E. Sickles, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 999.

³⁹ Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.

⁴⁰ Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.

⁴¹ See Jonathan Worth to R. Strange, May 22, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Thomas C. Fuller, May 26, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John R. Tolar, June 14, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 963, 972-973, 983-984.

⁴² Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Henry T. Clark, May 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 943, 950.

der's confidence in him.⁴³ If any schemes were afoot, there is no evidence that Sickles was influenced by them or that the commander was dissatisfied with the Governor's official actions. That Worth was not removed is itself proof of Sickles' confidence in him, confidence which the records verify.⁴⁴ The General undoubtedly knew of Worth's differing interpretation of the commander's authority, but Worth's pledge and policy of co-operation in reconstruction, plus a prudent disinclination to remove an elected governor, sufficed to convince Sickles that no change need or should be made. Denied the comfort of historical perspective, Worth could view the future only with misgivings. Troubled by a lack of direct correspondence from Sickles,⁴⁵ perplexed by the General's refusal to interpret his own orders,⁴⁶ and convinced that the commander was exceeding the authority granted by the reconstruction act, Worth appealed to President Andrew Johnson for relief from the absolutism emanating from Charleston.⁴⁷ The appeal intensified the conflict between the President and Congress and initiated a series of developments which were greatly to affect the military career of General Sickles.

On June 12, 1867, the Attorney General of the United States, Henry Stanbery, representing the views of President Johnson, issued a narrow interpretation of the reconstruction act, an interpretation which challenged the concept that Congress' full authority had been delegated to the district commanders. Stanbery agreed with Worth's position by arguing that the district commanders could take the initiative only to preserve the peace and to protect personal and property rights; in all other respects the commanders were limited to executing the stated will of Congress. Expressly refuting the assumption of absolute authority as reflected in General Orders No. 1 of the Second Military District, the Attorney General challenged also the nature of General Orders No. 10 of the same district. District commanders had no authority, he maintained, to prescribe codes of law for their districts,

⁴³ See Jonathan Worth to Thomas S. Kenan, May 2, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Luke Blackmer, May 2, 1867; Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John R. Tolar, June 14, 1867; Jonathan Worth to B. S. Hedrick, July 8, 1867; Jonathan Worth to D. E. Sickles, July 9, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 941, 941-942, 943, 983-984, 997-998, 999-1,000.

⁴⁴ D. E. Sickles to U. S. Grant, April 18, 1867, *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 56.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Worth to James L. Orr, May 3, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 943. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 222, states that the two men often conferred. If so, little correspondence has survived, and many of Worth's letters mention or decry a lack of direct communication with Sickles.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Worth to D. F. Caldwell, May 6, 1867; Jonathan Worth to Mills L. Eure, June 29, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 947, 989.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Worth to F. B. Satterthwaite, June 12, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 979.

nor to exercise general powers of removal and appointment. Governor Worth's interpretation had found expression at the national level.

Upon the publication of the Attorney General's opinion, General Sickles informed General Ulysses S. Grant that the power of removal and appointment was essential to the preservation of peace and the completion of reconstruction.⁴⁸ Realizing that Stanbery had spoken for the President, Sickles asked to be relieved of command and requested a board of inquiry to investigate his actions as commander of the Second Military District.⁴⁹ President Johnson refused to honor either request and ordered Sickles to remain at his post in Charleston.⁵⁰ As observers fully realized,⁵¹ the issue was really between the President and Congress, not Johnson and Sickles.

The Congress reacted quickly to the presidential challenge. At a special July session, a second supplement to the reconstruction act was passed over the executive veto. The supplement declared that the true intent and meaning of the first act had been to declare the provisional governments subject in all respects to the respective district commanders. Affirming that the original act had given the commanders the power of removal and appointment, the supplement confirmed all past actions in that regard. It provided also that no district commander could be bound by an opinion of any civil official of the United States.

The July supplement effectively consolidated power in the hands of Congress and the military, but in August the President chose to renew the struggle. At Wilmington a military subordinate interposed Sickles' General Orders No. 10 against the execution of a debt judgment rendered by a Circuit Court of the United States. The subordinate thus interpreted General Orders No. 10 as applying not only to state courts, but also to United States courts within the district. President Johnson thereupon instructed the Attorney General that no military order could be issued and enforced in conflict with the rulings of courts of the United States. General Sickles, who felt honor bound to follow his own interpretation of the reconstruction acts, endorsed the action of his subordinate, refused to modify or revoke General Orders No. 10, and continued to insist upon the commander's complete authority over the district. An impasse had been reached. With his own sphere of effective action severely limited by the dominance of

⁴⁸ D. E. Sickles to U. S. Grant, June 17, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 58.

⁴⁹ D. E. Sickles to Adjutant General of the Army, June 19, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 59.

⁵⁰ War Department to D. E. Sickles, June 21, 1867 (telegram), *Senate Executive Document No. 14*, 59-60.

⁵¹ *Sentinel*, August 16, 1867.

Congress, the President decided to register his protest in the only manner possible. On August 26, 1867, he relieved General Sickles of his duties as commander of the Second Military District.⁵²

North Carolinians followed with interest and apprehension the conflict involving General Sickles, President Johnson, and Congress. When the Attorney General issued his narrow interpretation, the editor of the *Carolina Watchman* did not doubt that the district commanders would circumvent the interpretation.⁵³ When Sickles subsequently requested his own removal and an investigation, the *Raleigh Sentinel* regretted to see the General take such action. While the paper acknowledged that it disagreed with the wisdom and necessity of some of his orders and with his interpretation of his authority, the *Sentinel* expressed confidence in his motives and in his sincere desire for peace and stability.⁵⁴ Emphasizing that the district could have a commander far less satisfactory than Sickles, the same paper hoped that the General would consider withdrawing his request to be relieved.⁵⁵ It was realized, however, that Sickles would resign before he would yield on what he considered to be his duty.⁵⁶

In the opinion of the state leaders, the passage of the July supplement to the reconstruction act settled the question of the scope of the district commander's authority. Governor Worth ceased to protest against Sickles' broad interpretation, and the *Sentinel* recognized that Congress' victory was complete.⁵⁷ When in August the President chose to challenge the application of General Orders No. 10 to a Circuit Court of the United States, the *Sentinel* hoped that the issue might go to the Supreme Court, but feared that the conflict might lead to the removal of Sickles and to the further repression of the South.⁵⁸

North Carolina's reaction to the President's removal of Sickles was a mixed one. The *Wilmington Journal* endorsed the move as an act "to maintain the validity of the Constitution."⁵⁹ On the other hand, the *Sentinel*, while refusing to consider endorsing Sickles' administration,⁶⁰ regretted the loss of a conscientious commander of good motives and considerable experience who, if occasionally misguided, had acted according to his best lights.⁶¹ The *Salisbury Banner*, which

⁵² For a running account of the conflict of interpretation see the August, 1867, issues of the *Raleigh Sentinel*.

⁵³ *Carolina Watchman*, June 24, 1867.

⁵⁴ *Sentinel*, June 21, 1867.

⁵⁵ *Sentinel*, June 21, 1867.

⁵⁶ *Sentinel*, August 26, 1867.

⁵⁷ *Sentinel*, July 5, 10, August 16, 26, 1867.

⁵⁸ *Sentinel*, August 26, 29, 30, 1867.

⁵⁹ *Carolina Watchman*, September 16, 1867, quoting the *Wilmington Journal*.

⁶⁰ *Sentinel*, September 26, 1867. The suggestion came from South Carolina.

⁶¹ *Sentinel*, August 29, 30, 1867.

had been highly critical of Sickles and military government in general, admitted that the General had been moderate considering what he might have done.⁶² Even Governor Worth, some weeks after Sickles' departure, acknowledged that the latter had been magnanimous and statesmanlike in many respects, and had held southern radicals in contempt.⁶³

If the passing of a few weeks sufficed to cool Worth's resentment and to enable him to judge Sickles more favorably, the dispassionate evaluation of a later century establishes the General as a capable, humane, and impartial—if somewhat naive and headstrong—administrator. Certainly not a vindictive person, he sought to execute congressional reconstruction and to promote the general welfare of the people of the district. It was in attempting to fulfill the latter objectives that his broad interpretation of his authority proved offensive. General Orders No. 32 was designed to further social equality, a goal the white citizenry was hesitant to seek. Because Sickles sought the social advancement of the Negroes, and because he was a radical by conviction,⁶⁴ conservatives feared and suspected that he was a radical politically. He remained impartial, however, toward all political factions.⁶⁵

Many charges were made that the district commander's interventions in the state court system were arbitrary and despotic, and that such interference was as unwarranted as it was illegal. It is quite possible, of course, that unjustifiable instances of military intervention occurred, for the administration of two states was a task liable to error. Corrupt or partisan subordinates may have led Sickles into mistakes, as conservatives maintained, but it is equally possible that the investigations preceding any action disclosed the need for military intervention. In any event, the number of such interventions remained small. General Sickles removed few officials, and he rarely tampered with state laws to the extent that he did in General Orders No. 10. Resentment against any interference was, of course, inevitable; the fact that district headquarters was in another state made every act seem all the more despotic and unjustified.

⁶² *Carolina Watchman*, September 16, 1867, quoting the *Salisbury Banner*.

⁶³ Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, October 25, 1867; Jonathan Worth to John H. Wheeler, October 31, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth*, II, 1,061, 1,071.

⁶⁴ That is, Sickles believed that the southern states had reverted to territories and were therefore completely under Congress' authority and jurisdiction. As it has been established, he maintained that Congress' jurisdiction had in turn been delegated to the district commanders by the reconstruction act. See *Sentinel*, August 28, 1867.

⁶⁵ This impartiality can be seen, for example, in his appointment of members of both political parties (and both races) as registrars, and by his appeal for a general amnesty for the people of the district. For details of the latter see *Sentinel*, July 12, 1867.

In summary, General Sickles administered impartially and conscientiously in a difficult and delicate situation. He sincerely believed that Congress had complete legislative power over the rebel states, and that that power had been delegated to the district commanders by the reconstruction acts. Although Sickles' social and economic program created frictions which could have been avoided, in the final analysis it was the congressional reconstruction program itself, not Sickles' interpretation or implementation of it, which put a severe strain on the people of North Carolina.

COCKFIGHTING: AN EARLY ENTERTAINMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY B. W. C. ROBERTS*

Cockfighting, the sport that in ancient times was shown to Greek soldiers as a demonstration of courage, was popular in seventeenth-century England when Carolina was being settled. The versatile Sir Walter Raleigh enjoyed a favorable reputation as a cocker.¹ Henry VIII, James I, and Charles II were enthusiastic devotees, but Oliver Cromwell was displeased with the practice.

The first known mention of cockfighting in North Carolina is that in Brickell's *The Natural History of North Carolina*, published in 1737. Brickell, an Edenton physician, observed: "Cock-fighting the North Carolinians greatly admire, which Birds they endeavor to procure from England and Ireland, and to that intent, implore Masters of Ships, and other Trading Persons to supply them."² Brickell's mention of the sport suggests that it was prevalent and that it was one of the earliest entertainments.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, which might be called the golden age of cockfighting in North Carolina, the popularity of the sport reached a peak. In 1860 a detailed set of rules for cockfighting in North Carolina and Virginia was published.³ There were regional differences in the terminology, practices, and rules of cockfighting; however, certain procedures became rather widespread.

The season lasted from Thanksgiving Day until July 4.⁴ A main consisted of an odd number of cocks, usually ranging from eleven to twenty-one. Each owner or group of owners had to show the decided number of birds between certain weights and be prepared to fight

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¹ Tim Pridgen, *Courage, The Story of Modern Cockfighting* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1938), 87, hereinafter cited as Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*.

² John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, Ireland: Privately printed, 1737), 40.

³ *Rules of Virginia and North Carolina for Cock-fighting* (Richmond, Virginia: James M. Ford, 1860), 1-12.

⁴ W. T. Johnson, *Johnson's Breeders' and Cockers' Guide* (Americus, Georgia: Gammage Print Shop, Third Edition, 1948), 52, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Cockers' Guide*.

the pairs that "fell in" or matched weights. In some instances several birds were pitted at once in a tournament or battle royal; they were allowed to fight until one was victorious. All fights or pittings not included in the main were termed hack fights.

The main pit was approximately twenty feet in diameter enclosed by a low fence. Extra pits called drag pits were usually present for drag fights. These were fights transferred from the main pit when the birds were exhausted or nearly dead but continued to break the count, that is, to make a strike before the referee could complete the count. The drag pits made it possible to maintain rapid action in the main pit. A handler could call for a count when his bird had made the last offensive effort and it appeared the opponent could not strike. If the apparently disabled bird failed to strike before the count was completed, he lost; but if he struck during the count the count procedure had to be repeated from the beginning. There were several differences in the count procedure among the various sets of rules.

Basic skills for a cocker included breeding, conditioning, trimming, heeling, and handling. Breeding was of utmost importance. The owners of cocks considered them treasures and bred to improve their strain as if they were thoroughbred horses. A list of outstanding early North Carolina breeds would include the names of the Red Cubans of George W. Means of Concord, the Norwood War Horses of James Norwood of Hillsboro, the Stonefences of Nick Arrington of Nash County, and the Carolina Blues and the Mountain Eagles of W. S. Church of Boonville. North and South Carolina breeders regularly sold cocks to the Chihuahua chieftain of Mexico, Francisco Villa, who was one of the most enthusiastic Mexican cockers since Santa Anna.⁵

The conditioning of a cock was begun long before the day of the main. The bird was subjected to strenuous exercise, sparring, and a rigid diet. For sparring, hots or muffs, which were stiff leather-covered balls like small boxing gloves, were attached over the cock's natural spurs. The other exercises were for building leg and wing muscles and maintaining the proper weight. A cock was considered a candidate for fighting after he was one to two years old and had been trained.

Trimming or dubbing was considered a very important art by cockers. Usually the tail was cut to approximately one-third of its natural length; the hackle and rump feathers were shortened; and the wings were trimmed at a slope. Even the comb was cut in order to present a smaller target to an attacker. Also important were the selection, the heeling or attaching, and peaking of the gaffs. These arts, considered

⁵ Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 197-198.



Trimming, an important art. Reproduced from May, 1857, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.

valuable secrets, were handed down from one generation to another but seldom mentioned beyond the family circle.

Betting, a normal part of every cockfight, generally took three forms. The entrance fees paid by the cockers made up a purse which went to the winner of the main or for those that placed. Usually the cockers and spectators wagered on the individual battles or the main. Before the main began, the names of each cocker or group of cockers were auctioned to the spectators to form another purse which was given to the high bidder on the winning cocker.

The following is an account of a typical cockfight. On the day of the main, the roads leading to the town, plantation, or tavern where the cock pit was located were crowded with carriages, horses, and men of all classes and occupations in a jolly mood. Symbols of strength and vitality, the beautiful gamecocks with impressive, glossy feathers of sundry shades of color were transported in cages or burlap bags. After having been paired according to weight, the splendid creatures were carried to the center of the pit by the pitters, or handlers, to bill. In the billing, or opening phase of the fight, the cocks were allowed

to antagonize each other by pecking. Steel-pointed, razor-sharp gaffs, varying in length from an inch-and-a-quarter to over three inches, were fastened at the cocks' shanks. Then the pitters, who were not allowed to place their hands under the birds, held them behind the lines which were six feet apart. After the referee yelled "Ready-y-y" and "Pit," the cocks were released. The birds were not touched again by the handlers except when the referee cried "Handle!" The crowd, eager to see, shoved and shouted as the birds were released. The fight that followed was as savage as can be imagined. The betters, some a bit intoxicated, were uproarious; and their noise excited the gamecocks even more. The cocks fought vigorously and admirably as the handlers watched silently, ready to assist their respective birds swiftly when permissible. The birds fluttered their wings and met about two feet above the ground striking rapidly. The fight was of short duration, and the handler grabbed the victor and bathed his wounds with alcohol. Before the betters could settle their affairs, the next pitting was underway.

The sport gained popularity in various sections of the state. The first known club organized in North Carolina for the purpose of conducting cockfights, as well as horse races, was the Wilmington Jockey Club which held its first meeting November 26, 1774.⁶ A letter was sent to the members of the club to inform them of the efforts of the Continental Congress to "discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, and especially all horse racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows and plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments."⁷

Another account of life at Wilmington by Peter du Bois relates "I live very much retired for want of a social set, who will drink claret and smoke tobacco till four in the morning; the gentlemen of this town [could] be so if they pleased, but an intolerable itch for gaming prevails in all companies."⁸

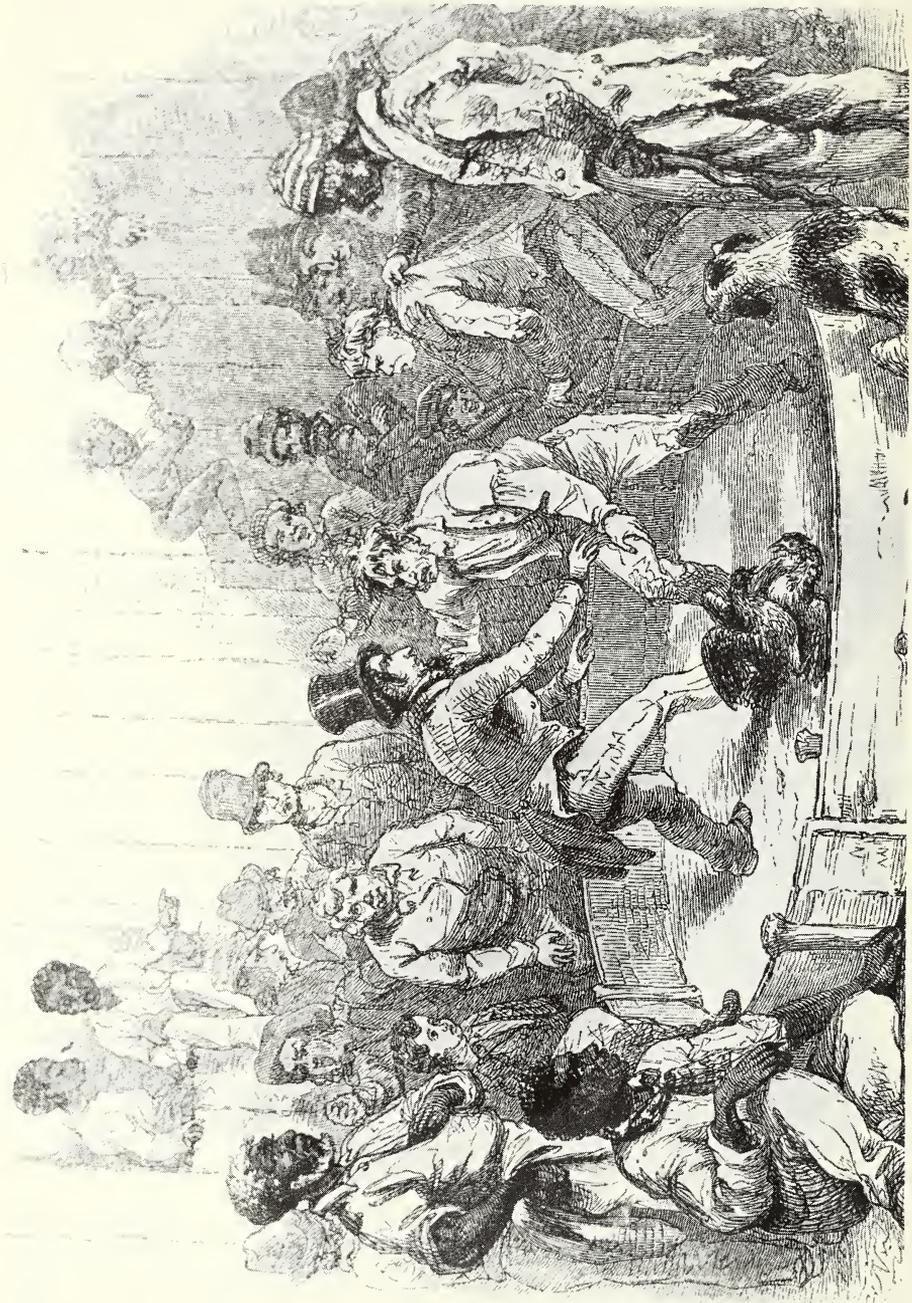
In 1787, Elkanah Watson, who owned a plantation on the Chowan River, "accompanied a prominent planter at his urgent solicitation, to attend a cock-fight in Hampton County, Virginia, a distance of twenty miles."⁹

⁶ Andrew P. O'Connor, *Forty Years With Fighting Cocks* (Goshen, New York: Privately printed, 1929), 82.

⁷ Alfred Moore Waddell, *A History of New Hanover County and the Lower Cape Fear Region, 1723-1800* (Wilmington: Volume I, [no more published], 1909), I, 88.

⁸ Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways, A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, Textbook Edition, 1921), 111.

⁹ Winslow C. Watson (ed.), *Men and Times of the Revolution: Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 267.



A typical cockfight. Reproduced from May, 1857, issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.

A letter written in 1797 described the excitement in Halifax over a future cockfight. In these contests, "the gentlemen in town fight against those of the country, otherwise it is the Longs against the Alstons."¹⁰ A newspaper advertised the event as follows: "The sportsmen of the neighboring counties are informed, that on Monday next, the 8th instant [May], a main of 21 cocks will be fought in this town [Halifax], at which much sport is expected."¹¹

An old resident of Salisbury described Andrew Jackson as follows: "He was [about 1785] the most roaring, rollicking, game cocking, cardplaying, mischievous fellow that ever lived in Salisbury."¹² His cocks were greatly admired; in modern times a cock that shows offensive vigor after losing an eye is still termed a "Jackson."¹³

In Pittsboro a three-day main was held in 1806 at Joseph H. Harman's Tavern. The purse held ten dollars for each fight and three hundred dollars for the main.¹⁴

In 1806 an advertisement posed a "Challenge!" It was announced that

a number of gentlemen of two of the lower counties of North Carolina, and of two southern counties of Virginia, offer to meet the gentlemen of Maryland at Norfolk, any time between the 20th of March and 18th of July, 1807, to show fifty cocks, and match not less than twenty-one in the main. The main is to be from one to ten thousand dollars, as may be agreed on. Letters with proposals, addressed to Adam Lindsay, near Norfolk, will be forwarded to the challengers, and duly answered.¹⁵

A resident of Mecklenburg County described cockfighting in that area in the 1840's as "one of the fashionable amusements of the day" and named Tom Black as an expert in respect to chicken mains.¹⁶

In Warrenton, a town widely known for its festive occasions, cockfighting was thoroughly enjoyed. Some cockfights would last a full week with the event sometimes continuing through the night. Before 1850 pits for cockfights were maintained in Warrenton on a vacant lot adjoining the town commons. One account of early life in Warrenton tells of a Frenchman who bought dead or badly wounded

¹⁰ Henry McGilbert Wagstaff (ed.), *The Harris Letters* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 14, No. 1 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1916), 44. Letter from Charles W. Harris to Dr. Charles Harris, May 8, 1797.

¹¹ *North-Carolina Journal*, May 1, 1797.

¹² R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1585-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), 1, 217.

¹³ Johnson, *Cockers' Guide*, 119.

¹⁴ *Raleigh Register*, July 14, 1806.

¹⁵ *North Carolina Journal*, July 28, 1806.

¹⁶ John Brevard Alexander, *Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years* (Charlotte: Ray Printing Company, 1908), 189-190.

roosters from the cock pit and cooked them or resold them to others.¹⁷

The finest gamecocks in North Carolina were found in Nash County. A country gentleman of considerable wealth, Nick Arrington, was said to have owned several hundred gamecocks in 1856. Numerous accounts have been written concerning his experiences as a cocker; he might be termed the most widely known North Carolina cocker of all time. The noted Stonefence breed was developed successfully by him. He once accepted a challenge from Santa Anna, political leader and President of Mexico (1833-1855). Each refused to travel into the other's country, but they met in ships in the Gulf of Mexico. Nick Arrington returned victorious.¹⁸ Another tale, possibly a second meeting, tells of Arrington's accepting a challenge from Santa Anna. He traveled to Mexico in a covered wagon that was guarded while in Mexico by Santa Anna's soldiers. It was said that he returned from this trip with \$16,000 in winnings.¹⁹

In 1866, during the difficult days following the Civil War, John J. Adcock operated a barroom on the Granville-Orange boundary line where cockfighting was enjoyed.²⁰

Interstate mains became annual events. An interstate main of twenty-one cocks between North Carolina and South Carolina was held in Wilmington in 1896. James Norwood of Hillsboro managed the North Carolina entries and Ike Rhodes of Wilmington fed and conditioned them. Seventeen of the twenty-one entries shown were matched according to weight and North Carolina won nine to three, at which time South Carolina had no chance of gaining a majority of wins.²¹

The very famous cock, Jaybird, of the Red Cuban strain was developed by George W. Means of Concord. In 1899 Jaybird distinguished himself in Jesus Maria, Mexico, when he won \$10,000 in a single fight.²² This was the highest recorded winning for a single fight by an American bird. The cock was sold in Mexico for an unknown amount. A fine picture of Jaybird, painted by J. C. Sturzel, a noted Chicago artist, has been widely reproduced.²³ Jaybird reputedly won twenty-

¹⁷ Lizzie Watson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 25-39.

¹⁸ Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 179-184.

¹⁹ Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 199-203.

²⁰ Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 113.

²¹ James Norwood, *War Horses and Crosses* (Durham: The Seeman Printery, 1901), 26-28.

²² George W. Means, *1903 Red Cuban Games* (Concord: Privately printed, 1903), 11-12, hereinafter cited as Means, *Red Cuban Games*.

²³ Means, *Red Cuban Games*, back cover.

seven fights before being retired by old age.²⁴

Apparently cockfighting was popular with college men too, for in 1799 regulations of The University of North Carolina state that "A student shall not . . . keep cocks or fowls of any kind, or for any purpose."²⁵ Another educational institution also had such a problem. A young man of a prominent family, Andrew L. Jones from Norfolk, Virginia, came to North Carolina to attend Elon College. For several months he kept a gamecock hidden beneath his bed, for he believed that if the authorities knew of this fowl he would surely be expelled. His winnings were growing rapidly when a member of the administration, hearing of the cock, visited his room to make inquiries. Although he did not deny having the cock, young Jones pretended to know nothing about the bird. Just then the cock crowed loudly. For several days young Jones persuasively pleaded with the administration for forgiveness. Jones was very morose over losing his cock, but he was allowed to remain in school.

The early laws of North Carolina provided regulations on gaming. In 1715 the first codification of laws included a law which prohibited "Gameing" on Sundays and certain holidays.²⁷ In 1749 the English law relating to "deceitful, disorderly, and excessive Gaming" was adopted in North Carolina, but this vague legal attempt did not prove to be successful.²⁸ A rather lenient attitude toward gambling is noticeable in the law of 1753, which made regulations only against "Persons so playing or betting, any sum above Forty Shillings."²⁹ For many years afterward the laws relating to cockfighting were enacted and expunged rapidly and were not strictly enforced.³⁰ After 1815, however, the state press refused to publish advertisements of cock mains, for cockfighting was definitely banned by the church.³¹

Except for some Spanish-speaking countries and several states in the United States (Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, New Mexico, and Virginia), cockfighting has been prohibited by law in the majority of the

²⁴ Pridgen, *Modern Cockfighting*, 188-189.

²⁵ Louis R. Wilson and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799*, compiled and annotated by R. D. W. Connor (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1953), II, 487.

²⁶ Interview with E. W. Parker, Durham, May 17, 1959.

²⁷ 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), XXIII, 3, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

²⁸ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 324.

²⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 250.

³⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 387, 611, 677, 838; XXIV, 324, 325, 655, 658, 731, 955, 956; XXV, 80, 250.

³¹ Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 181.

countries of the world. Generally these prohibitive laws were introduced in the early years of the nineteenth century.

At present the law in North Carolina in respect to cockfighting is as follows:

If any person shall keep, or use, or in any way be connected with, or interested in the management of, or shall receive money for the admission of any person to, any place kept or used for the purpose of fighting, or baiting any bull, bear, dog, cock or other animal; or if any person shall encourage, or aid or assist therein, or shall permit or suffer any place to be kept or used, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined or imprisoned in the discretion of the court.³²

A municipality in North Carolina has the power "to prohibit prize fighting, cock and dog fighting," that is, the power to make the state law more specific.³³ In some cases spectators have been arrested and punished. Thus, a sport enjoyed in North Carolina since the Colonial period has been repressed by stringent legal regulations.

³² *General Statutes of North Carolina*, 14-362.

³³ *General Statutes of North Carolina*, 160-200 (23).

A STATE'S CONCERN FOR THE SOLDIERS' WELFARE: HOW NORTH CAROLINA PROVIDED FOR HER TROOPS DURING THE REVOLUTION

BY PAUL V. LUTZ *

During the Revolution, both Congress and the states did what they could to raise an army, feed, clothe, and adequately care for it. Circumstances often prevented achieving ideal conditions and many soldiers failed to receive sufficient food, clothing or pay; nevertheless, this should not detract from the sincere efforts of the government, be it Congress or the state, to do its best.

Each state had its own method of raising troops and supplying them. Most, if not all, offered some type of bounty to gain recruits. But the reason was twofold: it was an inducement to prospective enlistees, and insured fair and proper treatment of those who were willing to fight for independence.

North Carolina, like her sister states, duly provided for her troops. In fact, in many respects, the Tarheels received greater advantages and rewards for their endeavors than the men serving from most other states. In 1778 she offered a cash bounty of \$100 for every man volunteering.¹ This was raised to an annual bounty of \$500 in 1780² and finally in 1781 to a cash bounty of £3,000.³

Besides the aforesaid cash bounties, the act of 1780 provided that at the end of the war, those who had enlisted for the duration should receive "one prime slave between the age of fifteen and thirty years, or the value thereof. . . ." ⁴ This provision was carried over in the 1781 law. While the offer of a slave may seem unusual, it must be remembered that in 1780 slaves were considered valuable property.

As early as 1778 North Carolina provided an issue of clothing for her troops. This was a definite advantage, as many states required

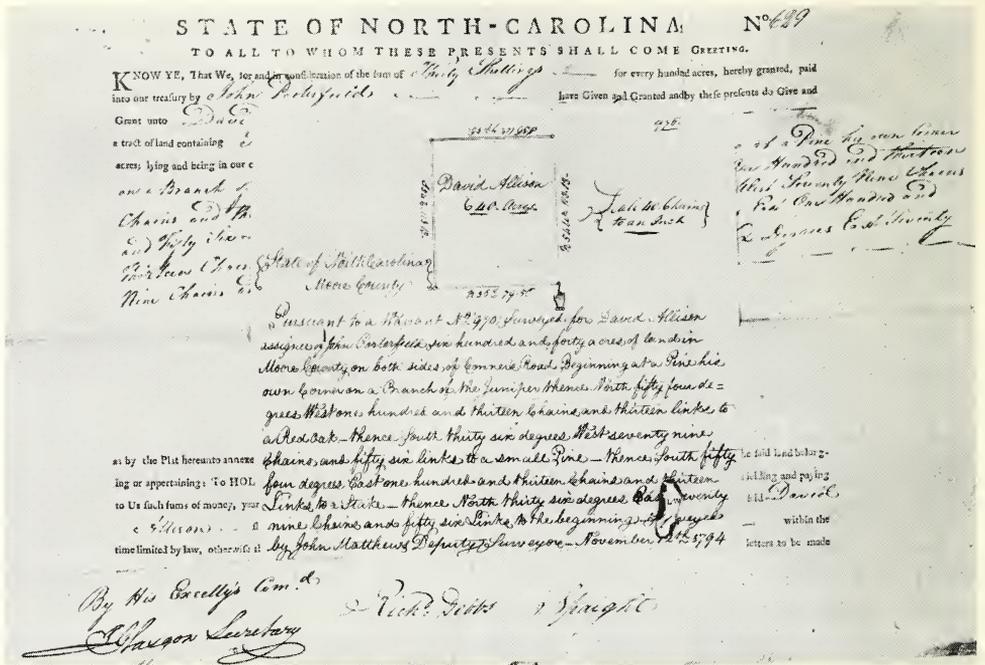
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¹ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIV, 154, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

² Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 338.

³ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 368.

⁴ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 338.



Grant of 640 acres in North Carolina, plus survey plat. From the collection of Paul V. Lutz.

soldiers to clothe themselves, a practice dating back to the French and Indian Wars. The clothing allotment consisted of “a Pair of Shoes and Stockings, two Shirts, a Hunting Shirt, Waistcoat with Sleeves, a Pair of Breeches and Trousers, a Hat, and a Blanket and Five Yards of Tent Cloth. . . .”⁵ Thus, it can be seen that the state was concerned over the welfare of her troops. In addition to his personal comfort, a soldier’s morale depended also on the welfare of his family at home. The North Carolina legislature no doubt was aware of this. Most of the citizens tilled the land and the loss of the head of the household, in any event, was a severe blow to the economic well-being of a family. Accordingly, in the aforesaid act of 1781 provision was made for “a bounty of three barrels of corn for his [the soldier’s] wife, and two for each of his children who shall be in his family, and shall be under ten years of age, such corn to be delivered annually. . . .”⁶

Besides the cash, clothes, and food, in 1780 the soldier was offered at the end of the war 200 acres of land in addition to the prime slave.⁷

⁵ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 155.
⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 368.
⁷ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 338.

This was increased to 640 acres in 1781⁸ and in 1782 a graduated scale according to rank was enacted whereby a private got 640 acres and noncommissioned and commissioned officers received from 1,000 to 12,000 acres, depending on rank.⁹ Thus, a soldier could look forward after the war to a sizable plot of ground and a slave to help him farm it. Undoubtedly many soldiers took the cash value in lieu of the slave. Originally the land was nonassignable so long as the person remained in the service, but this restriction was removed by the act of 1782 and many of those entitled to the land sold their rights for cash.

Lastly, in 1783 the state recognized that the paper currency had so depreciated that it was "not worth a Continental." This worked a hardship on the soldiers, particularly since they were usually paid late. By the time they received their pay, it had depreciated considerably. By 1782 it was computed that it took 800 paper dollars to make one dollar in gold or silver. So a law was enacted whereby the value of paper money in relation to specie was computed for each month of the war and the soldier compensated for such depreciation accordingly.¹⁰

Thus did North Carolina entice and reward her soldiers. As proof that such actions were motivated by a concern for the well-being and comforts of the men, and not merely as a practical means of securing her quota of enlistments, there is evidence of the attention given the citizen-soldier who had the misfortune of being captured by the British. A document listing supplies "sent to the North Carolina Troops that are prisoners in South Carolina" on July 10, 1780, adequately demonstrates the concern the state had for these men. While there was no Red Cross to look after the welfare of prisoners of war in the Revolution, some of its modern functions were nevertheless carried out. The document, believed to have been written by a member of the State Board of War, listed the following items as being furnished:

- 1 pipe of wine
- 1 Barrell of Loaf Sugar 220 lb nt.
- 6 Barrells of Brown d^o [sugar] 1660 gross
- 4 Baggs of Coffee 510 nt.
- 7 Hogsheads Rum 800 Gallons
- 7 Barrells of Flour
- 10 Barrells Bread
- 2 Baggs of Coffee

⁸ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 369.

⁹ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 420.

¹⁰ Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 485.

21 pipes of wine
 1 Barrel of loaf sugar 220^{to} lbs
 20 Barrels of Brown Sugar 1660 lbs
 4 Bags of Coffee 570 lbs
 7 Hogheads of Rum 800 Gallons
 7 Barrels of Flour
 6 Barrels of Bread
 2 Bags of Coffee

Sent to the North Carolina Troops that are
 prisoners in South Carolina in alleg by W. Strout
 Mad. 10 July 1780 from Newbern

List of supplies sent to North Carolina soldiers imprisoned in South Carolina. From the collection of Paul V. Lutz.

On the back is a list of figures totaling 10,900. While there is no explanation for these, from the number it appears they show the cost of the various items, that is, \$10,900.¹¹

Since it was the duty of the British to supply the necessities of life to prisoners, it can be seen that the state was only furnishing supplements or extras to make life a little more pleasant for these men. The document shows that the devotion of soldier to his country was met by devotion of country to her soldiers. Both were well founded and deserve recognition and remembrance.

¹¹ Document in the author's collection.

AN INTELLECTUAL ON POLITICS: WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN AND THE IDEAL OF A TWO-PARTY SOUTH

BY BRUCE L. CLAYTON *

Today, as the political walls of the "Solid South" seem to be crumbling, the fact that southern political thought since the Civil War has not been as uniform as many politicians and pundits seem to think should be recognized. Dissident voices have cried out for a two-party system for many decades and large pockets of Republican sentiment have dotted Dixie ever since Appomattox. One of the most articulate of the South's advocates of a two-party political structure, William Garrott Brown, was an Alabama-born, Harvard-educated, intellectual.¹ Brown, who lived in North Carolina during the first decade of this century, was a historian and journalist who became convinced that many of his native region's ills stemmed from the fact that it was solidly Democratic. As a tubercular resident in an Asheville sanatorium, he met influential Tarheel Republicans and threw himself into the fight to rebuild that party in North Carolina and in the South.

William Garrott Brown thought the South needed a strong, respectable Republican party to criticize the Democrats and to give the people a chance to exercise their right of choice in elections. Personally, he preferred the Democratic party as represented by Grover Cleveland and other conservative, "sound money" men, before the days when Bryanism was dominant.² Yet Brown never abandoned his belief that the South needed two parties. At the time of his death in

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¹ For sketches of Brown's life see John Spencer Bassett, "My Recollections of William Garrott Brown," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (April, 1917), 97-107; Francis G. Caffey, "William Garrott Brown," in Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index [1928—]), III, 158-159; Wendell H. Stephenson, "William Garrott Brown: Literary Historian and Essayist," *The Journal of Southern History*, XII (August, 1946), 313-344.

² For a detailed account of the free-silver controversy, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, Volume IX of *A History of the South*, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1951), 235-291, hereinafter cited as Woodward, *Origins of the New South*.

1913, when Woodrow Wilson had been elected president and many southerners were slated for key government positions, Brown was still advocating a strong Republican party in Dixie. Although at first glance it might appear that his motivation was primarily political, Brown's position was rooted in a sense of fairness and idealism and only superficially prompted by political considerations.

Brown lived during an era when the South was politically impotent on the national level.³ The son of an Alabama banker and merchant, he was born in Marion, Alabama, in 1868. Free public schools existed but he was sent to the local, private preparatory school. At the age of eighteen he was graduated from Howard College in Marion, and after a year of independent study he became a lecturer in English at the Marion Military Institute. After two years in this position, Brown left for graduate study at Harvard in 1889. He took a second B.A. in 1891 and an M.A. in 1892; at each of the three graduations he finished with highest honors.

In 1892 he was placed in charge of the Harvard University Archives. Brown would have liked to enter politics but his hearing, which had been defective since birth, grew worse in the late 1880's, and he decided that library work would allow him to make a living and continue certain historical studies he had begun as a student. He was active in the library until 1901, when he was appointed lecturer in American history. At the end of the year he gave up this position and left Harvard to make his way in the world with his pen. His next 11 years (he died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-five) were spent in traveling and living in the South, and in writing books, articles and political editorials for *Harper's Weekly*. As a writer he gained an enviable reputation. Editors were eager for him to contribute to their magazines and such important political figures as Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt commented approvingly on his writings and ideas.⁴

During the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the South was politically isolated in national

³ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 456-459; William Garrott Brown, "The South in National Politics," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, IX (April, 1910), 103-105, hereinafter cited as Brown, "South in National Politics."

⁴ For certain editors' views, see Frederick C. Howe to Brown, November 18, 1903; J. Henry Harper to Brown, September 24, 1905; Alexander Jessup to Brown, December 8, 1903; H. W. Mabie to Brown, June 3, 1903; Shailer Mathews to Brown, March 17, 1903, William Garrott Brown Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers; for politicians' comments, see Theodore Roosevelt to Brown, December 5, 1908, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 8 volumes, 1952), VI, 1,411; William H. Taft to Brown, November 3, 1910, and Woodrow Wilson to Brown, November 7, 1911, Brown Papers.

affairs. At the time when the Republican party dominated the White House and Congress, the South remained solidly Democratic. Accordingly, southerners did not receive Cabinet positions or Supreme Court appointments. Nor did they serve as chairmen of important committees or gain many key positions in Congress. Although the Democratic party had succeeded in electing Grover Cleveland president in 1884 and 1892, his brand of conservatism had alienated many poor farmers and urban workers below the Mason-Dixon line.⁵ Brown was satisfied with Cleveland but felt very deeply about the isolation of the South.

Brown and his fellow observers who pined for a stronger South had watched southern Democracy's wavering between a western alliance with Bryan in 1896 and 1900, and with the eastern conservative, Alton B. Parker in 1904. In 1908 when Bryan, again the Democratic standard-bearer, carried the whole South but only three states in the west, it was apparent that the old sectional alliances and balances of power did not offer the solution to the South's isolation.⁶ Brown and others reasoned that if the southern states had strong Republican parties, they could demand the attention of northern Republicans.

Political solidarity, Brown believed, also caused ills which were worse than political isolation. One-party politics led to graft and corruption, he charged, and to the very negation of democracy's precepts. A monolithic political structure, "makes for narrowness and bigotry, and against candor and independence. It has frequently caused and may still be causing, persecution for opinion's sake." Moreover, it tended "more and more to drive out of public life men of freedom and independent minds and to give opportunity and power to men who . . . have freely invoked bigotry and prejudice and intolerance to overwhelm manliness and independence in others."⁷ Seeing the problem and not fearing to state it in its boldest form, Brown set out to help revive the party of Lincoln in Dixie.

The road which the Republican party had to travel in the South was rough, long, and unaccommodating. Although Republican presidents from Rutherford B. Hayes to William McKinley had attempted to make significant political inroads into the region, by the turn of the century the party had fewer members than in 1876.⁸ Everywhere in Dixie the party of Lincoln was derided by Democrats as the "nigger"

⁵ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 175-204, 235-263.

⁶ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 460.

⁷ Brown, "South in National Politics," 111.

⁸ Vincent P. DeSantis, *Republicans Face the Southern Question: The New Departure Years, 1877-1897* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 261.

party, as the party of turncoat "scalawags" and unwanted "carpet-baggers." Intimately linked in the popular mind with the pervasive myths of reconstruction, the party was further hampered by the scourge of all organizations, factionalism.

Other more concrete disorders plagued the Republican party in the South. In the age of fierce, personal journalism which bristled with editors who had strong political preferences, the South in the early years of the twentieth century had but one daily Republican newspaper, the Greensboro *Daily Industrial News*.⁹ Moreover, the party was at the mercy of the Democrats in many instances. Stuffed ballot boxes, tissue ballots, corrupt election officials (nearly always Democrats) who administered the various suffrage tests and other rules, all tended to hamper the growth of the party.¹⁰ In most southern towns and cities it took a lot of courage to espouse openly the Republican party. The moment one broke from the "white man's party" one more often than not suffered social and economic ostracism. Furthermore, a majority of southerners sincerely believed that the Republican party in the region was made up of greedy, patronage-hungry politicians and postmasters.

The party was not "respectable," men of Brown's ilk contended. It was a farce and it existed only to supply delegates to Republican national conventions. Many believed, as did Brown and his fellow critics, that Republican presidents used their control over federal patronage to assure themselves the support of the southern delegates. The system had developed whereby a "referee," a local, faithful Republican, was awarded the privilege of distributing federal patronage in his state. He, in turn, was to repay the president by seeing that the right delegates were chosen by the state Republican convention. Generally the bulk of the patronage came under the authority of the Postmaster General, for this was in the day when thousands of post-office jobs were filled every four years.¹¹

Brown contended that these southern Republican machines existed simply for the benefit of supplying the prostituted delegates and for the chance to control federal appointments. They were not concerned about the party's success or failure at the polls because they simply did not care about local victories. They existed solely because of their greed. To effect a remedy for the affliction of the body politic, Brown

⁹ David C. Roller, "The Greensboro *Daily Industrial News* and North Carolina Republican Politics, 1905-1908" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1962), 10.

¹⁰ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 102-106, 235-263.

¹¹ Dorothy G. Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician: The Postmasters General, 1829-1909* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 291-296, hereinafter cited as Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician*.

worked to promote a healthy Republican party in the South, and he wrote, both publicly and privately, that President Taft would have to stop federal patronage to party hacks.¹² Brown believed that a sizable part of the South's population had Republican leanings, and that this could be exploited only if federal appointments were made in consideration of this group. If a southern state had no Republican party except the machine, he thought federal patronage should be given to conservative Democrats. This strategy plus a sincere concern on the part of the Republican party for the southern Republicans, would act, according to Brown, as a stimulus to the development of the second party.

The southern policy of the Republican party's managers in pre-election maneuverings of 1908 demonstrated to Brown the political realities of patronage politics. President Roosevelt, who had successfully taken control of the southern Republican machines from Mark Hanna in 1902 by a series of adroit moves and had the southern delegation assured by the time of the national convention in 1904,¹³ instructed Frank Hitchcock, First Assistant Postmaster General, to line up the southern delegates for Taft.¹⁴ Knowing that the South cast over one-third of the necessary votes for the nomination, Hitchcock did his job well. Taft, his biographer maintained, was "permitted to know as little as possible about the harvesting of Southern delegates."¹⁵ Regardless of Taft's cognizance or lack of it, he had the southern vote in the national convention in 1908.

In the summer of 1908 Brown attended the North Carolina Republican party's state convention. At the instigation of an Asheville Republican, Thomas Settle, Brown wrote a significant part of the party's platform. There, at first hand, he was able to see the methods by which the delegation to the national convention was chosen. Writing shortly thereafter Brown said, "I felt that Taft, though perhaps a fit man, was

¹² William Garrott Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 20, 1909), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage"; William Garrott Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 21, 1909), 5, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power"; William Garrott Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 29, 1909), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments"; William Garrott Brown, "The Referee System," *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (May 21, 1910), 4-5; Brown to William H. Taft's secretary, Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), and Brown to Taft, May 30, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.

¹³ John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), 43-48. Blum concludes that "the one consistent, continuing result of his [Roosevelt's] patronage policies was his surer control of the Republican party."

¹⁴ Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician*, 291-296; Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 2 volumes, 1939), I, 347, hereinafter cited as Pringle, *Life of Taft*.

¹⁵ Pringle, *Life of Taft*, I, 347.

not fairly named, and democracy may require us to vote for Bryan."¹⁶

But this was probably Brown in a temporary mood of frustrated idealism. Bryan was simply too much of a "heretic" on monetary questions to satisfy Brown, who immediately set to work to persuade Taft to come South during his campaign. Taft had spoken in 1906 at Greensboro. On that occasion he had appealed to Brown by denouncing the corrupt southern Republican machines and declaring that in states where no respectable party existed federal patronage should be given to Democrats.¹⁷ Republican presidential nominees had fallen into the habit of bypassing the South in their campaigns. Brown deplored this because it demonstrated to southerners that the party had no real interest in the South. It is not known how influential Brown was in Taft's decision to campaign in the South, but Brown wrote in 1908 that he had "set a number of influences at work to induce Taft to come South."¹⁸ Taft did campaign in the South, and his total popular vote was larger in every southern state than Roosevelt's had been in 1904. During the campaign, Taft declared that he wished to be the president of the whole country, not just of half. This pleased Brown immensely, and after Taft's victory Brown arranged for Walter Hines Page, the North Carolina-born, New York editor, to meet Taft and persuade him to speak at a meeting of the North Carolina Society of New York.¹⁹ Brown and Page were anxious for Taft to announce his "Southern policy." They were successful, and the president-elect spoke early in December, 1908, on the subject of "The South and the National Government."²⁰

Taft's speech won Brown. The president-elect praised the past loyalties of the South and said that he was not going "to rehearse the painful history of reconstruction. . . ." He applauded the respectable Republican parties in the South and the movement to build up more such groups, and he guaranteed the region that the Fifteenth Amendment was not "inconsistent with the South's obtaining and maintaining what it regards as its political safety from the domination of an ignorant electorate. . . ."²¹ Soon Taft went South again; he made several speeches in which he attacked the southern Republican machines and "reiterated the shibboleths of White Supremacy."²² Both Taft and

¹⁶ Brown to Charles W. Thompson, June 23, 1908, Brown Papers.

¹⁷ Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 488.

¹⁸ Brown to J. Elwood Cox, November 14, 1908, Brown Papers.

¹⁹ Brown to William R. Thayer, November 13, 1908 (copy), Brown Papers.

²⁰ William Howard Taft, *The South and the National Government* (n. p., n. d.), Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Taft, *The South*.

²¹ Taft, *The South*, 11-15.

²² Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 468.

Brown were optimistic in 1908.

The increase of the Republican vote in the South in the election of 1908, the high-sounding utterances of the new President, and the general optimism generated by the victory, prompted Brown to write more about southern Republicans in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*.²³ Shortly after Taft's inaugural address in which he stated that he did not wish to be president of just half the country, Brown declared that "there is displayed a general interest in the Southern question as we have not seen matched in any President since Lincoln."²⁴ "The South," affirmed Brown on another occasion, "warmly responds to [the] challenge."²⁵

Throughout the first months of Taft's administration Brown kept a close eye on Hitchcock's handling of the patronage and frequently warned the Postmaster General not to treat the South indifferently.²⁶ But the President's early appointments in the South seemed further proof to Brown that Taft was sincere and honest. When in May, 1909, the new President appointed a conservative Democrat to the post of Commissioner for Internal Revenue for South Carolina, Brown applauded.²⁷ His satisfaction mounted when Taft appointed Democrats to federal judgeships in Alabama. Taft's attitude and his southern appointments had "fairly knocked the breath out of more than one Southern Republican machine," Brown wrote. Furthermore, Brown stated that Taft had determined that "Southern Republican machines shall not be any longer."²⁸

Brown viewed the election of 1908 as a milestone in southern political development. Thinking Taft to be serious in his desire to clean up the southern Republican machines, and believing that there was a significant drift of opinion in the South in favor of a revitalized Republican party, Brown looked hopefully upon the large Republican gains in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. He noted that both Tennessee and North Carolina would have gone for Taft with the change of a few thousand votes. What a show of independence it would have been, Brown asserted, if North Carolina had gone Re-

²³ William Garrott Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 6, 1909), 6-9, hereinafter cited as Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings." See also, William Garrott Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," *The Century*, LXXVIII (June, 1909), 252-290, hereinafter cited as Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity."

²⁴ William Garrott Brown, "Mr. Taft, the South, and the Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (March 20, 1909), 4.

²⁵ Brown, "To William Howard Taft: Greetings," 7.

²⁶ Brown, "Appointments and the Suffrage," 4; Brown, "Mr. Hitchcock's Power," 5; Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," 4.

²⁷ William Garrott Brown, "He [Taft] Means What He Says," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (May 29, 1909), 4.

²⁸ Brown, "Taft's Southern Appointments," 4.

publican. "The dramatic effect of such a *coup* would have been great."²⁹ And shortly after Taft's inauguration Brown predicted that "it is only a question of time until a majority in some southern state will favor the Republican party. . . ."³⁰

The Taft administration, Brown contended, had a real opportunity to foster and nurture Republican sentiment in the South. Writing early in 1909, Brown stated that Taft should proclaim that southerners were safe to vote as they believed. They were to be safe because the Republican party was going to make its southern policies fair and honest. Brown went on to say that:

It [the Republican party] cannot ask southern men to vote for policies they disapprove merely because it is desirable to have a live Republican party in the South, nor even because by turning Republican they can win for the South a stronger voice in national affairs. It cannot ask them to do more than vote as they believe.³¹

In the spring of 1910 Brown began what proved to be a fruitful and warm friendship with John M. Morehead, scion of a distinguished Tarheel family and a Republican in the United States House of Representatives. Thomas Settle, whom Brown had met in Asheville, and who had persuaded Brown to join the reform-minded Republicans, had written Morehead about Brown's feelings. Welcoming Brown to the Republican movement, Morehead wrote:

I have heard so much of you through Settle and of your interest and potential activity in what I believe to be not only the right, but only effective solution of the North Carolina situation, that it does not come as from a stranger.³²

Brown, Settle, and Morehead were in such complete agreement that Brown was given the task of writing the party platform for the state convention which was held at Greensboro in August, 1910. Morehead had endeavored to persuade President Taft not to make any more federal appointments in North Carolina until the party could be reorganized. Writing in a vein that pleased Brown profoundly, Morehead said:

A reorganization 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

²⁹ William Garrott Brown, "The New Republican Party in the South," *Harper's Weekly*, LIII (January 9, 1909), 5.

³⁰ Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," 265.

³¹ Brown, "President Taft's Opportunity," 270.

³² John M. Morehead to Brown, March 8, 1910, Brown Papers.

party has for its chief aspect of existence the control and dispensation of the patronage. It is believed . . . that this one feature constitutes seventy-five per cent of the Republican viewpoint and excuse for existence as the party is today.³³

Shortly after the convention opened Brown presented the platform and it was accepted. The platform demonstrated Brown's ability to think and act on a national scale. As an orthodox Cleveland Democrat concerning the tariff, Brown personally never wavered in his belief that the tariff should exist only for revenue and not for protection. Yet when he designed the Republican party's platform he wrote:

We renew our allegiance to the Republican policy of protection. The Southern States, and North Carolina in particular, have profited by that policy in the past, and have every reason to expect increased benefits from it in the future.³⁴

Brown wrote in such a manner because he believed that the idea of a protective tariff would attract a significant number of new voters to the Republican party. He believed that there was a growing number of southerners who were becoming protectionists. His ability to write this plank suggests his conscientious and pragmatic approach to the concept of a two-party South. The platform ended on a high-sounding note by proclaiming that the North Carolina Republican party did not serve merely as a "machine for distributing federal offices and electing delegates to national conventions."³⁵

The conduct of the southern Republican delegates in the national nominating conventions prompted Brown to single them out for frank criticism. He contended that the delegates were for sale and would support only the nominee who would promise the most patronage. Brown called their conduct in the conventions, "one of the worst of our open political scandals." "Plain patriotism," he repeatedly admonished his fellow southerners, "should set everyone against continuing such a practice."³⁶

In September, 1910, Brown began a series of interviews and correspondence about the southern situation with President Taft, through his personal secretary, Charles W. Norton. Fearing that Taft was losing his interests in rebuilding the Republican party in the South, Brown contended that Republican sentiment was increasing in the southern states. He pointed to the growth of southern industry and

³³ John M. Morehead to Brown, July 2, 1910, Brown Papers.

³⁴ North Carolina State Republican Platform, Brown Papers.

³⁵ North Carolina State Republican Platform, Brown Papers.

³⁶ Brown, "South in National Politics," 110.

to the concomitant demand for protection. He argued that the textile and iron industries had grown to such proportions in Louisiana and Alabama that protectionists were starting to make their voices heard.³⁷

Brown thought there were discontented groups within the Democratic party. He believed certain Gold Democrats had had enough of Bryanism and were ready to support a healthy Republican party. Two North Carolinians, John M. Morehead and Daniel A. Tompkins, Brown asserted, had already become out-and-out Republicans. Believing that more southern people were eager to have the South shake off its political isolation, and that the disfranchisement of the Negro race had demonstrated that the Republican party had acquiesced in white supremacy, Brown argued that the time was ripe for a concerted effort to rebuild the Republican parties in the southern states. Taft and the Republican party should, in Brown's opinion, make clear that the South's interests would be recognized.³⁸

Concerning federal patronage, Brown asserted that the quality of federal appointments in the South had degenerated steadily since 1904. He stated that the practice of giving federal favors to assured delegates was occurring and that the person responsible was the Postmaster General, Frank Hitchcock. Calling the southern conventions that selected delegates a "disgusting mockery of representative government," Brown said:

I will be perfectly candid, knowing that by so doing I risk any chance there may be of my suggestions being heeded, and add that the only person in Washington whom anyone can now suspect of playing the role [giver of federal patronage] is the Postmaster General. I do not believe that the President would knowingly condone the continuance of a practice he has so admirably denounced.³⁹

Taft, cognizant of Brown's views and enthusiasm, answered, "I have never read an article that is so illuminating and satisfactory on the southern situation as your letter. I agree with you in every particular."⁴⁰ Prompted by such kind and reassuring words from the chief executive, Brown decided upon a bold scheme that, had it been carried out, might have had some practical results. He proposed to Charles R. Miller, editor of *The New York Times*, that his newspaper should conduct a state-by-state investigation of the southern Republican machines by a qualified newspaperman. Brown's part would entail writing a general introductory article, helping the reporter make

³⁷ Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.

³⁸ Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.

³⁹ Brown to Charles W. Norton, October 13, 1910 (copy), Brown Papers.

⁴⁰ William Howard Taft to Brown, November 3, 1910, Brown Papers.

contact with influential men in each state, and writing a concluding article. Brown revealed his inclinations when he wrote that the job should be undertaken "by a high-class newspaper man (not a muck-raker), preferably one with Washington experience . . . [and] a southerner."⁴¹

But *The Times*, reluctant to take on such a project, rejected the offer. Turning again to the President, Brown called on him to make a general announcement that no man was to use the power of patronage to win favorable delegates. Furthermore, Brown would have had the President declare:

If any such agreement or bargain is made, it will not be honored. If, in an application, for office, any such agreement or bargain is alleged, the allegation will be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of the unfitness of the applicant. Furthermore, the President desires to warn all federal office holders against neglecting their duties for unrelated political activities, and against any and every improper and unfair use of their official positions in political contests.⁴²

Brown believed that Taft could do this with complete political safety because the President would surely be nominated in 1912 and the real fight would come in the election. Taft's popular following, Brown continued, would be enhanced by this pronouncement. But apart from any and all practical considerations, he argued that "the step is demanded, as it has for years been demanded, by every consideration of fairness and square dealing." Moreover, ". . . it is right in itself, because the practices aimed at are wrong and mean and dangerous to our institutions."⁴³

To make certain that his proposal would reach Taft with good recommendations, Brown wrote Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican from Massachusetts, Charles B. Hillus, one of Taft's personal secretaries, and A. Piatt Andrew, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, sending to each a copy of his letter to Taft along with a request that he urge the President to give it his utmost attention. Each answered that he would. Lodge, who was aware of the southern situation, answered: "I have been in many Republican conventions and I well know not only the character of the southern delegates but the part which they have played." He added that "In . . . [some] states there is no party at all except the office holders."⁴⁴

⁴¹ Brown to Charles R. Miller, January 3, 1911, Brown Papers.

⁴² Brown to William Howard Taft, May 29, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.

⁴³ Brown to William Howard Taft, May 29, 1911 (copy), Brown Papers.

⁴⁴ Henry Cabot Lodge to Brown, June 1, 1911, Brown Papers.

Taft's secretary, Hillus, replied that the President was pleased with the gains the party had made in North Carolina. He added that he was glad to know that Brown had had a leading role in the reorganization of that state's party. "I frequently said to the President that to my mind it was the most hopeful development in the South in our generation. I have commended it to men of the right sort in other southern states."⁴⁵

But Taft made no general announcement. He soon became aware of his need for those very southern delegates whom Brown so altruistically demeaned. Theodore Roosevelt had thrown his hat into the ring. Roosevelt had made sure that Taft had the support of the southern delegates in 1908. William H. Taft wanted to make equally sure that Roosevelt did not have them in 1912.

Brown realized by June, 1911, that Taft was not going to take any formal stand on his proposal. Assistant Secretary Andrew informed Brown that the President had spoken as if he agreed with the proposal, but that he was not willing "at the present moment" to commit himself to a "declaration that in all the southern states a radical change or policy was to prevail."⁴⁶

Disappointed but undaunted, Brown continued writing weekly editorials condemning the southern Republican machines and began to reconsider an exposé of the machines.⁴⁷ He began collecting information and evidence. From Texas Edward M. House, who was soon to become nationally prominent in the Wilson administration, answered that Cecil Lyon had been the sole distributor of federal patronage in Texas under both Roosevelt and Taft. House opined, "During the Roosevelt administration no man not named by Colonel Lyon was appointed and I think President Roosevelt himself said on one occasion that this was true."⁴⁸

Alfred H. Stone, planter and author, whose book *Studies in American Race Relations* charged that Roosevelt had used the "referee" system to his own advantage,⁴⁹ answered from Mississippi. Stone admitted that he knew "next to nothing of his state's Republican machine, but he offered to give all the assistance he could."⁵⁰ Through his

⁴⁵ Charles D. Hillus to A. Piatt Andrew, June 2, 1911, Brown Papers.

⁴⁶ A. Piatt Andrew to Brown, June 18, 1911, Brown Papers.

⁴⁷ William Garrott Brown, "The Tariff and the Southern Republicans," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (August 19, 1911), 4; William Garrott Brown, "Alabama's for Taft," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (September 16, 1911), 4; William Garrott Brown, "The Insurgents and the Southern Postmasters," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (November 18, 1911), 5.

⁴⁸ Edward M. House to Brown, December 14, 1911, Brown Papers.

⁴⁹ Alfred H. Stone, *Studies in American Race Relations* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1908), 143.

⁵⁰ Alfred H. Stone to Brown, January 1, 1912, Brown Papers.

own family connections, Brown knew about conditions in Alabama, and his intimate knowledge of North Carolina politics made him aware of the situation there.

While writing to his friends for information, Brown had also been busy seeking a magazine or newspaper that would agree to conduct the investigation. Late in November, 1911, he stated his purpose candidly when he proposed the plan to *Harper's Weekly*: to expose and break up the "old system of control by 'referee' and little cliques of office holders, maintained by swapping delegates for the right to distribute the federal patronage."⁵¹

But the editors of *Harper's Weekly* said they did not have the staff to undertake such a venture. Brown, however, was allowed to keep firing away in his weekly editorials at the southern Republican machines and at the opponents of a revitalized Republican party. Taking dead aim, Brown caustically wrote:

The mass of Southern Republican delegates chosen this year are not merely products of the same old methods employed in 1908. They are . . . the very same men or the same kind of men that have been coming up to the Republican conventions and naming Republican candidates for something like forty years. This scandal has been flagrant for decades, but this year it is so very flagrant that one cannot help hoping something will, at last, be done about it.⁵²

Harper's Weekly was well known for its support of Woodrow Wilson. The owner, George Harvey, had supported Wilson since 1906.⁵³ Wilson was an appealing candidate to Brown as long as Wilson kept "safe" on monetary questions. This strong bias might help explain, along with Brown's general disappointment with Taft's southern policy, why Brown tore so savagely into the Republican party during the campaign of 1912. Once he wrote that the Republican leaders had been completely cognizant of the southern situation and that they had "striven ignobly among themselves for the personal profits of it. If their strife has at last aroused and disgusted the country, they have themselves alone to thank for their own and their party's shame."⁵⁴

The presidential election of 1912 was a major event in the South's history, and Brown was fully aware of the election's significance. Both Wilson and Roosevelt could claim southern backgrounds and both

⁵¹ Brown to Edward S. Martin, November 27, 1911, Brown Papers.

⁵² William Garrott Brown, "The Scandal of the Southern Delegates," *Harper's Weekly*, LVI (May 25, 1912), 5, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The Scandal."

⁵³ Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947), 359.

⁵⁴ Brown, "The Scandal," 5.

were determined to show their "southernness." Taft, so Brown believed, had failed as president. In reality only one of the candidates would ever appeal to Brown, and that was the soft spoken, former president of Princeton, Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt was simply too radical for Brown. Considering the "Bull Moose" much more of a threat than Taft to Wilson's chances, Brown and *Harper's Weekly* devoted themselves to stopping Roosevelt. Writing before the Republican convention met, Brown privately confessed: "I am not a Republican, but have thought the most pressing duty of the moment was to smash Roosevelt, and have contributed my editorial mite chiefly to that end."⁵⁵

Woodrow Wilson's election signified a return of the Democratic party, and more particularly of southerners, to national power. The isolation of the South had ended, and none was happier than the editorialist who had done all he could "to smash Roosevelt." Although Brown had little time left to enjoy the South's return to power, he was aware that Wilson's triumph was a portent of greater things for his region. Brown, however, was concerned with the South's responsibilities and whether the South would be able to act in a national manner. He hoped "the South . . . feels to the full the immense responsibility which it thus incurs."⁵⁶

Brown warned the South that if it did not act responsibly and in a national manner, it could not hope to stay in power. Fearful lest the southerners not act as Americans, Brown urged:

Let every Southerner at Washington take that view [to act as Americans] of his duties and his opportunities under the new dispensation, let the South itself, through its newspapers and other organs of public opinion, sustain its representatives in that attitude, and the country will not regret what it did election day.⁵⁷

Which was more important to Brown, the return of the South to national political power, or the building up of a two-party South? He worked to revitalize the Republican party in the South as a possible solution to the South's isolation. He was also keenly aware of the effect of a one-party system on southern society. That Brown was not simply desirous of southern political power can be proved by noticing an editorial he wrote early in 1913. Wilson had been elected and rumors were rife that several southerners were slated for Cabinet

⁵⁵ Brown to Jeremiah Smith, May 5, 1912, Brown Papers.

⁵⁶ William Garrott Brown, "The South and the Election," *Harper's Weekly*, LVI (November 16, 1912), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The South and the Election."

⁵⁷ Brown, "The South and the Election," 4.

positions. Well aware that the South's political isolation was over, Brown editorially castigated an Alabama newspaper, the *Birmingham Ledger*, for its statement that to speak of Republicans in the South was as funny as Mark Twain. The *Ledger* had contended that there were not enough Republicans in Alabama to "hold a state convention in a big hall!"⁵⁸

Brown saw nothing funny in this. After dismissing the *Ledger* as "not much of a paper," he tore into the South for its lethargy:

. . . too many southern men and newspapers take the South's political situation [too lightly]. . . Too many southern men and too many southern newspapers accept as final the present arrangement under which they are governed by one party. It was ridiculous, for instance, during the recent campaign to note how, in states perfectly certain to go Democratic, all orators and editors spend their mind and fury on the utterly hopeless Republican candidates, state and national, and avoid the real and important issues between the factions and candidates of the dominant Democratic party.⁵⁹

This was the safe way, he explained, to keep out of trouble, and to make sure of being elected. The politicians and editors, he continued, wanted to keep their hold "on a too unanimous public." "We," Brown asserted, "are tempted to use Grant's language and say 'a too damned unanimous public.'"⁶⁰

Charging on, Brown hit again at his favorite target, the "little cliques and machines" that controlled the Republican parties in the southern states. He went on to define what he considered to be the task of all true patriots in the South: ". . . no well-wisher of the South can be content to see its political life unhealthily different from the rest of the Union."⁶¹

Further proof of Brown's objectivity and vision may be found in his reactions to Wilson's Cabinet appointments. Pronouncing the Cabinet the "weakest in my recollection," he complained that too many southerners were being given high positions in the administration.⁶² In reply to House's assertion that the party was having a difficult time finding good Democrats in the North and West, Brown replied that he knew of many qualified Democrats in Massachusetts alone.⁶³

⁵⁸ Quoted in William Garrott Brown, "The Republicans and the South," *Harper's Weekly*, LV (January 18, 1913), 4, hereinafter cited as Brown, "The Republicans and the South."

⁵⁹ Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.

⁶⁰ Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.

⁶¹ Brown, "The Republicans and the South," 4.

⁶² Brown to E. S. Martin, March 2, 1913, Brown Papers.

⁶³ Brown to E. S. Martin, March 2, 1913, Brown Papers.

Early in April, 1913, Brown charged that *Harper's Weekly* was not criticizing the new administration enough. "In my judgment," he wrote, "we are coddling the administration too much . . . [and] we ought to live up to our promises to treat it just as we have others."⁶⁴ But Brown never got the chance to see his suggestions carried out. Shortly after his remark the *Weekly* changed owners and he was notified that the magazine would be changed radically. The sale shocked Brown who had grown to love his association with the magazine. His despondency and life were cut short, however, within a few months by a violent attack of his chronic tuberculosis which caused his death in October, 1913.

William Garrott Brown lived to see only a partial fulfillment of his dream of a rejuvenated, politically powerful South. Brown was devoted to a two-party South—that his dream of a strong, independent Republican party in Dixie has not been realized even today suggests the complexity of the problem he was trying to solve. Brown loved his region but he was not blind to some of its faults. His candid and forthright attempt to better the South has earned for him a high place in the roll of southerners who are true statesmen, capable of acting in a national manner, and who are, in the words of Sidney Lanier, "tall enough to see over the whole country."

⁶⁴ Brown to E. S. Martin, April 3, 1913, Brown Papers.

THE IRONIC FATE OF THE "SOUTHERN STAR"

BY THOMAS C. PARRAMORE *

On the morning of April 16, 1857, the Hertford County roads leading into Murfreesboro were crowded with people on their way to witness what, for many, was the spectacle of the decade: Jesse Jackson was going to launch his steamboat. Undeterred by a cold and disagreeable morning, "men, women and children came flocking into the borough on every road, in almost every kind of conveyance that the country affords."¹ The two female academies in Murfreesboro had declared a holiday for, after all, this was no ordinary launching. High and dry on her ways, the "Southern Star" was a 460-ton behemoth, the largest vessel ever seen in these waters; the largest ship ever built in North Carolina. By 11:00 A.M. the crowds were assembled on the banks of the Meherrin River at the launching site a short distance from town. After some oratory came the moment for the christening. Among the 4,000 spectators was Mrs. Jethro Darden who had ridden from Buckhorn that day for the occasion and who would describe the scene in her diary late that evening. "A goodly number of gentlemen," she wrote, "went on board, and as it moved off every one seemed to be huzzaing in a gay and lively tone, & just as the bottle was raised to be broken to sprinkle and name the boat, the underworks gave way. . . ."² With a sickening crunch the steamboat smacked into the Meherrin's muddy bank. The "Southern Star" was an accursed ship.

The slight damage caused by the errant launching of the steamer might have been only an untoward mishap had it not established a pattern for the history of this ill-fated vessel. For in years to come she was destined to bring ruin to her promoters and disaster to the very shores she had been designed to benefit. Maritime annals yield few parallels to the ironic story of Jesse Jackson's steamboat.

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¹ *Daily Express* (Petersburg, Virginia), April 25, 1857, hereinafter cited as *Daily Express*.

² Diary of Anne Dillard Darden, 1857, in possession of Mrs. Ethleen Vick Underwood, Murfreesboro. The "Lytle List" enumerates 26 other steamboats built in North Carolina before 1857, the largest being 264 tons. Forrest R. Holdcamper (ed.), *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868*, "The Lytle List" compiled by William Lytle (Mystic, Connecticut: The Steamship Historical Society of America, 1952).

Jesse Andrew Jackson came to Hertford County shortly before 1850 from Manasquan, New Jersey.³ An "adventurous and visionary man," he ran a country store for a while at Parker's Landing on Meherrin River,⁴ later established a sawmill on the Meherrin just opposite Murfreesboro,⁵ and at length opened a brickkiln there.⁶ The latter enterprise, coinciding with the establishment of two female academies in Murfreesboro—one by the Baptists and the other by the Methodists—earned Jackson a handsome profit.⁷ By 1855 he had enough capital to turn his active mind to more ambitious projects, and it was then that he conceived the idea of building a steamboat.

In October, 1855, evidently on Jackson's initiative, a group of the wealthiest farmers and merchants in the county assembled at Murfreesboro to set the project in motion. The challenge they faced was amply set forth in the preamble of a charter agreed upon that day:

Whereas the citizens of the Eastern part of North Carolina, and particularly those residing near, or bordering on the Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, and there [*sic*] tributaries has for a searies [*sic*] of years, and yet continue to suffer great privation and heavy losses in regard to our Export and Import commerce, there seems to be but little, if any hope of Improvement for our relief. Although we have Extensive inland navigation . . . yet it would seem that . . . we must continue to submit to the present vexacions and Expenses since we can get no better inlet than that which nature has given us.⁸

The tone of resentment was anything but accidental. Almost thirty years had passed since Murfreesboro petitioners had called the attention of the state government to the fact that Ocracoke Inlet, their only avenue to the sea, was "so obstructed by shoals, that no vessel drawing more than seven feet of water, can pass without being lightened of a portion of its cargo."⁹ The state legislature, while admitting

³ *Letters of Edgar Allan Jackson, Sept. 7, 1860-April 15, 1863*, North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as *Letters of Edgar Allan Jackson*. The pamphlet bears the name of no editor or place and date of publication.

⁴ John Wheeler Moore, "Historical Sketches of Hertford County, Chapter LXI," *Albemarle Inquirer* (Murfreesboro), January 24, 1878, hereinafter cited as *Albemarle Inquirer*.

⁵ Benjamin Brodie Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printers, 1906), 192.

⁶ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

⁷ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

⁸ "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings of the North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company." Ms. in possession of Frank Roy Johnson, Murfreesboro, hereinafter cited as "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

⁹ *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants of Murfreesborough, N. Carolina, Praying that a Passage be Made between Ocracoke Inlet and the Atlantic Ocean*, Twentieth Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1828), North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants*.

that the bar at Ocracoke cost North Carolina a million dollars a year, nevertheless declined to spend \$60,000 to deepen the inlet by three feet.¹⁰ Subsequent appeal to the federal government also failed.¹¹ In 1855 the obstruction was still there, though the cost to North Carolina farms and businesses had risen enormously.

As the charter went on to note, recent advances in marine engineering had given rise to a new hope for relief:

Since the introduction of steam propelling suited to navigation similar to ours and yet good seaboats if properly constructed, It is confidently believed by competent Judges that a boat of this class can be successfully and profitably maintained between this place and New York, Imbracing on her outward and inward trips, when sufficient freight to Justify—the intermediate landings and towns below this place including Edenton and Plymouth, N. C.¹²

By the terms of the charter, members of the Murfreesboro group that day pledged some \$25,000 and the creation of a joint stock company to build a shallow-draft steamship. The principal promoters were, besides Jackson, Murfreesboro merchants John W. Southall, John G. Wilson, and B. A. Capehart, riverboat captain Hiram Freeman, Winton shipowner John Andrew Anderson, legislators Kenneth Rayner and John Parker Jordan, and Thomas and Henry Gatling, elder brothers of the noted inventor, Richard Gatling.¹³ A sizable portion of the stock was also subscribed by the New York commission house of Glines and Graham, which presumably would supervise the northern end of the steam line. Southall was named agent for the receipt of funds until permanent officers could be appointed.¹⁴

The steamboat company progressed rapidly. Meeting at Winton February 14, 1856, the group chose a board of directors and voted to name themselves "The North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company." Jesse Jackson was authorized to procure labor and materials, plans and specifications for the projected ship; an initial assessment of one-tenth of the value of subscribed shares was levied

¹⁰ *Report Relative to Ocracoke Inlet* (Raleigh: Lawrence and Lemay, 1827).

¹¹ *Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants*.

¹² "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

¹³ "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings." Others were James M. Wynns, Jacob C. Sharp, Lemuel R. Jernigan, William I. Harrell, John Davidson, James L. Johnston, G. C. Taylor, Charles E. Sparks, J. B. N. Cuffington, Joseph Mizell, James C. Freeman, John K. Kirkman, Alfred H. Lecke, Joseph H. Harrell, and Richard Griffith.

¹⁴ *The Democratic Pioneer* (Elizabeth City), December 4, 1855. Quoting from the Murfreesboro *Gazette*, the paper noted that the stock of the company was "becoming very popular" and that "citizens in the lower and central portions of the county are taking rank hold of the enterprise, and their energy gives an encouraging earnest of the realization of our hopes in the establishment of the line."

on the stockholders.¹⁵ A month later, the board of directors ordered Jackson

to proceed to Wilmington Del. and obtain suitable workmen to draw draft, make moddle [*sic*] and moulds for the contemplated Boat and make necessary arrangements for building the same, Leave draft for the Boat with some house or company in Wilmington Del. for machinery, but no definite contract to be closed for the present. It is further ordered that sd. J. A. Jackson be authorized to procure and make other necessary arrangements for boarding the workmen engaged in getting timber and building the boat. Also ordered that John G. Wilson be authorized to make & obtain Pork & other necessaries that may be wanting to board the hands.¹⁶

Jackson, an indefatigable legman, within a month procured from Betts, Pusey and Company in Wilmington plans for two engines and acquired the services of New York shipwright John A. Kirkman to supply hull plans and supervise the construction of the ship. By March, 1856, the company was ready to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation. When the company held its first regular annual meeting at Winton in June, the first loads of white oak timber had been delivered to Jackson's sawmill and the directors, apparently on Kirkman's recommendation, voted to issue \$3,000-\$5,000 additional stock to have the steamer copper-fastened rather than iron-fastened as originally planned.¹⁷

Without warning, the firm of Glines and Graham in the fall, 1856, went into bankruptcy, having paid only \$400 of a stock subscription of \$8,000, a severe blow to the financial integrity of the steamship company.¹⁸ Soon afterward, John G. Wilson, president of the company, ominously withdrew from his involvement—and other stockholders began to grow restive over the security of their commitments. It was a shaky organization that the legislature in December authorized to operate its steamboat

and such other steamers as the want of the company may require from time to time, Employ them in carrying passengers and freight in and between the waters of North Carolina and New York with the privilege of running to and from other parts of the United States and the West India Islands and parts of the Gulf of Mexico and Central America as may appear Expedient for the interest and well being of the company.¹⁹

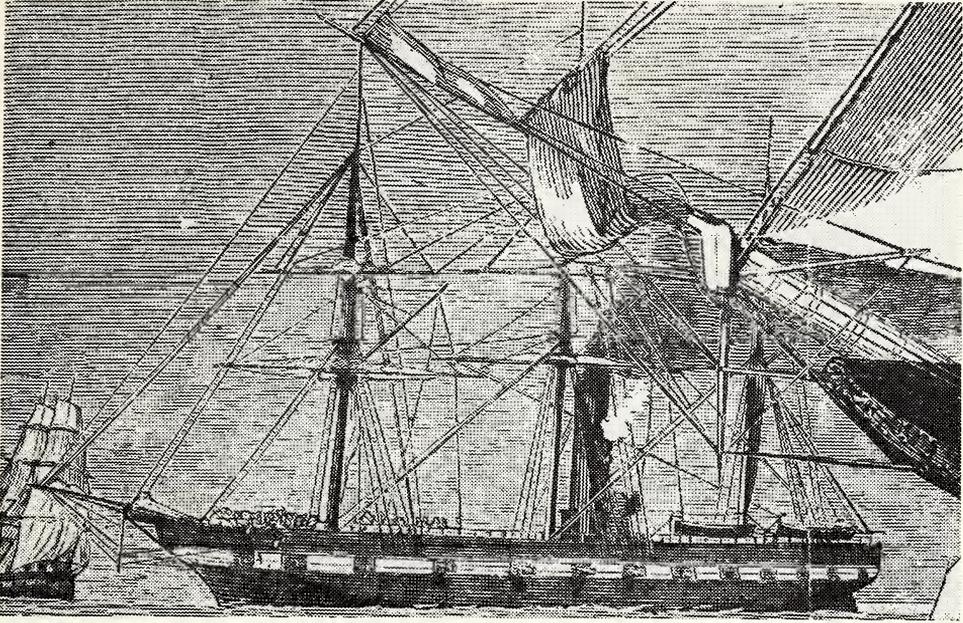
¹⁵ The board of directors consisted of Wilson, Southall, Anderson, Wynns, Jackson, Hiram Freeman, and M. R. Glines. "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

¹⁶ "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

¹⁷ "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."

¹⁸ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

¹⁹ Copy of Act of incorporation in "Charter, By Laws and Proceedings."



The "Southern Star." From *Harper's Magazine*.

Somehow the "North Carolina and New York Steamboat Company" moved forward. Sam Wheeler, writing to the Petersburg (Virginia) *Daily Express*, observed that Jesse Jackson had "waded through difficulties in the accomplishment of the work, that would have deterred many a man of less nerve."²⁰ At the beginning of April the ship was almost completed and April 16 was announced as launching day.

The launching itself capped the climax of Jackson's misfortunes. Wesleyan Academy president James Davis, casting a philosophical eye over the scene that day, observed: "The steamship moved off gracefully at first, but the supporters sunk near the water and she sunk with them. How uncertain human events. Our earthly props sink and we sink with them."²¹ Murfreesboro made the best of a bad business that afternoon with a dinner in honor of the builders at the St. Nicholas Hotel, highlighted by champagne toasts, "some

²⁰ *Daily Express*, April 13, 1857. "The inauguration of this new communication," added Wheeler, "will tend very much to resuscitate the commerce of the Albemarle region, which of late years has dwindled to an inconsiderable tonnage. . . ."

²¹ Diary of James H. Davis, April 16, 1857, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

of a valedictory, sad character, and some of a very jocular and very laughable sort,"²² including an irrespressible Irishman's rousing invocation: "May the Divil never catch a sailor dead nor alive."²³

The "Southern Star" was soon afterward floated but misfortune seemed to hang over her like a pall. On April 20 little James Worthington, playing on the deck with schoolmates, plunged headlong through a hatch and "fell striking his head foremost on the hard timbers, nothing breaking the force of his fall."²⁴ The little fellow suffered a concussion but recovered. Within a few weeks the steamboat company collapsed altogether. Years later, historian John Wheeler Moore recalled that "the North Carolina stockholders, fearful that their investments would end in loss, stopped their advancements. Poor Jesse Jackson got into a sea of troubles. Suits and demands thickened upon him."²⁵ Finally, in late October, the ship was ignominiously auctioned off at the sheriff's sale and the dream of steam connections with New York vanished.²⁶ Yet the mischief wreaked by the ship had scarcely commenced.

The "Southern Star" was purchased by Southall and Captain Thomas W. Badger, an Eastern Shore Virginian who had recently been in the public eye for his gallant role in the sinking of the steamship "Central America."²⁷ Late in the year Southall and Badger arranged to have their ship towed to Wilmington, Delaware, where, during the winter, her two 80-horsepower inclined engines were installed. Placed "athwartships" and geared to a screw propeller, the unit would give the ship a cruising speed of five knots an hour and a top speed of eight knots.²⁸

In the summer of 1858 the "Southern Star" made her maiden cruise to Norfolk, Virginia, for caulking, finishing touches on her upper works, and a check of her machinery. The editor of the Norfolk *Argus* thought that she was "well built . . . and does credit to all concerned in her construction,"²⁹ adding that Captain Badger intended to operate her between Norfolk and New York. Fate, however, decreed a new alteration in the destinies of the steamer.

²² *Daily Express*, April 25, 1857.

²³ *Daily Express*, April 25, 1857.

²⁴ *Daily Express*, May 2, 1857.

²⁵ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

²⁶ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

²⁷ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878. The "Central America" had gone down off Hatteras in a storm on September 12, 1857.

²⁸ Richard Rush and Others (eds.), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1921), Series II, I, 68, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*.

²⁹ *Southern Argus* (Norfolk, Virginia), August 20, 1858, hereinafter cited as *Southern Argus*.

In late 1855 the U.S.S. "Water Witch," surveying a channel on the coast of Paraguay, was fired on from shore batteries and the ship's helmsman was killed. Subsequently, President James Buchanan sought through diplomatic channels to secure redress and was at length reduced to outfitting a squadron of warships to impose by force what could not be obtained by negotiation. In September, 1858, it was announced that the "Southern Star" had been chartered by the government for the Paraguay expedition,³⁰ so hard-pressed was the Navy for seaworthy warships. She was hurriedly taken to the Norfolk



Commander John Newland Maffitt. From the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

Navy Yard and converted to a cruiser by the installation of twelve-and thirty-two-pounder cannon. Captain Alexander M. Pennock was placed in command and in early February, 1859, she sailed for Barbados, en route to the River Plate.³¹ Though suffering some damage to her machinery on the cruise south, the ship proved herself a good sailer and in the spring the government decided to purchase her outright for \$49,000.³² The "Southern Star" was renamed the

³⁰ *Southern Argus*, September 22, 1858.

³¹ *Southern Argus*, November 9, 1858.

³² *Southern Argus*, April 12, 1859.

“Crusader” and thus began the most illustrious phase of her career.

On June 11, 1859, the command of the “Crusader” fell to a brilliant veteran naval officer, Lieutenant John Newland Maffitt.³³ The choice was a particularly appropriate one since Maffitt had spent four years of his life in Fayetteville and regarded himself as a North Carolinian. For a few months Maffitt was assigned only to running errands: up the Mississippi in quest of suspected filibusters and down to Pensacola for a new deck. But late in the year the “Crusader” was dispatched to the West Indies to patrol for vessels employed in the illegal slave trade. It was an arduous, thankless assignment, for Maffitt was required to pursue and investigate practically every ship that appeared in the much-frequented West Indian routes. But there was a correspondent of the New York *Herald* on board in May, 1860, when the hour of glory struck for the “Crusader.”

Lieutenant Maffitt had run down and investigated 60 vessels in a week without finding anything suspicious—indeed he had discovered no slavers since taking up the station—when, on May 23, a flagless square-rigger was sighted slipping along the Old Bahama Channel.³⁴ The “Crusader” quickly overhauled the vessel and with a shot across the bow brought her up short. On boarding, Maffitt immediately realized from the stench that she was a slaveship. The surly French master refused to make any sort of identification, but his fetid holds yielded up some 450 of the human cargo he had brought from the African coast. Taking his prize in tow, Maffitt steamed into Key West and the excited *Herald* correspondent telegraphed to New York a dramatic account of the capture.³⁵ “From pulpit and editorial page came plaudits for the naval officer whose vigilance had rescued the unfortunate Negroes from bondage.”³⁶

What could Jesse Jackson and the Hertford County promoters of the “Southern Star” have thought of her being acclaimed for purposes alien to the region that conceived her? Yet, in the drift of the nation toward civil conflict, the “Crusader” would soon be put to uses still more repugnant to North Carolina’s interests. The cup of Jesse Jackson’s bitterness had not yet overflowed.

The secession of the southern states had already begun when, in January, 1861, Maffitt took his ship into Mobile to cash a check for prize money, “drawn, as was customary, on the Collector of the Port

³³ Emma Martin Maffitt, *The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 206.

³⁴ Edward Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy: The Story of the Florida and her Captain, John Newland Maffitt* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1959), 67, hereinafter cited as Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*. Maffitt’s parents were en route from Ireland when he was born at sea.

³⁵ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 67.

³⁶ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 67.

and payable to the officers and crew of the warship."³⁷ True to his North Carolina allegiance, Maffitt was still officially loyal to the union, but the appearance of his ship at Mobile generated a furore of excitement. Alabama, just six days short of secession, was in a bellicose frenzy that was not likely to be dissipated by the appearance of a federal warship. Amid rumors that she was "armed to the teeth" and about to seize the city, payment of the prize check was at first refused.³⁸ Maffitt received veiled suggestions that he should proffer his vessel to the Confederacy. When this was rebuffed there were rumors that boarding parties meant to storm the ship, a threat Maffitt met with the rejoinder that he would "shoot the first man that touches her."³⁹ The rebel ardor now cooled sufficiently to allow for the cashing of the prize check and Maffitt was glad to weigh anchor and leave Mobile Bay.

Lieutenant Maffitt's refusal to dishonor his uniform was no indication of his politics. In February he sailed the "Crusader" to New York and, anticipating North Carolina's secession, handed over his ship at Greenpoint Navy Yard and resigned his commission.⁴⁰ In the next four years he was to distinguish himself as one of the finest blockade-runners in the Confederate Navy.

The "Crusader" was taken over by Lieutenant T. Augustus Craven, long an intimate of Maffitt but firmly loyal to the Union. Craven was soon ordered to the Carolina coast and the "Crusader" spent much of the war patrolling the coast whose prosperity Jesse Jackson had meant her to enhance. In eastern North Carolina her progress was ruefully followed by those who built her. The Petersburg *Daily Express*, sourly noting in July that the "Crusader" had been dispatched from Fort Pickens in pursuit of the Confederate war steamer "Sumter," voiced the hope that the "Sumter" would meet the Yankee cruiser "and send her to Davey Jones' locker."⁴¹

While the "Crusader" joined in the ravishment of the Carolina seaboard, her Murfreesboro builders languished. "Jesse Jackson," according to John W. Moore, "never recovered from the blow received in his great disappointment."⁴² His eighteen-year-old son, Edgar Allan Jackson, was killed at Chancellorsville in May, 1863.⁴³ "Fresh

³⁷ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 67.

³⁸ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 34.

³⁹ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 34. Maffitt for a time commanded the Ram "Albemarle," built at Edward's Ferry on Roanoke River, within 30 miles of the launching site of the "Crusader" at Murfreesboro.

⁴⁰ Boykin, *Sea Devil of the Confederacy*, 38.

⁴¹ *Daily Express*, July 18, 1861. The paper added that the "Crusader" had "the temerity to come up to Petersburg three or four years ago, and was tightly stuck in the bottom of the Appomatox for several days."

⁴² *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

⁴³ *Letters to Edgar Allan Jackson*.

disasters," wrote Moore, "came upon him and after years of unavailing struggle, at the end of the . . . war he left our county to seek his bread in other quarters. He had not taken fortune at its flood and in disaster alas! found too few to do him reverence."⁴⁴

The "Crusader" ended an honorable service on June 12, 1865, at Washington Navy Yard when she was taken out of commission. Six weeks later she was sold at auction to T. P. Morgan for \$9,000.⁴⁵ Redocumented the "Kalorama," she reverted to commercial service but about 1875 was sold to a firm on the west coast and successfully undertook the long voyage around Cape Horn. On March 30, 1877, the "Kalorama" burned and sank near her home port, San Francisco.

The "Southern Star" had been doomed from her inception. Had she remained in North Carolina she would have been pressed into service by the Confederacy like all the other steamers in Albemarle waters and would doubtless have shared the common catastrophe of those vessels when Louis M. Goldsborough's fleet swept into the sounds early in 1862. The problems of coastal transportation for which she was designed were not resolved until this century with good rail and highway routes throughout eastern North Carolina. Her construction, however, was achieved by an initiative and enterprise rare enough to be notable in the climactic years of the ante-bellum South.

⁴⁴ *Albemarle Inquirer*, January 24, 1878.

⁴⁵ *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, I, 68.

BOOK REVIEWS

Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762. By Robert W. Ramsey. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Introduction, preface, illustrations, appendixes, index. Pp. xiii, 251. \$6.00.)

Carolina Cradle is a major contribution to the vast body of literature attempting to define and explain the concept of the American frontier. It is a study in depth of the settlement of one segment of the North Carolina frontier—that portion of eighteenth-century Rowan County that lay between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers.

According to the introduction, Professor Hugh T. Lefler considers *Carolina Cradle* to be “one of the really outstanding works on North Carolina.” This reviewer agrees completely with Professor Lefler’s evaluation. This reviewer also cannot praise too highly the extraordinarily thorough research done by the author. It must have been a herculean task to locate, assemble and evaluate the many documents needed to relate the story of this migration to the eighteenth-century Carolina frontier. The author has made extensive use of passenger lists, deeds and deed books, birth and death records, tax lists, will books, court records, manuscript collections, tavern license papers, and numerous other records located in state and local archives from New Jersey to North Carolina.

Professor Ramsey’s work should serve as a prototype for similar studies of other areas and other periods for years to come. He is correct in pleading for additional research in Colonial history to emphasize the “exploitation of the land, and the eighteenth-century evolution of family relationships, clan loyalties, and a cultural homogeneity which in countless cases spanned at least three generations, two continents, and a half-dozen American colonies!”

The University of North Carolina Press has printed the volume in an attractive and readable format. Historians, students, and genealogists should find the work both interesting and useful reading.

John Edmond Gonzales

University of Southern Mississippi

Jonathan Worth: A Biography of a Southern Unionist. By Richard L. Zuber. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. vii, 351. \$7.50.)

The life of Jonathan Worth of North Carolina was a study in paradox. He was of the religious faith most closely identified with abolitionism—the Quakers—yet he was a slaveowner. He sponsored the bill in the North Carolina legislature most frequently associated with Jacksonian Democracy, a bill for the creation of a public school system, yet he was a stanch Whig in politics. He was an outspoken opponent of nullification and of secession, which he denounced as madness and suicide, and he was a crypto-Unionist in the wartime administration of Governor Zebulon Vance, yet he rendered vital service to the Confederate government of the state.

Ironically, the climax of this lifelong Unionist's public career came in his capacity as governor of North Carolina during the early years of Reconstruction. In this position, Worth became an implacable opponent of the interference by the Freedmen's Bureau in what he considered to be state affairs exclusively. When North Carolina was placed under military rule by the Radicals, Worth obeyed the orders of the commanding generals, but he did so grudgingly, for he resented the entire program as an invasion of the state's constitutional rights. Believing that Negro suffrage would create an administration based "upon ignorance instead of intelligence," he opposed the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment and advised North Carolina voters to boycott the state elections held in 1868 under Radical auspices. Finally, Worth was removed from office by General E. R. S. Canby, and was replaced by the newly elected scalawag, William W. Holden.

Mr. Zuber's biography faithfully traces Worth's career through its stages as Quaker youth, kind husband and father, successful businessman, farsighted state legislator, effective wartime state treasurer, Reconstruction governor, declining years, and death. The intricacies and vicissitudes of Civil War finance are painstakingly analyzed in showing Worth's role as a successful state treasurer. The most interesting part of the book, however, is that dealing with Worth's career as Reconstruction governor. Here the strongest crosscurrents of his being clashed—his conflicting sentiments of Unionism and state rights—and his southern upbringing asserted itself as the prevailing influence of his life.

This is a sober book about a sober man. Written with careful research and commendable objectivity, it is a valuable addition to the literature of southern biography.

Charles P. Roland

Tulane University

Trinity and Duke, 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University. By Earl W. Porter. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 274. \$7.50.)

In treating the evolution of a particular institution—Trinity College and its metamorphosis into Duke University—Earl W. Porter illustrates the development of institutions generally. In the case of Trinity and Duke, the study describes a nexus of idealism on the part of a small group of educators and scholars, the practical yet farsighted financial support of a very few industrialists-philanthropists, and the pressing needs and desires for more education typical in the New South at the time. Central to the story is the Methodists' long-expressed and growing concern for education, an important factor in shaping the character of the institution.

Earl Porter, an alumnus of Duke and now assistant to the president of the University of Illinois, has obviously enjoyed his investigation of the evolution of Trinity down to the creation of Duke University, and his readers will share his pleasures, aided by his readable style, an excellent index, and a thorough bibliography that shows Porter's diligence as researcher and scholar.

Although the main body of the study commences in 1892 with the move of Trinity from a small village near High Point to Durham, Dr. Porter properly devotes an introductory chapter to a summary of Nora C. Chaffin's earlier account of Trinity's beginnings in 1839 down to 1892 and to John F. Crowell who as president had the vision of greatness for Trinity, infusing his small faculty with enthusiasm for excellence in education while recognizing Trinity's need to serve North Carolina and Methodism.

The main story of Trinity's maturation between 1892 and 1924 deals with the early poverty of the institution, the growing generosity of the Dukes, the attempt by Josephus Daniels and others to oust John Spencer Bassett from the chair of history, the effect of the 1917-1918 war on the college, and the postwar moves toward university status.

In the Bassett affair of 1903 lies this reviewer's only suggestion for major modification. The Bassett incident, important though it is, receives disproportionately large treatment—the longest chapter—compared to the whole story of Trinity's evolution.

Unobtrusively Dr. Porter deals with the prosaic facets and minutiae of academic evolution: administrative organization and function, enrollments, curriculum development, faculty growth and teaching loans, and professional salaries.

Most important, however, the study is an account of the growth of ideas about higher education. It might well be subtitled: *Aspirations to Greatness*. When Trinity became Duke University in 1924, John F. Crowell wrote across thirty years of physical separation from the institution: "Let no petty narrowness from any quarter ever lay its cold, freezing hand upon those who aspire to make a great and noble institution." Earl Porter's book shows how Trinity successfully fought off the forces that might have made her little and mediocre.

Wesley H. Wallace

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

Biographical Directory of the Senate of South Carolina, 1776-1964. By Emily Bellinger Reynolds and Joan Reynolds Faunt. (Columbia, South Carolina: Archives Department. 1964. Pp. ix, 358. \$5.50.)

The South Carolina Archives Department has published a useful book on the Palmetto State Senate. The authors, a mother and daughter, have joined their talents to produce a source book on all matters pertaining to the upper house of South Carolina's General Assembly. Mrs. Reynolds was an employee of the General Assembly for many years before she became State Librarian of her native state. Her daughter, Mrs. Faunt, has published works on South Carolina history.

Part of this material appeared previously as *The Senate of the State of South Carolina, 1776-1962*. The authors begin with a summary of the evolution of the Senate through seven constitutions. Changes in the boundaries of election districts are described and shown on three maps. A list of governors, lieutenant governors, presidents and presidents pro tempore of the Senate and clerks of the Senate is followed by the dates for each General Assembly since 1776, the names of members of the upper house, and the districts

each senator represented. At the end there is an alphabetical list of senators with their election districts and dates of service.

New material in this book consists of some 1,400 biographical sketches of all the persons who have ever served in South Carolina's Senate. Forty-one of these men served their state as governor. Many were congressmen. Two were cabinet members and two were presidential candidates. There are generals and farmers, nabobs and demagogues. There was only one woman, Mrs. Mary Gordon Ellis, who represented Jasper County, 1928-1932.

Some sketches are little masterpieces of compressed history. As an example, see the piece on Morgan Brown, native North Carolinian. Or look at the entry for William Dalrymple Johnson, another erstwhile Tarheel. This is the raw material of history, valuable to genealogists and historians alike. Palmetto senators have relatives in every southern state.

The authors took more than eight years to complete research for this book. They acknowledge aid from personnel in the South Carolin Archives Department, many libraries, senatorial research committees, and from descendants of their subjects. Their exhaustive research will facilitate future investigation into the history of South Carolina.

Daniel M. McFarland

Madison College

Mr. Crump of Memphis. By William D. Miller. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Illustrations, index. Pp. xii, 373. \$6.75.)

Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1874, Edward Hull Crump migrated in early manhood to nearby Memphis where in the course of time he became one of the most controversial figures in twentieth-century Tennessee history. First entering business and later politics, he won election to a number of municipal offices, including several terms as mayor, and in addition served two terms in Congress during the early years of the New Deal. Though ousted from the mayoralty in 1915, he retained power behind the scenes in city and county politics, through the organization he had built up while in office, to an extent that for many years he could be characterized as a leading example of that unique type of bossism that has flourished in American municipal government.

In preparing the first biography of "Boss" Crump, William D. Miller, formerly a professor at Memphis State University, had access to Crump's personal papers, unrestricted, he says, except by "the family's overriding expressed interest, stated at the outset, to see that the project was reasonably performed." Nevertheless, the author has dealt with his subject in a friendly manner. While making it clear that Crump was in supreme command of a smooth-running and sometimes repressive political machine for twenty or more years, Professor Miller denies or dismisses as slanders and unjust rumors many of the charges that were brought against Crump on numerous occasions. The emerging portrait, if not entirely uncritical, is at least sympathetic, placing the subject in the same category as the reform mayors Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo and Tom Johnson of Cleveland, in contrast to the rather widely accepted stereotype of Crump as a typical self-seeking city boss.

A number of minor errors could have been prevented by a better knowledge of Tennessee history and geography. Burgin E. Dossett later became but was not then "president of one of the state teachers' colleges" when he ran for governor in 1936 (p. 232); E. W. (Ned) Carmack (evidently confused with George Carmack) was a Murfreesboro, not "a Knoxville newspaper editor" (p. 317); and Shelbyville, the home of Governor Prentice Cooper, is by no means in "west Tennessee" (p. 250).

James W. Patton

The University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida. By Jean Ribaut. Introduction by David L. Dowd. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. lxvi, 139. \$8.50.)

The Exiles of Florida. By Joshua R. Giddings. Introduction by Arthur W. Thompson. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Illustrations, index. Pp. xxx, 333. \$8.50.)

The Purchase of Florida: Its History and Diplomacy. By Hubert Bruce Fuller. Introduction by Weymouth T. Jordan. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Maps, index. Pp. xxiii, 399. \$10.00.)

Guide to Florida. By "Rambler." Introduction by Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1964. Maps, illustrations, index. Pp. xix, 192. \$7.50.)

These books represent four additions to the Floridiana Facsimile and Reprint Series. Except for "Rambler's" *Guide* these volumes have been published to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Augustine.

The Ribaut book is well worth reprinting. It contains Ribaut's narrative of the Huguenot expedition to Florida in 1562, a photogelatine copy of the 1563 text, and an excellent introduction on Ribaut by the bibliophile Jeannette Thurber Connor. This new edition has an especially well-wrought introduction by Professor David Dowd. He has pointed out the many contributions of Mrs. Connor, updated the historiography of the French in Florida, and pursued the ethno-historical themes recurring in Ribaut's narrative. Typical of sixteenth-century chronicles about America, this short propaganda piece enthusiastically describes the "faire thynges," "good clymate," and "people gentill" to be found in the Southeast.

The Exiles of Florida is a different type of book but equally rewarding. Written by Ohio Congressman Joshua Giddings and first published in 1858, this work is at once an anti-slave polemic and a moving narrative of the plight of the Florida Negroes and Indians in the period 1783-1852. Giddings is an articulate abolitionist, who sees the American encroachments on Spanish Florida, 1783-1821, and the subsequent Seminole War as attempts by southern slave owners to recapture runaways who had found refuge among the Spaniards and Indians. His is obviously a simplistic interpretation of very complex events, but despite his abolitionist single-mindedness, the author is neither overly vitriolic nor maudlin. He writes sympathetically and compassionately about the Florida Indians and Negroes without falling prey to sticky sentimentalism.

A diplomatic history of the Florida purchase, 1783-1821, Fuller's book of 1906 is less valuable. Outdated and incomplete, it has neither style nor antiquarian appeal to recommend it. Fortunately an excellent introduction by Weymouth T. Jordan partially rescues the book by pointing out its limitations and putting it in its proper historiographical sequence.

"Rambler's" 1875 *Guide to Florida* is delightful. After outlining the history of Florida, the anonymous traveler gives short descriptions of Charleston, Savannah, Saint Augustine, and towns in north Florida. Tantalizing accounts of excursions on the St. John's, Indian, and

Oclawaha rivers should make one realize how much has been sacrificed to time and progress. The advertisements at the end of the work provide an interesting commentary on the social history of the Southeast in the late nineteenth century.

John J. TePaske

Ohio State University

Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy. By Paul H. Smith. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. c. 1964. Preface, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 199. \$5.00.)

The author, assistant professor of history at the University of Nevada, has performed in excellent fashion the task he set out to do. For a hundred years after the Revolution, little was written about the Loyalists in that conflict. British historians were not interested and American historians devoted most of their attention to the "patriots." Only about the turn of the last century did two competent scholars, Moses Coit Tyler and C. H. Van Tyne, tackle the subject. Since that time scores of researchers and writers have dealt with the topic, so that now there is a much clearer and fairer picture of the Loyalists than ever before.

One major part of the subject had yet needed to be treated—the part of the Loyalists in British military policy. This Professor Smith has now given.

"Perhaps the only accurate general statement that can be made," says the author, "is that the Loyalists never occupied a fixed, well-understood place in British strategy; plans to use them were in the main *ad hoc*. . . ." Throughout the war the British continued to overestimate the "imagined strength" of the Loyalists. Thus the British government "failed to send adequate re-enforcements to her commanders in America, who were told instead to make greater use of the Loyalists." In the last years of the war, in the South, the British kept right on counting on the Loyalists—kept looking for the aid that was not there—or at least never came. It was this stubborn and persistent searching for a chimera "that ultimately led the British to Yorktown."

The book is of especial interest to North Carolinians, since this state had more Loyalists than did any other. No gifted and able leader ever

sought to organize these Loyalists on a large scale and over a long period of time. Had such a leader appeared, the outcome might have been different.

Christopher Crittenden

State Department of Archives and History

Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating our Forebears 1700-1783. By Frank B. Sarles, Jr., and Charles E. Shedd. Edited by John Porter Bloom and Robert M. Utley. (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. [Volume VI, *The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*]. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvii, 286. \$2.75.)

The National Park Service and the National Trust for Historic Preservation have co-operatively produced a very fine "guidebook into history" as a result of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The first part presents a brief historical background of American history for the period from 1700 to 1783, clearly and interestingly covering the highlights of the gestation and birth of a new nation. Well illustrated with concise maps and photographs of historic sites and buildings relative to the text, this section presents an excellent background for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings which follows in the second part of the book.

The second and major part of the book is designed to present a summary of the historic sites and landmarks of value in a study of America's heritage, and through these sites to lead the reader into a more intimate knowledge of the "third dimension" of history, the dimension of place. Fifteen sites in the National Park System are discussed followed by a list of four nonfederally owned sites of importance. Sixty-two sites eligible for the registry of National Historic Landmarks are outlined, with accompanying photographs which help give the reader an increased awareness of place. Historic districts such as Old Deerfield, Massachusetts; Charleston, South Carolina; and Williamsburg, Virginia, are also summarized, followed by a survey of 96 other sites considered, that are presented according to state. The criteria for selection of the historic sites of exceptional value are presented, and provide the reader with the yardstick used in the survey.

In a work of this type where the authors are by necessity forced to rely upon the research of others to a considerable extent, errors are likely to occur; one such is the placing of the Battle of Alamance in

western North Carolina in the text, but correctly placing its position on the map. Other errors in the section on Brunswick Town, with which site the reviewer is most familiar, reflect not the authors' error but the unreliability of the source from which they obtained their information on the Brunswick Town site. The "Stamp Act Defiance" at Brunswick Town occurred in November, 1765 (which was not mentioned), and was followed by another incident in February, 1766, which was listed as the primary incident. The church at Brunswick is said to have been Episcopal, which it never was, and was said to have been constructed from 1740 to 1765, when actually the records clearly indicate it was begun in 1754 and completed in 1768. The 1740 to 1765 date comes from an unreliable source of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The errors in the half page on Brunswick Town do not, it is hoped, reflect the proportion of errors throughout the book, but only the unreliability of the source for this particular site.

Colonials and Patriots is a fine survey of the historic places commemorating our forebears, and will no doubt be carried by many Americans as a guidebook into history as they visit the sites.

Stanley South

State Department of Archives and History

George Washington: The Virginia Period, 1732-1775. By Bernhard Knollenberg. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1964. Appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. x, 238. \$4.50.)

This is a simple chronological account of George Washington from childhood until he was chosen to serve as Commander in Chief of the Continental forces in 1775. It is not a debunking book of the style that was common fifty years ago, yet it destroys whatever was left of the image of young Washington, honest and truthful, who led the Virginia militia with selfless devotion while frequently being frustrated by incompetent and dilatory British officials.

Knollenberg's Washington is a man eager for commissions, power, fame, and money, and willing to malign his American rivals and British superiors whenever it served his own purposes to do so. The author finds that the names Governor Dinwiddie, General Forbes, and others have been unfairly besmirched by Washington's adverse and

“untrue” comments. He accuses Washington of cheating his comrades in arms by obtaining for himself “the ‘cream’ of the land” out of the tract set aside by Dinwiddie’s proclamation of 1754.

The evidence presented is insufficient to justify full credence to these caustic criticisms of Washington. For instance he accuses Washington of a deliberate misstatement of fact when claiming that he had paid the “greater part” of the costs of obtaining the lands of the 1754 grant and had not been reimbursed. The record shows, says Knollenberg, “total direct contributions,” of £180.6 of which Washington’s share was but £26.5 plus, possibly, £12 or £15 for postage. The full story, if it could be found, might well reveal that Washington loaned to his fellow officers the major portion of funds listed as paid by them—and they may not have repaid him. It is difficult to believe that the character of Washington—truly magnificent in later years—could have been built upon beginnings as shabby as Knollenberg describes.

The evidence of scholarly research is impressive. The 115 pages of textual material are supported by 57 pages of footnotes and 28 pages of index. Washington truly stands forth as a man of flesh and bones, yet one of grasping ambitions and groveling methods. The research was weakest at the points where Washington’s character is most pointedly attacked.

Gilbert L. Lycan

Stetson University

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume I. Edited by William Bell Clark. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, for the Naval History Division, United States Navy Department [projected 15 volumes, 1964 —]. Foreword, introduction, preface, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xliii, 1,451. \$9.00.)

This massive tome is the first of at least fifteen projected volumes covering the various aspects of sea power in the American Revolution. Volume I is the result of seven years of research and collection of material by the Division of Naval History, under the directorship of Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, who, incidentally, is a native of Wilkes County. An outstanding editorial job has been done by William Bell Clark, also a North Carolinian, a resident of Brevard. Clark, an industrialist turned historian, has been collecting and writing the naval history of the Revolution for more than a half a century, and his selection for this formidable task was obviously a wise one.

To quote Admiral Eller, "The meaning of the sea to the United States in the War for Independence has been comprehended by few Americans." This observation has been borne out by the fact that historians, with few exceptions, have tended to cover in some detail the exploits of such naval heroes as John Paul Jones to the exclusion of the broader impact of the influence of sea power upon the outcome of the struggle for independence.

The paucity of available source materials has been responsible to a considerable degree for the failure of historians adequately to cover the importance of sea power during the Revolution. With the completion of this long needed project by the Division of Naval History, however, researchers will have available in the fifteen-volume series a major portion of the documentary evidence on the subject to be found on both sides of the Atlantic.

Archival institutions, historical societies, libraries, and private collections in the United States, Canada, and Europe have yielded a rich and voluminous collection of materials for this project. These include public and institutional records, diaries, personal letters, newspapers, ships' logs, and a wide variety of other documents of pertinence and interest. Coming as they do from both sides of the Atlantic, the documents portray events not only as seen through American eyes but also from the point of view of England and other European nations as well.

An interesting arrangement of the documents has been devised. They are arranged both chronologically and geographically. Chronologically the arrangement is as follows:

American Theater: December 1, 1774-May 20, 1775

European Theater: December 6, 1774-June 26, 1775

American Theater: May 21, 1775-September 2, 1775

European Theater: June 29, 1775-August 9, 1775

Within the American Theater the geographical sequence is from north to south: Canada, Nova Scotia, Maine, New Hampshire, and so on to the West Indies. In Europe the usual sequence is, for example, Ireland, Scotland, England, Scandinavia, and intervening nations across the continent to Portugal.

There is a foreword by the late President Kennedy, an introduction by Admiral Eller, and a preface by Mr. Clark. More than 150 illustrations add to the value and attractiveness of the book. Finally, the Director of Naval History is still searching for material and will wel-

come the assistance of readers who may possess, or have knowledge of, any documentary or iconographic material which might conceivably be included in subsequent volumes of the series.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783. Translated and edited by Marvin L. Brown, Jr., with the assistance of Marta Huth (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xlvii, 222. \$6.00.)

The journal of Mrs. General von Riedesel, as the Baroness liked to be called, is one of the most charming accounts of the American Revolution. A story such as this chronicle of the love and devotion with which she and her children followed her husband, the commander of the Brunswick troops in the service of George III, to a strange continent and there into battle at Saratoga and subsequently into captivity might be more readily expected in a novel. Her observations on her journey afford useful comparisons of dress, eating habits, and other social customs of the several countries through which she traveled. Of political comment there is a dearth, stark contrast to the letters of Abigail Adams, who gave similar wifely support and encouragement to a leader of the other side. Mrs. "General" was a German aristocrat, to whom the issues of the war she helped to wage were another world. As a European woman and the wife of a mercenary, her duty was to assist her husband in whatever task he undertook.

First published in German in 1800, the Baroness' journal and letters have been best known in English through the translation of William L. Stone in 1867. In the 1930's Mrs. Marta Huth obtained access to the original manuscripts, which were then in the possession of descendants in Germany but since have disappeared in the war. Carefully comparing them with the 1800 edition, Mrs. Huth copied down all discrepancies and omissions. Though in the case of the journal these were minor, there were major deletions in the published letters and 27 that were left out entirely. Collating these notes with the materials previously printed, Professor Brown has prepared a completely new translation of the whole, the first complete edition of the Baroness' papers in any language.

The editorial comments, for which Professor Brown gives much credit to the pioneering work by Stone, are spare though adequate. The introduction furnishes the necessary biographical information but dwells too long on the story that the journal is about to tell with correspondingly less attention to matters it does not touch upon. There is no explanation, for example, why the British had to seek German aid. Moreover, the erroneous dating of the Waldeck Treaty as April, 1775 instead of 1776, and the emphasis placed upon it, give a misleading impression of the development of British policy during the first year of war. In general, however, the work well satisfies the need for a corrected, modern translation of this intriguing journal.

John E. Selby

Colonial Williamsburg

Guide to the Military Posts of the United States 1789-1895. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1964. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. Pp. xiii, 178. \$7.50.)

In June, 1784, Congress resolved that

Standing armies in time of peace are inconsistent with the principles of Republican Governments, dangerous to the liberties of a free people, and generally converted into destructive engines for establishing despotism. . . . the commanding officer is hereby directed to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States except twenty-five privates to guard stores at Fort Pitt and fifty-five to guard stores at West Point. . . .

Five years earlier the American flag had been hoisted at West Point, thus making it today the oldest American military post at which the flag, once raised, has never been lowered. Of particular interest to Tarheels is the further fact that West Point was permanently acquired by the United States from its owner, Stephen Moore of Caswell County, by Act of Congress approved July 5, 1790.

The foregoing information is, regrettably, not to be found in Father Prucha's book, although Fort Pitt is described as one of "only six establishments on the western frontier that could in any sense be considered military posts" when President George Washington assumed office in 1789. By this statement, the author, associate professor of history at Marquette University and writer of several works dealing with the westward expansion of the United States, provides a clue to the real nature of the present volume. Despite its all-encompassing and rather

misleading title, the book is a brief reference manual concerned almost exclusively with some 467 army installations associated with the extension of this country's land frontiers. This figure is less than one-tenth the number of posts, camps, and stations listed in the records of the Department of the Army for the period covered by the book.

The work comprises five parts: a lengthy introduction treats the subject of the country's "military frontier"; an alphabetical catalog of the posts involved in United States territorial expansion; a series of excellent maps showing the locations of these posts; a series of appendixes; and, finally, a select bibliography.

Those who consult this book may be confused, not only by its inaccurate title, but by the ephemeral nature of much of its subject matter. This country's military installations during the period under study were often subject to a bewildering number of deactivations, reactivations, relocations, and name changes. While Father Prucha's work affords some help in clarifying these developments, this help is often inadequate. For example, Fort Bragg, California, which was active from 1857 to 1864 is included in the catalog, but no mention is made of the present-day installation of the same name in North Carolina because the latter post was established after the closing date of the study. In like fashion, Fort Custer, Montana, established in 1877 (and shown as still active, which seems doubtful) is included whereas Fort Custer, Michigan, constructed during World War I, is ignored.

Specialists in the study of the westward movement of the American people following the Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century will find this book useful.

John D. F. Phillips

Raleigh

Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians. By Alfred A. Cave. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1964. University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, No. 22. Pp. 88. \$2.00, paper.)

In recent years Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Harry Stevens, and John W. Ward have written short essays on Jacksonian historiography. Now Alfred A. Cave, in a revision of his 1961 doctoral dissertation at the University of Florida, has produced a fuller and more comprehensive guide to the historical literature dealing with the Jacksonian movement. This is the third study dealing with Jacksonian politics to be published in the *University of Florida Monographs* series, originated

in 1959. The other two were Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida* (1959), and Arthur W. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier* (1961).

The scope of this study is regrettably more limited than that of Cave's original dissertation, which also included discussion of the Jacksonian movement as seen by the Whigs and Democrats of Jackson's own day. Cave noted in his earlier study that "many of the major interpretations of the meaning and significance of the Jacksonian political struggles were first advanced, in highly incomplete and greatly exaggerated form, by the historical actors themselves and may be found in the sources of the period."

Cave, who does not espouse any particular interpretation of the Jacksonian era, emphasizes that "a pronounced degree of 'presentism' . . . has always characterized the historiography of Jacksonian Democracy." While maintaining that recent scholars have "evinced a higher degree of sophistication in handling source materials and a greater degree of detachment" than earlier historians, he does not believe that "the passage of time will totally efface the partisan conflict of Whig versus Jacksonian." "By careful effort," he says, "the historian may minimize the distortions of the past produced by his own partisanship and by the frame of reference of the present; as a competent scholar he should struggle to do so. It is doubtful, however, that he will completely succeed."

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics. By Charles P. Roland. (Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1964. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 384. \$6.50.)

Proponents of Albert Sidney Johnston will find no laudatory account of their hero in Professor Roland's study, but they will discover a full-length, sympathetic biography. More than two-thirds of the book describes the career of Johnston from his birth in Kentucky until his resignation as commander of the Pacific Department of the United States Army. His work as a Confederate general is told in four chapters, two of them relating to the loss of important river forts and the others detailing the Shiloh campaign.

In youth and early manhood, Johnston relied on his half brother, Josiah Stoddard Johnston, for advice and help. From him he received

an appointment to the United States Military Academy where he associated with his juniors—Jefferson Davis, Joseph E. Johnston, and Robert E. Lee—whom he later joined in Confederate service. But Albert Sidney turned to Josiah Stoddard for direction and approbation in questions of marriage, service on the frontier against the Indians, and resignation from the army. After the sudden death of his mentor and the loss of his first wife, the foot-loose Johnston found haven and responsible positions in Texas. He brought his second wife, began a second family, and put down roots in the Lone Star State. The annexation of Texas and the Mexican War gave him the opportunity to satisfy a yearning to smite the Mexicans for their “perfidy and brutality toward Texas.” As commander of the Texas volunteers he won fame at Monterrey. After the war, neither his land speculation nor his plantation operation brought him financial rewards.

The salary as paymaster for a part of the Department of Texas enticed Johnston back into federal service. Success in this arduous task led to his most important assignment as a United States officer: command of the forces sent to subdue the Mormons. While he chafed because of delays and wanted to test the Mormons in battle, he maintained a disciplined soldiery and reluctantly accepted compromise without bloodshed. He was transferred from Utah to the Pacific, and later resigned his commission as brevet brigadier general and traveled eastward to seek assignment in the southern army. On arriving at Richmond in September, 1861, Davis made Johnston the ranking field general of the Confederacy and assigned him command of most of the trans-Appalachian region.

Nothing in his previous military experience had prepared Johnston for the task ahead. In Professor Roland’s opinion, Johnston “made the most grievous error of military judgment in his career” by hesitating between the decision to defend or abandon Fort Donelson. Although a want of boldness and ingenuity lost this and other river forts, the author claims that the plan, his will to fight, and the courage he demonstrated in the Shiloh campaign should rank Johnston high among Confederate commanders.

There are deficiencies in this biography. Neither the causes of the “Mormon War” nor the settlement of it are adequately explained. On the whole, however, this biography is a well-researched and well-written addition to Civil War literature.

Rembert W. Patrick

University of Florida

Infernal Machines: The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare. By Milton F. Perry. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 231. \$5.95.)

On December 12, 1862, while cruising up the muddy Yazoo River, the Federal gunboat "Cairo" struck two floating mines and sank in a matter of minutes. On May 12, 1865, another of the Confederates' "torpedoes" bumped against the hull of the "R. B. Hamilton" and sent that Federal transport to the bottom of Mobile Bay.

These were but the first and last victims of Confederate devices employed against Union warships patrolling the rivers and harbors of the South. These "infernal machines" included a variety of torpedoes (mines), such torpedo boats as the "David," and H. L. Hunley's famous submarine. All told, these novel instruments of destruction sank more Federal vessels than did the entire Confederate navy. Numbered among the "kills" were the 32-gun frigate "New Ironsides" and the 1,034-ton monitor "Tecumseh."

In this narrative history Milton Perry presents the first comprehensive story of Confederate countermeasures against the ever-pressing Federal fleets. All of the necessary ingredients in the story are here—the inventors, the many early failures, the countless experiments, the few but spectacular successes. The scenes of action shift from Norfolk, Virginia, to Galveston, Texas, and from the tributaries of the Mississippi to the inland waters of the Roanoke. The subject matter and the author's fresh style together make this a volume of fascinating reading, in spite of an occasional paragraph of overly technical data.

A slight imbalance of material is the book's only weakness. Too much discussion is given to weapons that were pathetic failures. Conversely, Farragut's immortal damning of the torpedoes in Mobile Bay receives only cursory attention; and the sinking at Plymouth of the Confederate ram "Albemarle"—which the author himself terms "the most celebrated torpedoing of the war"—gets but a passing reference. The book's subtitle clearly defines it as a work on Confederate weapons; yet no treatment of the subject of torpedoes can justifiably skim over these most famous episodes.

This is a relatively small flaw in an otherwise commendable study. For the pleasure-reader, this volume will have popular appeal. For the historian—once he is accustomed to the footnotes piled together at the back, *Infernal Machines* is a new reference guide to southern ingenuity in the 1860's.

James I. Robertson, Jr.

United States Civil War Centennial Commission

The American Civil War: An English View. By Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley. Edited by James A. Rawley. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia. 1964. Introduction, notes, index. Pp. xxxvii, 230. \$5.00.)

This book is a compilation of the writings on the American Civil War by the noted British soldier, Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley. In 1862 Wolseley was a lieutenant colonel in the British army stationed in Canada. Here he followed with great interest the massive struggle going on to the south of him. Soon after the Antietam campaign commenced, he managed to have himself smuggled into the Confederacy, where he inspected the city of Richmond and visited Lee and Jackson in the field. Out of this experience came his only piece of contemporary writing, "A Months Visit to the Confederate Headquarters." Later, however, Wolseley vividly recalled his interview with Lee and wrote an extremely laudatory sketch of the General which Douglas S. Freeman called a "classic of Confederate literature." In the 1880's at the request of the editor of the *North American Review* he also wrote a series of seven articles on the newly published *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.

As a professional soldier, Wolseley was "drawn first and foremost to the strategy and tactics employed by the combatants." Jackson's Valley campaign excited his highest admiration. Wolseley's "reflections upon strategic and tactical noteworthiness of the American Civil War are perhaps his most consequential contribution. At the same time he . . . discerned valuable lessons in the example of noble lives. To Wolseley the figure of R. E. Lee transcended all others on the American scene; he found him the greatest soldier of the age. . . ."

The third great lesson Wolseley read in the war was the need of the United States and England to have "a well-organized standing army in the highest state of efficiency and composed of thoroughly trained and full-grown men." Finally, he "found instruction in the Civil-military relationships that existed on both sides in the war."

Professor Rawley's lengthy introduction is excellent. It contains not only a sketch of Wolseley's military career but also a penetrating and thorough analysis of his writings.

John G. Barrett

Virginia Military Institute

The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Bibliographical note, index. Pp. ix, 229. \$4.95.)

This well organized monograph, without footnotes except when recent historical works are quoted but with ample discussion of bibliographical materials following the conclusion of the narrative, is a revision of the lectures given by the author at the University of London in 1960.

The book begins with an analysis of the factors which led many authors to portray the Reconstruction period in an unfavorable vein. There follows a discussion of Lincoln, with emphasis on his conservative background, and of Johnson as a political composite of various ideas which would determine his attitude as president. The forces that resulted in the implementation of Radical reconstruction are examined at some length and those that were responsible for its undoing receive due treatment.

The author challenges what he calls "The Tragic Legend of Reconstruction" and, as a revisionist, goes a long way in the other direction. Instead of viewing as unwise and precipitate the great civil and political revolution fashioned for the South by force within two years after the slaves were freed, he is sympathetic to that revolution, though granting some shortcomings. His view is defended on the ground that the southern states would not give equal civil and political rights to the Negro; that Johnson was co-operating with the political leaders of the old South (for whom Professor Stampp seems to have a special dislike) in withholding these rights and that the only way they could be attained was by federal compulsion. The author holds that various motives, including political and economic ones, were behind the Radical program, but emphasizes the moral one. He grants that the idealism which he feels was so pronounced in the 1860's had largely disappeared ten years later but concludes that Congressional reconstruction was quite worthwhile, since its creations, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, were, after the lapse of many years, vital in connection with the struggle for Negro rights.

There are conspicuous gaps in the monograph. The "Black Codes" are unequivocally condemned as purposely designed to oppress the Negro, but no explanation is given of the labor conditions, produced in part by activities of the Freedmen's Bureau, which led to codes regulating contracts and vagrancy. Hostility to Negro suffrage in the North, limitations upon white suffrage in the South and the activities

of Union Leagues in the South have significance in the Reconstruction controversy far out of proportion to the scant attention paid them.

Henry H. Simms

The Ohio State University

A Century of Dishonor: The Early Crusade for Indian Reform. By Helen Hunt Jackson. Edited by Andrew F. Rolle. (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row. 1965. Harper Torchbooks. Pp. xxii, 342. \$1.95.)

"The question of the honorableness of the United States' dealings with the Indians," wrote Helen Hunt Jackson, "turns largely on a much disputed and little understood point. What was the nature of the Indians' right to the country in which they were living when the continent of North America was discovered?"

In her conclusion, she wrote, "Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and philanthropy alike must work in vain, and even Christianity can reap but small harvest."

Between these paragraphs Helen Hunt Jackson poured forth more than 300 pages of impassioned words, a vivid catalog of wrongs done to a much-abused minority group. The tribes covered were the Delawares, Cheyennes, Nez Percés, Sioux, Poncas, Winnebagoes, and Cherokees. A childhood friend of Emily Dickinson, she did not turn to writing until after the loss of her husband, Major Edward B. Hunt, and two sons. In 1865, at the age of thirty-five, she began writing books and articles under various pseudonyms. Although she wrote more than 30 books, only two of them are remembered today: the present study and *Ramona*.

In 1879, after her marriage to William Sharpless Jackson, she attended a lecture in which the Ponca Chief Standing Bear recounted the sufferings of the Plains tribes. Though her first husband had lost his life during the Civil War, she had never been aroused over the

fate of the freedmen. The Indians were a more suitable subject for a romantic, and she embraced their cause with tremendous enthusiasm, eloquence, and righteous indignation.

There is no doubt that American treatment of the Indians has been callous, brutal, and characterized more by indifference than by a sense of justice. It has also appeared, at least from a distance, that the makers of Indian policy were rogues and scoundrels. Recent research, such as that of Father Prucha, has raised doubts as to the basic villainy of nineteenth-century Congressmen, and has made it necessary to consider the possibility that they may have been trying to treat the Indians by prevailing standards of justice. Whatever their motives, for the Indians the results were calamitous.

Donald E. Worcester

Texas Christian University

Atlantic Hurricanes. By Gordon E. Dunn and Banner I. Miller. (Louisiana: State University Press. Revised edition. 1964. Illustrations, tables, figures, index. Pp. v, 377. \$7.50.)

Authors Dunn and Miller are particularly qualified by background and occupation to write an all-encompassing text on hurricanes. Dunn is Chief Meteorologist and Miller Research Meteorologist of the National Hurricane Center at Miami. Their aim, "the difficult task of explaining the complicated facets of the hurricane for the layman while giving a reasonably technical and scientific, although nonmathematical, description of their physical processes for the student," is accomplished in the later intent, but this lay reader admits to difficulty in comprehending the technical aspects. Many figures, charts, and tables give detailed explanation and illustration of facts and theories outlined. The average reader, however, will probably derive more information from general definitions of scientific terms, eye witness accounts, and historical chronology.

The importance of classifying tropical storms is stressed and further developed in a chapter concerning their characteristics. Hurricane formation is explained in an enumeration of five essential steps to development and seven principal conditions favorable to culmination. In writing of the establishment of a hurricane warning system, the history of forecasting is traced from Christopher Columbus' entry in his logbook to the invention of wireless and radio with consequent

means of transmitting observational data from oceanic and tropical areas. Elaborating on the techniques of forecasting, the authors conclude that few are completely objective and prediction is still more art than skill.

"Nature on the loose," in all its destructive force, is graphically illustrated by examples of wind and water damage in three of the most destructive storms in American history—the Charleston storm of 1893, the Galveston tidal wave of 1900, and the Florida Keys hurricane of 1935. More recent hurricanes, such as Hazel in 1954 and Helene in 1958, are described in detail.

Recent advances include collection and recording of "million bits" of data, giving a fairly complete description of the structure of a mature hurricane, but perhaps the most spectacular development in meteorology is the use of artificial earth satellites in photographing cloud systems.

Appendixes include a glossary of meteorological terms, 31 tables listing hurricanes affecting the United States, and a chronological account of hurricanes of the twentieth century. A list of references gives titles to writings of individuals mentioned in the text. Subject and name indexes are very brief.

Beth G. Crabtree

State Department of Archives and History

Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916. By Arthur S. Link (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 386. \$8.00.)

This is Professor Link's fourth volume in his monumental biography of Woodrow Wilson; he continues the sympathetic treatment of Wilson that has characterized his previous volumes. As heretofore he gives proof of having done meticulous research, not only in American archives but also in those of Great Britain, France, and Germany. As always, he has made an excellent selection of facts to support his thesis and to reveal the perplexing personality of his subject. This volume is devoted almost wholly to foreign affairs; Wilsonian diplomacy from 1915 to mid-1916 is scrutinized.

In 1915 Wilson decided to initiate a preparedness program which threw consternation into the ranks of both the Bryan pacifists and the Progressives. With Bryan speaking over the country and with a stubborn opposition appearing in Congress, Wilson went to the coun-

try in a series of around the circle speeches. The people, the President learned, depended on him to keep the nation out of the European war.

Early in 1916 President Wilson sent his trusted friend Colonel Edward M. House to Europe to confer with ranking officials of England, Germany, and France about peace and the possibility of the United States acting as mediator. House found selfishness, cant, stubbornness, and incompetent statesmanship generally; his efforts were actually opposed by Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador to England. Certainly, House was incorrect when, upon returning to the United States, he informed the President that his plan for American mediation was immediately acceptable.

Wilson and Secretary Lansing sought to have the Allies disarm merchant vessels in the belief that the German submarines would not sink an unarmed ship. England refused because she said Germany would then sink all ships. The President hoped that unarmed ships could pave the way for mediation under the House-Grey Memorandum. Such, however, was not to be the case.

The President was at loggerheads with Congressional leaders over the McLemore and the Gore Resolutions advising Americans to stay off belligerent ships, armed and traveling on the high seas. By the use of German sources Professor Link was able to give an objective analysis of these issues. This reviewer, however, believes there are too many long quotations from too many documents. The author could have written a more effective narrative had he paraphrased much of the documentary material quoted.

In several German submarine crises Wilson was handicapped in dealing effectively with the German government by the ineffectiveness of the ambassadors in Berlin, by the attitude of the German ambassador in Washington who believed that Wilson was only bent on re-election in 1916, and by the strong pro-English proclivities of Secretary Lansing. Although, as Link shows clearly, Wilson's statesmanship was tested severely, he won ultimately. In May, 1916, Germany agreed to withhold relentless submarine warfare. Lauded by the American press for his powerful pen Wilson became, for the first time, a principal actor in the European tragedy.

As the European plot thickened, America careened toward war with Mexico. Despite Villa's raids on American soil, and the clamor for war with Mexico, Wilson said stubbornly: "There won't be any war with Mexico if I can prevent it." Sending Pershing into Mexico in search of the elusive Villa, the President announced that America

would not infringe on Mexico's sovereignty, nor protect American property in Mexico. In his effort to capture and punish Villa, Wilson failed. When Carranza opposed Pershing's punitive expeditions and almost caused war, Wilson went before Congress and explained the crisis.

This well written book ends with a domestic note in which the author deals with Wilson's decision to make the Democratic party more liberal than formerly and with the legislative program which he prevailed upon Congress to enact. Confusions were replaced with certitudes in both domestic and foreign policies and Wilson gave evidence that future crises would be met with courage and resolve.

George Osborn

University of Florida

F.D.R. and the South. By Frank Freidel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 102. \$3.25.)

This book, consisting of the three Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures delivered at Louisiana State University in 1964, is the result of Professor Freidel's mature scholarship on Franklin Delano Roosevelt, directed toward the President's special relationship to the South during the days of the New Deal. In the first essay Roosevelt, the gentleman farmer, is depicted at Warm Springs discussing the problems of the local farmers, and occasionally suggesting experiments to his neighbors or trying them himself. Southern poverty etched itself sharply on his mind and influenced later decisions. The author constantly refers to Roosevelt as a progressive, yet also maintains that "First, last, and always he was a thoroughgoing Jeffersonian Democrat" who wished to overcome the urban-rural schism in the Democratic party, concepts which seem somewhat contradictory.

In the second lecture, entitled "The New Deal versus Bourbonism," Professor Freidel describes the initial support of the new President by the "Bourbon" members of Congress and points out their gradual cooling off as the status quo was threatened through changing wage scales, slum clearance projects, and electric power programs. The interplay between F.D.R. and Carter Glass, B. Patton Harrison, Joseph T. Robinson, and Josiah W. Bailey is neatly handled. However, the brief mention of Bourbon fear of government spending is inadequate. The focus should be sharpened on the conflict between the men who

wanted to save money and the voters who for the first time had more cash money than they had seen for years.

The final lecture considers the civil rights dilemma faced by the President. The newly-won northern urban Negro vote might spell the difference between victory and defeat, yet the South could not be disregarded. The chief battleground was the proposed anti-lynching law, which the President characteristically solved by applying pragmatism. The author concludes that Roosevelt "somehow pursued a policy not entirely repugnant to either side and did so with considerable dignity and decency." In the reviewer's opinion, however, this lecture is a concession to concern with present civil rights problems rather than a correct interpretation of the situation at the time. The author seems to attribute Bourbon opposition to federal spending to the fear of upsetting the racial status quo, ignoring the role played by southern religious orthodoxy based on nineteenth-century Scottish Realism.

Professor Freidel reveals a strong bias in favor of F.D.R. and overly credits him with deliberate, long-range plans to reconstruct the South into a progressive image. While no especially new interpretations are presented, this book is a pleasant hour's reading summarizing one aspect of the New Deal.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1949. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives. 1964. Appendixes, index. Pp. xxxiii, 671. \$6.75.)

This fifth volume of the public papers of President Harry S. Truman provides a convenient documentary record of his administration for the year 1949. The basic text of 274 items includes a wide variety of materials arranged chronologically on double-columned pages. The skillful editorial hand of Warren R. Reid which is especially evident in the explanatory notes, excellent index, and informative appendixes substantially enhances the value and accessibility of these documents.

A majority of the items in this volume deal with the fate of the Fair Deal during Truman's first year as president "in his own right." To a large extent, they tell a story of frustration and disappointment.

Neither the President's extraordinary triumph at the polls in 1948 nor the demise of the Eightieth ("do-nothing") Congress insured success for his domestic program. The presence of a hostile coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats in Congress, the pressure of foreign affairs, and the mounting hysteria over Communism frustrated much of the social legislation envisioned by the Fair Deal in 1949. Although Congress acted favorably upon Truman's request for a new housing law and an increased minimum wage, it rejected such measures as federal-aid-to-education, national health insurance, Brannan's plan for agriculture, and additional river-valley projects. On the other hand, the success of Point Four, NATO, the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, and other steps designed to "contain" Communism suggests that the President's foreign policy fared better than his domestic program.

The Truman style is apparent in virtually every item in this volume, whether it is a comment on General Harry Vaughan's "deep freeze," a message to Congress, or a speech to the National Council of Negro Women. The terse phrase, disarming candor, and amiable cockiness so characteristic of the man are best displayed in the verbatim transcripts of the presidential news conferences. These transcripts not only reveal much about the President's personality, but also provide a wealth of information about his reactions to national and international developments and his relations with newsmen. They record, for example, his bitter disappointment over the failure of Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and his contempt for the irresponsible generators of the "Red hysteria."

North Carolinians will find this volume of particular interest because of the numerous references to Tarheels associated in various capacities with the Fair Deal. Among the names mentioned most frequently are those of Kenneth Royall, Gordon Gray, Frank Graham, and Jonathan Daniels.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

The University of Georgia

American State Archives. By Ernst Posner. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 397. Appendixes, index. \$7.50.)

When Ernst Posner came to the United States in 1939 and introduced himself as a Prussian archivist, American archivists felt as might the native plumber of a central African palace, who had learned his craft from books, when he met his first colleague from the United

States. Indeed, Dr. Posner was the first true professional in the United States, and his great influence through his teaching at the American University and his services in the Society of American Archivists has really shaped the development of the craft in this country. He was, therefore, the ideal choice to make this survey of the American State Archives, and to draw conclusions and make recommendations with a perspective which no other man in this generation has.

Dr. Posner begins with a history of the American State Archives which describes the numerous false starts and blind alleys of experience, and explains the incredible diversity of the present situation. There is much that is new in this section, and much to ponder. For example, the first building erected specifically for archives purposes (in 1906) in the United States was in Hawaii, the fiftieth state. And there are sad stories, such as that of Iowa, which was the leader among the states in 1938, but is now among the most backward.

The greater part of the book is given over to a survey, state by state, describing the background, organization, and function of each archive, with evaluations and suggestions. The incredible diversity of the American scene suggested by the difference in the organic laws is pointed up by records of public use of the different archives; many of the states have no idea of furnishing services which other states regard as reasons for their being. Every historian proposing to work in state archives will find areas in which the services he seeks are simply not available.

Dr. Posner's summary of findings is an utterly convincing distillation of his sections on the 50 states. If it errs in any way it is perhaps because as a former Prussian, he is careful not to be dogmatic. In some instances his words echo those of state archivists who are too optimistic about the organization for which they are responsible. The Summary would have been less encouraging had it been written by historians who have done research in the state archives. For a European-trained archivist, Dr. Posner is very charitable toward the popular and historical functions which have been frequently married to state archives. Indeed, his stress on selling archival services to the public is questionable. He notes with approbation cases in which master's and doctoral candidates have been induced to do their research in state archives without considering the burden this kind of teaching service places on those offices. One doctoral candidate may call for more service than a dozen mature scholars, and a half dozen arriving at once will, by their needs, bring to a halt the regular work of any state archive staff.

The last section of Dr. Posner's book deals with standards for state archival agencies; would that it could be required reading for every state official whose office creates records. Here again, however, Dr. Posner is too gentle and too optimistic. Those who have battered their heads against the stupidities of state governments in efforts to obtain modern archival legislation will smile wistfully at his standards. He does, as in the case of Louisiana, name names when pointing out the results of appointing incompetent political favorites to offices requiring archival training, but he avoids the horror stories, such as that of the state in which after long effort, the office of Records Manager was created, only to be filled by the governor with his chauffeur's brother, who was disappointed to find that the records in question were not the black discs one places on phonographs.

Dr. Posner could have hit much harder in pointing out that archives and records management, an essential public service, is a Cinderella, put off with a pittance while appropriations are lavished on other services. One state which has a totally inadequate archival staff of 11, appointed 100 "inspectors" to watch three dredges work. One state pays doorkeepers and messengers \$3,000 a year more than it pays its archivist, a well-known historian. In general, large appropriations go to departments which can employ great numbers of untrained political favorites.

The book concludes with appendixes of budgets, salaries, and holdings, and an excellent basic bibliography, which will prove invaluable. Having this material readily available will make the legislative task much easier. Even North Carolinians, who have perhaps the best archival and records management systems, will find the appendixes useful in explaining why even in that state there is more work to be done.

Clifford K. Shipton

Harvard University Archives

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History, edited by H. G. Jones and Julius H. Avant, has been issued by the department and is available from the State Archivist, Post Office Box 1881, Raleigh, for \$1.00. This 100-page booklet lists more than 700 titles of North Carolina newspapers now available on microfilm. Included are practically all newspapers published in the state from 1751 through the year 1900, and a few later ones. Positive microfilm copies may be purchased for \$8.00 per reel.

In 1838 the Reverend William Henry Foote was appointed agent of the Central Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. This work led him to visit many counties in Virginia and North Carolina, and it was during this time that he collected the materials for his *Sketches of North Carolina*. Foote's *Sketches* is the history of the "principles, and causes, and springs of action, and moulding influences, that have made society and themselves what they are." It contains the history of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and the War of the Regulation; and then begins the history of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina with an account of a colony from Ulster, Ireland, which settled in Duplin County about 1736. The volume covers the history of the Presbyterian Church and its ministers and laymen from its beginnings down to 1845, though there is little material for the years after 1812. Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* has been called "the most authentic in existence on Presbyterian churches and ministers and some of the leading laymen of North Carolina for the period down to 1846." The present reprint is an exact facsimile of the original 1846 edition, each page of the original having been photographed and reproduced by offset printing. Additions in this edition include an introduction and an index. Published by the Synod of North Carolina, Presbyterian Church of the United States, copies of the 593-page book are \$15.00, and may be ordered from Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Presbyterian Historical Society, P. O. Box 10875, Raleigh.

The sixth in a series of monographs by Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware has been published. *Star in Wachovia: Centennial History of Pfafftown, N. C. Christian Church* covers the historical development of

the rural-suburban church at Pfafftown from its inception to the present. Included in the booklet is a list of the pastors who have served the church and a short biographical sketch of each. Copies are available for \$3.00 hardbound, \$2.00 paperback from Dr. Ware at Box 1164, Wilson.

From letters and documents belonging to the author, Katherine Wooten Springs, and her husband, Eli Baxter Springs II, comes the book, *The Squires of Springfield*. Neither a genealogy of the Springs family nor a documentary, the book is the story of the Springs family in the Carolinas and Georgia, during the Colonial and Revolutionary War periods, through the Civil War and Reconstruction, and finally to the "new South" and new generations of Springses. Accompanying the text are numerous family pictures, a Springs family genealogy chart, and an index. Copies of the 350-page book may be purchased for \$6.75 from William Loftin, Publisher, Charlotte.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Director's Office

The Department's Executive Board held its regular semiannual meeting March 16. Upon request, Governor Dan K. Moore met with the board regarding the status of the new Archives and History-State Library Building, for which the General Assembly of 1963 appropriated three million dollars. The Governor stated that he hoped the structure could be designed so that it could be enlarged later, that a site could be assigned soon, and that the available money could be spent. He was then taken on a tour of the archives so that he might see the extremely crowded and otherwise bad conditions.

The Executive Board held a special called meeting May 20. After luncheon and a business session, the board met jointly with the Heritage Square Commission and others to discuss the present status of the new building. The Archives and History Director, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, read a prepared statement explaining the present unsatisfactory situation. The Acting State Librarian, Miss Elaine Von Oesen, made a statement indicating the acute need of the State Library for more adequate quarters. Questions involving land acquisition, the exact location of Heritage Square, the present stage of the plans for the new building, and allied subjects were discussed. The architect, Mr. F. Carter Williams, Raleigh, made a statement. Though no formal action was taken, it was the consensus of many of those present that a better understanding of the problems involved and of possibilities for the future had been reached.

The George Washington Statue Commission, of which Senator Hector MacLean of Robeson is chairman, held two luncheon meetings in Raleigh planning for placing in the rotunda of the Capitol a replica of Canova's statue of Washington, which was destroyed when the State House burned in 1831.

The Tryon Palace Commission, of which Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro is chairman, held its regular biennial meeting at the Palace in New Bern, March 31.

An act of 1961 gave the department custody of the legislative chambers in the Capitol in order that, "Insofar as practicable, the aforesaid Legislative Chambers shall be maintained and preserved in the condition in which they now are and shall be used exclusively for the purpose of historic shrines and as public attractions. . . ." The department received requests from numerous groups and organizations for permission to use these chambers for meetings, and followed the policy of permitting state official bodies and agencies to meet there, upon request of the governor's office, but discouraged all unofficial meetings. Speaker of the House H. P.

Taylor, Jr., and Lieutenant Governor Robert Scott appointed a committee from each house to work with the department to clarify the situation.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission has continued its active and aggressive program, so that progress has been made along many lines. A notable accomplishment was passage by the General Assembly of a bill changing the accepted spelling of the name of the town back to the old form of Hillsborough.

A bill sponsored by the Historic Bath Commission and introduced into the General Assembly by Representative Wayland Sermons of Beaufort County has become law. It provides that the commission shall consist of three ex officio members and twenty-five members appointed by the governor.

Several meetings of the Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee have been held, and a program is being developed to furnish or refurnish the mansion in a suitable manner. It is expected that many of the furnishings will be retained; that some of the present pieces, inappropriate for one reason or another, will be removed; and that certain additional pieces, especially those belonging to families that formerly lived in the mansion, will be brought in, but no drastic overhauling is contemplated.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission held several meetings. The commission has approved and recommended to the City Council a proposed bill providing for historical zoning in the city. The bill was drafted by the Institute of Government in co-operation with the State Legislative Council and the Department of Archives and History. The City Council approved the draft in principle.

On February 27 the Moores Creek Battleground Association, Inc., held its annual commemorative exercises at the battleground. Mr. Vivian Whitfield, president of the association, presided. Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, Director of the Tryon Palace Restoration, delivered the principal address.

The department made its request to the Joint Appropriations Committee on March 2. Present were the Chairman of the Department's Executive Board, Mr. McDaniel Lewis, and other members of the board, together with other supporters. Dr. Crittenden was the spokesman. Additional appropriations were requested to continue the Colonial Records Project and the Civil War Roster, and to sound-record the proceedings of both houses of the General Assembly.

The Advisory Committee on Historical Markers met March 19 in Chapel Hill. Inscriptions were approved for ten markers.

Plans are being made for the annual convention of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in North Carolina, October 7-10. Mr. Robert R. Garvey, Executive Director, visited Raleigh in this connection on March 29. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem, vice-president, is chairman of the North Carolina hospitality committee for the convention.

The premiere of "The Immortal Showboat," the "Sound and Light" production featuring the battleship "North Carolina," was held at Wilmington April 1, during the annual Azalea Festival. A capacity crowd

was enthusiastic about the new show, which will be produced nightly (except Monday) during the summer.

On April 16 the Institute of Government held a conference in Chapel Hill on municipal historical zoning.

At Old Brunswick Town a nature bridge was presented to the state by the North Carolina Garden Clubs on May 1.

Confederate memorial exercises were held in Fayetteville on May 9.

On May 16 the *Raleigh News and Observer* published its centennial commemorative edition and honored all persons who had been "Tarheel of the Week," a weekly feature started about a dozen years ago. The principal speaker was Mr. Vermont Royster, member of a leading Raleigh family, graduate of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and now editor of *The Wall Street Journal*.

Dr. Crittenden has met with and addressed various groups, including the Wayne County Historical Society, Goldsboro, April 9, and the Sir Walter Cabinet, Raleigh, April 13.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

State Archivist H. G. Jones was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Duke University on June 7. He attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and a council meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Kansas City, Missouri, April 22-24. His article, "What About 'Permanent' Copies?" appeared in *Weston's Record* for Winter, 1965.

The department was saddened by the death on April 14 of Mrs. Lillie Holloman McCoy. For almost six years she was a valued staff member in the Document Restoration Laboratory.

Mr. Donald E. Horton, Photographer II, represented the department at the National Microfilm Association convention in Cleveland, Ohio, May 11-13.

Recent personnel changes are as follows: Admiral A. M. Patterson's classification was changed from Archivist III to Records Management Consultant II, effective April 1. New employees include Miss Elizabeth Donnelly as temporary Archivist I, effective April 6.

Among the more significant recent acquisitions in the Archives were the records of the Mayors' Co-operating Committee on Race Relations, 1963-1964 (1 box); the State Library, 1877-1953 (9 volumes); the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963-1965 (10 boxes); and the Josiah Collins Private Collection, c.1760-c.1880 (about 10,000 items).

Card indexes have been completed for the Governors' Papers, 1775-1800; the Governors' Letter Books, 1801-1835; and the approximately 2,500 Granville District Land Grants in the Archives. A checklist of the surviving manuscript copies of the journals of the General Assembly prior to 1800 has been completed.

The Local Records Section is continuing the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Rockingham and Wayne counties, while county

operators continue microfilming in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties.

Original records have been received from Beaufort, Chowan (previously in custody of Messrs. Grayson H. Harding and Robert B. Smith), Harnett, Jones, Madison, Perquimans, Rockingham, and Wayne counties. A fairly extensive collection of Guilford County papers and a small group of Jones County wills have been processed. Information concerning all of the above records is available in the Search Room. Microfilm copies of Jones County records and of a number of churches have been made available to the public.

The State Records Section since January 1 has given the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters Workshop 14 times to 216 persons representing 14 different agencies.

A plan for the protection of essential operating records in case of a national or a local disaster was circulated to all state agencies on March 22 and was discussed at a meeting on April 15. Lists have been sent to all agencies as guides to the identification and selection of essential records.

A revision of the Department of Agriculture schedule has been approved, as have new schedules for Winston-Salem State College and the Licensing Board for Contractors. A schedule for the Governor Morehead School (State School for the Blind) is awaiting approval; revisions of schedules for the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Board of Juvenile Correction are in process.

Additional shelving to house 9,072 cubic feet of records has been erected on the first floor of the building occupied by the State Records Center, thus relieving a critical space situation. During the quarter ending March 31, 1965, the State Records Center accessioned 4,051 cubic feet of records from 30 different agencies; 1,177 cubic feet were disposed of. The net gain of 2,874 cubic feet brought the total holdings of the Records Center to 36,964 cubic feet. The staff performed 12,216 reference services during the same period.

A project of microfilming original birth certificates, 1913-1945, has been started in connection with a rebinding program in the State Board of Health. Certificates from October, 1913, through 1915 have been filmed.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Restoration Specialist, went to Hope Plantation in Bertie County for a meeting concerning the restoration of the home of Governor David Stone. The Hope Plantation Foundation, Inc., has been established for the purpose of purchasing and restoring the plantation.

On March 9 Mr. Honeycutt met with a group of citizens from Johnston County to organize the Hastings House Association, Inc. This house, built in 1853 by William Hastings, was used during the Civil War before

and after the Battle of Bentonville by Generals Joseph E. Johnston, Braxton Bragg, and Wade Hampton for their headquarters.

On April 11 over 3,000 visitors attended the Halifax Day program which featured an address by Governor Moore. Highlights of the two-day program commemorating the one hundred eighty-ninth anniversary of the Halifax Resolves included a community church service, picnic, dedication of the Eagle Tavern historical highway marker, a parade, Halifax Day ceremonies at the historic gaol, music by the Eighty-second Airborne Division Band, Fort Bragg, commemorative ceremonies at the Constitution House, and tours of the historic sites in Halifax. The Constitution House in Halifax has recently been refurbished. The historic buildings are open Sunday afternoons from 2:00 to 5:00 P.M. Tours during the week may be arranged by contacting the Halifax Public Library.

On May 1 a dedicatory program designating Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site as a National Historic Landmark was held. Dr. J. C. Harrington, Resource Studies Advisor for the Southeastern Region of the National Park Service, made the principal address and presented the National Historic Landmark certificate. A plaque will be installed in the near future. A tour of the site was conducted by Mr. Robert Crawford, Archaeologist-in-charge, Town Creek Indian Mound.

During the recent session of the General Assembly a number of appropriation bills concerning historic sites were introduced. The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met April 16 and May 21 to assess the authenticity, historical significance, and the practicability of the proposed projects. This committee, established by act of the 1963 General Assembly, is to investigate historic site projects, according to a number of criteria, and report its findings to the General Assembly. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, Charlotte, former chairman, recently resigned; Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson, Raleigh, was appointed by Governor Moore to fill Mr. Stenhouse's unexpired term. At the April 16 meeting Mr. James McClure Clarke was elected acting chairman, and five proposed appropriations were acted upon; on May 21, action was taken on thirteen additional proposals.

Historic Bath celebrated its two hundred sixtieth birthday March 7. The Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses were open to the public free and were visited by more than 3,000 persons. The Historic Bath Commission met in Bath on March 8 and following the business session were guests at a fish fry by the town of Bath at the Bath Fire Station. A gift of \$10,000 was presented to the Historic Bath Commission by Mr. Walter Davis, originally of Elizabeth City, but now a resident of Texas. Half of the gift was designated for the construction of an Indian village.

Sixteen challenge grants, totaling \$60,000, were presented to North Carolina historical restoration projects by the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro. The State Department of Archives and History will administer the grants, ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000, to the following projects: the Burwell School, Hillsborough; the Cupola House and the James Iredell House, Edenton; Historic Halifax, Halifax; the Bell House, Beaufort; Hope Plantation, Bertie County; the Allen House, Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, near Burlington; the "Fort Defiance" restoration,

Caldwell County; the Old Stone House restoration, Rowan County; the Latimer House, Wilmington; the St. Thomas "Glebe House," Bath; the Confederate Gunboat "Neuse," Kinston; the Harmony Hall restoration, Bladen County; the Carson House, McDowell County; the Franklin Academy restoration, Franklinton; and the Harshaw Chapel restoration, Murphy.

A previous grant by the foundation was made to thirteen North Carolina projects in 1959-1960.

Division of Museums

In addition to slide-lecture programs presented by the education staff, the Education Curator, Mrs. Frances Ashford, addressed the assembly of the Governor Morehead School February 18, on the life of Governor Morehead. She appeared on the Bette Elliott show, "Femme Fare," WRAL-TV, March 12, publicizing the re-enactment of the Battle of Averasboro in Harnett County, March 13.

The fourth program in the special Sunday series featured the film story of the North Carolina legislature, "The Ayes Have It," February 28. Guest remarks were made by Wake County Representative, Mr. A. A. McMillan. Members of the Raleigh Recorder Consort presented selections of Renaissance and Baroque music at the fifth program, March 28.

Mr. Robert Mayo and Mr. John Ellington of the exhibits staff spoke on "Exhibits on a Shoestring Budget" March 25, at the North Carolina Museums Council meeting in Hillsborough.

Members of the education staff who served from mid-February to late March as docents at the Governor's Mansion instructed members of the Raleigh Junior Woman's Club who will continue this service.

In addition to meetings of several state and local organizations, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, attended the Southeastern Museums Conference in Jacksonville, Florida, March 14.

A ten-minute color film, "Spinning and Weaving," purchased from the University of Indiana, has been added to the Museum Extension Service Program.

State winners of the 1964-1965 Literary and Arts Competition for members of the Tarheel Junior Historian Association were announced May 23. In the Literary Division, the first place club entry was a history of Cabarrus County Schools, "A Long Rocky Road," by the Stephen Cabarrus Chapter, Harrisburg School, Harrisburg. This is the third year the club has won the group competition. Silk Hope High School, Siler City, and Mount Olive School gained honors for histories of the school and of the community, respectively. Lane Welles of LeRoy Martin Junior High School, Raleigh, won first place in the individual literary category for "The Silver Cup," a dramatization about the Joel Lane family. A biography of Governor John M. Morehead by Gary Melton of Granite Quarry Elementary School was awarded honorable mention. In the Arts Division, the winning model, an authentic reproduction of an old grist mill, was submitted by Silk Hope School. Honorable mention was awarded to Hudson Elementary School, Hudson, for a model of Fort Dobbs, and to Gran-

ite Quarry Elementary School for a model of the Michael Braun House. Contest winners will be presented engraved plaques by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association at the December meeting in Raleigh. Winning projects will be displayed in the Hall of History, Raleigh.

Division of Publications

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, returned from maternity leave June 14. Miss Barbara Radford, Editorial Assistant I, resigned in June and was replaced by Mrs. Nancy S. Bartlett, Editorial Assistant I, who transferred from temporary assignment as Editorial Assistant for the Sanford Papers.

For the first quarter, 1965, total receipts were \$5,825 with \$5,045 being retained by the department and \$780 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Not counted in the receipts were \$450 from the sales desk, turned over to the Division of Museums toward payment for souvenirs. Publications distributed included 137 documentary volumes; 7 copies of the *Index to The North Carolina Historical Review*; 2 letter books of governors; 256 small books, 8,661 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 360 Tercentenary pamphlets); 5,870 leaflets and brochures; and 9,050 copies of the list of publications available from the department. Not included in this total of 23,996 were 2,115 copies of the Spring, 1965, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, and 2,238 copies of the January, 2,240 copies of the March, and 2,380 copies of the May issues of *Carolina Comments*.

The Papers of John Willis Ellis, Volumes I and II, are now available. The price is \$5.00 for each volume plus 25 cents handling charge on each order. Orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

Colonial Records Project

The Colonial Records Project continued activities formerly reported. The index to inventory reports in the files has been completed.

Pending the appropriation of funds by the General Assembly, preparation of a volume of early records of the General Court will be started soon after July 1.

NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, was the featured speaker on March 9 in Kinston at the commemoration of the Battle of Kinston.

The Averagesboro commemoration was held March 20; Lieutenant Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina dedicated a monument to the South Carolinians who died in the Battle of Averagesboro. This was followed by a battle re-enactment.

The commemoration of the Battle of Bentonville was held March 21 with Senator Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas as featured speaker.

The commemoration of the Battle of Asheville was held April 6.

At a meeting of the Sons of Confederate Veterans in Birmingham, Alabama, March 26, Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary, was featured speaker. Commission member Colonel W. Cliff Elder accompanied Mr. Larson and Mr. Robert W. Jones, Public Information Officer, to Richmond, Virginia, April 7, for the meeting of the Confederate Conference. On April 9 they attended the centennial program at Appomattox.

The Bennett Place commemorative program was held on April 25 with Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey as guest and featured speaker.

Mr. Larson and Colonel Elder attended the final National Assembly of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission in Springfield, Illinois, April 29-May 5.

The Executive Secretary, Mr. Jones, and Colonel Elder attended commemorative events in South Carolina on May 7 for the Battle of Rivers Bridge, at Aiken May 8, and at Fort Sumter May 9.

The final plenary meeting of the Commission was held May 13 in Raleigh. The Commission and The University of North Carolina Press received the highest award of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, bronze medallions, which were accepted by State Treasurer Edwin Gill on behalf of the State of North Carolina and Governor Moore who was unable to attend due to illness.

On May 15 Mr. Larson participated in the mustering out of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band of Winston-Salem. Certificates were given to the Band members and the members of the reactivated North Carolina Sixth Regiment.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. J. Max Dixon has been named Acting Chairman of the Department of History at Appalachian State Teachers College, effective July 1. Dr. Robert Neal Elliott will join the history department of Appalachian as Professor of History on September 1.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, has edited a new book, *The United States in the Contemporary World, 1945-1962*.

Dr. Watson and Dr. Anne F. Scott attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Kansas City, Missouri, April 22-24. Dr. Scott read a paper, "The Study of Southern Urbanization," in a session on southern cities.

Professor O. W. Furley, Senior Lecturer in History at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, was Visiting Associate Professor of History, lecturing on African history. In exchange Dr. Harry P. Porter, Jr., Fellow in International Studies, went to Makerere for the summer term.

Dr. W. B. Hamilton published "Constitutional and Political Reflections on the Dismissal of Lord Grenville's Ministry," in *The Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1964*, and a review article, "Mississippi," in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Spring issue, 1965.

Dr. Robert F. Durden was named a Fulbright lecturer in American history for 1965-1966. He will teach at The Johns Hopkins University Center for American Studies at the University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy. He has published *The Climax of Populism: The Election of 1896* (University of Kentucky Press), and "Ambiguities in the Antislavery Crusade of the Republican Party," in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on Abolitionists* (Princeton University Press).

Dr. A. D. Frank, retired Chairman of the Department of Social Studies at East Carolina College, was honored in dedication ceremonies of the new A. D. Frank Seminar Room, May 9. The ceremonies included an address by Dr. Leo W. Jenkins, the unveiling of a portrait of Dr. Frank, and a reception.

Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts, by Loren MacKinney, has been published by Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London, England. Part Two of this book is entitled "Medical Miniatures in Extant Manuscripts: A Checklist Compiled with the Assistance of Thomas Herndon." Mr. Herndon is Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. George Pasti, Jr. will be on leave, 1965-1966; he was awarded a National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship to study the Chinese language at the University of Hawaii. Mr. Marvin Hill will be on leave, 1965-1966, to complete his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. Dr. Richard C. Todd was awarded the *Buccaneer Citation* which noted his outstanding contributions to the field of history, to the student body, and to East Carolina College.

Elon College was host, May 25, to the North Carolina Alpha Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu National Social Science Honor Society. The lecture, "Yankee Doodle: The Soldier of the American Revolution," was delivered by Dr. Hugh F. Rankin, Professor of History at Tulane University.

Professor Lansford Jolley, Chairman of the Social Studies Department, Gardner-Webb College, served on a Southern Association of Colleges and Schools evaluation committee in McDowell County, April 26-27.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, Meredith College, addressed the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 23, in Kansas City, Missouri, on "Raleigh, N. C.: The 'New South' in Microcosm."

Dr. Frank Grubbs, Jr., taught the WUNC-TV United States history class, March 29. His topic was "America in World War II."

Dr. Thomas C. Parramore published a feature article, "History of Chowan County—A Story of Continued Progress," in the special supplementary issue of *The Chowan Herald*, April 8.

In the Spring, 1965, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, it was erroneously reported that Mrs. Rosalie Prince Gates had been promoted to Assistant Professor. Mrs. Gates, a doctoral candidate at Duke University, will come to Meredith in September as Assistant Professor.

John C. Farrell, Instructor in the Department of History at North Carolina State University since 1962, died March 11, 1965, at the age of thirty-two. He had completed a doctoral dissertation on Jane Addams for The Johns Hopkins University and had contributed an article on Jane Addams to the *Encyclopedia of Social Work*.

During 1964-1965 Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw, Head of the Department of History, edited five new volumes in the D. C. Heath Company series, *Problems in European Civilization*.

In April Dr. Murray S. Downs spoke on the subject "Civil Engineering through the Ages" at the annual meeting of the North Carolina division of the American Society of Civil Engineers in Raleigh.

Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., collaborated with Dr. Arthur W. Cooper and Mr. Sheafe Satterthwaite on the publication, *Smith Island and the Cape Fear Peninsula: A Comprehensive Report on an Outstanding Natural Area* (Wildlife Preserves, Inc., Raleigh, 1964).

Dr. Herbert L. Bodman and Dr. Y. C. Wang were promoted to Associate Professors of History at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Wang received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for 1965-1966 for research on the topic, "Chinese Intellectuals from Yen Fu to Hu Shih."

Professor Hugh F. Rankin of Tulane University taught during the first summer session, and during the second summer session, Professor Warren Kuehl of the University of Akron will teach.

Professor George B. Tindall delivered a paper entitled "The Colonial Economy" at a symposium on Problems of the South held at Duke, April 12, honoring Dr. Paul Gross.

Assistant Professor Ralph Lee Woodward received a Fulbright grant for lecture and research to the Universidad Católica de Valparaiso, Chile.

The North Carolina Collection at Chapel Hill sponsored a dinner at the Carolina Inn on June 3, 1965, to mark the centennial of the birth of Stephen B. Weeks whose Collection of Caroliniana was purchased by the trustees of The University of North Carolina in 1918. The pattern of collecting set by Weeks established the pattern followed since by the North Carolina Collection. The dinner was attended by fifty-four persons including a number of descendants and relatives of Dr. Weeks. Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, read a paper entitled "Stephen B. Weeks: North Carolina's First 'Professional' Historian," and Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Professor of History and Head of the Department of History at Duke University, read a paper prepared by Dr. Louis R. Wilson entitled "The Acquisition of the Weeks Collection of Caroliniana." Dr. Wilson was Librarian of The University of North Carolina in 1918, and he was instrumental in persuading the trustees to purchase the Weeks Collection.

The United States Office of Education awarded 84 summer history institutes for elementary and secondary history teachers to improve the

quality of teaching. Institutes will be held at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro; East Carolina College, Greenville; and St. Augustine's College, Raleigh.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Bertie County Historical Association met April 22; Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director, Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, was the speaker.

The Bladen County Historical Society met April 30 at Elizabethtown. Mr. F. K. Rogers, president, presided. Mr. Chatham C. Clark, chairman of the Harmony Hall Restoration Committee, announced a challenge grant of \$1,000 from the Richardson Foundation. A number of items have been added to the Bladen County Collection. Mr. Stanley South, Archaeologist, State Department of Archives and History, gave an illustrated talk about the restoration work at Brunswick Town, Fort Anderson, Fort Fisher, and Bethabara.

The Cabarrus County Historical Society met at Concord, March 11. Mr. C. W. F. Coker, Assistant State Archivist, State Department of Archives and History, outlined preliminary procedures for projects. Mr. A. Campbell Cline is president; Mrs. Jane Nierenberg is secretary and treasurer.

The Catawba County Historical Association met March 3 in Newton. Mr. Ward R. Robinson of Bunker Hill High School was in charge of the meeting. The semiannual report on the Catawba County Historical Museum was given by Mrs. Margaret W. May, Director, at the May 5 meeting.

The Franklin County Historical Society met at Louisburg College, March 25; Mr. Lindley Butler, president, presided. Mrs. Elsa C. Yarborough presented slides showing "Colonial Homes of Eastern North Carolina." A spring historic house tour of Franklin County was held May 2 by the society.

The Haywood County Historical Society met April 27 at Waynesville. Mr. Frank Rogers, president, presided; other officers are Mrs. Sara Thomas Campbell, Mr. R. C. Francis, and Mr. Frank Ferguson, vice-presidents; Mr. Larry Mull, general adviser; Mr. Amos Medford, secretary; and Mr. Carlton Peyton, treasurer. Honorary life membership certificates were presented to Mr. Larry Mull, Mr. W. Clark Medford, and Mrs. Clyde Ray. Dean W. E. Bird, president emeritus of Western Carolina College, spoke on "The History of Western Carolina State Teachers College."

The Hillsborough Historical Society met May 21 at Cameron Park School. Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway spoke about "Research in Restoration."

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Greenville, April 9. At the afternoon session Dr. James W. Patton, Director of the Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina, read a paper titled "Luther Hartwell Hodges, Energetic Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961"; Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Director of Education for Old Salem, Inc., gave an illustrated talk on "Old Salem." Two new members were elected: Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn of the Historic Sites Division of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Thomas C. Parramore of the History Department of Meredith College.

At the evening session, Dr. Howard B. Clay of the Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, read a paper titled "Daniel A. Tompkins, Newspaperman"; Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, gave a paper on "William Laurence Saunders and the Publication of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*."

The Johnston County Historical Society met May 2 at Smithfield. Mr. C. S. Coats, president, presided. Reports were given on the Centennial observances at Bentonville Battleground and members of the Centennial committee were commended. Plans for the library building for Smithfield and Johnston County include a Johnston County room for the preservation of letters and records. The group will continue support for the Hastings House project and for several programs under way at Bentonville.

The Leaksville-Spray History Club met April 8 at Leaksville; Mr. Mott Price spoke on the Civil War.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society met February 26; Dr. James W. Patton spoke on "Selected Comments on Eastern North Carolina by European and American Travelers, 1783-1860." *The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* for February carried the president's message by Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr.; Part IV of an article, "Development of Libraries in the Lower Cape Fear," by Mrs. Barbara Beeland Rehder; and an article, "Smith-Anderson House," by Mrs. Ida B. Kellam.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met March 22 in Charlotte. Mr. Victor King spoke about Cornwallis' campaigns in the Carolinas; Mr. John Staton told of the Battle of Bentonville, the largest battle ever fought in North Carolina.

The Moore County Historical Association met February 18 at Southern Pines. Dr. Colin G. Spencer, Carthage, president, presided. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives reported recent gifts and acquisitions for the Shaw and Alston houses. A film, "Land of Beginnings," was shown.

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives were hosts to the association, April 28. New officers are Mr. H. Clifton Blue, Aberdeen, president; Mrs. Albert Tufts, Mr. Neill McKay, and Mr. Paul McPhaul, vice-presidents; Miss

Helen Butler, treasurer; Mrs. L. T. Avery and Miss Margaret McLeod, secretaries. Reports were given on the Shaw House in Southern Pines, and the House in the Horseshoe; four antiques attributed to North Carolina craftsmen were purchased and will be displayed in the restored houses.

The *Moore County News* has been running throughout the past four years a fictional but historically accurate series of purported letters from a Moore County soldier enlisted in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment in the Civil War. Mr. Thurman Maness, author of the "letters," began the series in 1961 and the last "letter" coincided with the surrender at Appomattox.

The North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met at Tryon Palace, March 22. Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president, presided. Officers elected were: Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., Englehard, president; Mr. L. S. Blades, Elizabeth City, Mr. Alonzo C. Edwards, Hookerton, and Mr. J. F. Havens, Tarboro, vice-presidents; Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway, New Bern, secretary; Miss Evelyn Covington, Raleigh, assistant secretary; Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Jr., New Bern, treasurer. Also elected were thirty-two directors. Mr. Voit Gilmore was guest speaker.

The second annual meeting of the North Carolina Presbyterian Historical Society was held in Raleigh, April 2. The Reverend Robert S. Arrowood, Linden, president, presided. New officers elected were: Senator Hector MacLean, Lumberton, president; the Reverend J. K. Fleming, Selma, Mrs. J. M. Matthews, Matthews, and Mr. James W. Wall, Mocksville, vice-presidents; Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Raleigh, secretary-historian; the Reverend James D. MacKenzie, Olivia, assistant secretary-historian; Mr. R. P. Moore, Lexington, treasurer.

The society has completed its first major project, the reprinting of Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, edited and indexed by Dr. Harold J. Dudley. Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson, emeritus Professor of History in Union Theological Seminary at Richmond, Virginia, was the featured speaker.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met March 22 in Durants Neck. Mr. B. C. Berry, president, presided; past presidents Mr. N. A. Fulford and Mr. Stephen Perry were in charge of the program.

The Pitt County Historical Association met May 6 at Greenville. A series of programs on the history of Pitt County is being presented. Dr. Charles L. Price of the Department of Social Studies, East Carolina College, spoke on "The Revolutionary Era in Pitt."

Officers and directors of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met March 13 in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison, chairman, presided. The proposed budget for the twenty-fifth season of Mr. Paul Green's "The Lost Colony" was submitted by Mr. John W. Fox, General Manager. Mr.

Paul Hulton, Curator of Drawings and Prints of the British Museum in London, conducted a tour of the John White watercolor drawings on exhibit at the North Carolina Museum of Art. Many of the sixteenth-century paintings were made on Roanoke Island, site of the first English settlements in America, 1585-1587.

The Southern Appalachian Historical Association, which sponsors "Horn in the West," elected the following officers: Dr. I. G. Greer, Chapel Hill, president; Dr. R. H. Harmon, executive vice-president; Mrs. B. W. Stallings, membership chairman; Mr. Lynn Holaday, treasurer; Mrs. Earleen G. Pritchett, secretary, all of Boone. Directors are Mr. Robert Allen, Mr. Glenn R. Andrews, Mr. J. V. Caudill, Mrs. Paul Coffey, the Reverend Richard Crowder, Mr. Samuel Dixon, Mr. H. R. Eggers, Mr. Grady Farthing, Mr. Clyde R. Greene, Mr. Stanley A. Harris, Mr. J. E. Holshouser, Jr., Dr. Ray Lawrence, Mr. Hugh Morton, Dr. W. H. Plemmons, Miss Rachel Rivers, Dr. O. K. Richardson, Mr. Grover Robbins, Jr., Miss Jane Smith, Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Mrs. Carrie Winkler, Mr. Ralph Winkler, and Mr. Wade E. Brown.

This summer will be the fourteenth season of the outdoor drama, which runs June 25-August 28, nightly except Monday.

Dr. W. Amos Abrams, Editor of *North Carolina Education*, and a noted expert in North Carolina folklore, spoke to the spring meeting of the Wake County Historical Society and played his recordings of local folk music. Newly elected officers of the society are: Mr. Richard O. Gamble, president; Mr. C. D. Baucom, vice-president; Mrs. A. W. Hoffman, secretary; and Dr. Thornton W. Mitchell, treasurer. Mr. William A. Bason, Mr. Charles R. Holloman, and Mrs. Gaston Nolin were elected directors.

Colonel Paul A. Rockwell was awarded the annual Achievement Cup by the Western North Carolina Historical Association, April 24, in Asheville, in recognition of his role in the commemoration of the Battle of Asheville, fought April 6, 1865. Mr. Glenn Tucker, Flat Rock, presided. Mrs. Joseph Bailey, Flat Rock, spoke about Western North Carolina folkways, and Mr. Robert H. Reid of Christ School spoke on General Robert E. Lee's surrender to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia.

The Yadkin County Historical Society elected the following officers: Mr. James Hutchens, president; Mr. Carl Hoots, vice-president; Mrs. Lexie Groce, secretary; Mr. Bruce Shore, treasurer. Directors are Mr. L. H. West, Mr. J. C. Matthews, and Mr. Charles L. Hutchens. The society decided to investigate the possibility of restoring the old Richmond Hill Law School and the Hunt House and to designate historic sites in the county.

The North Carolina Historical Review is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

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.

