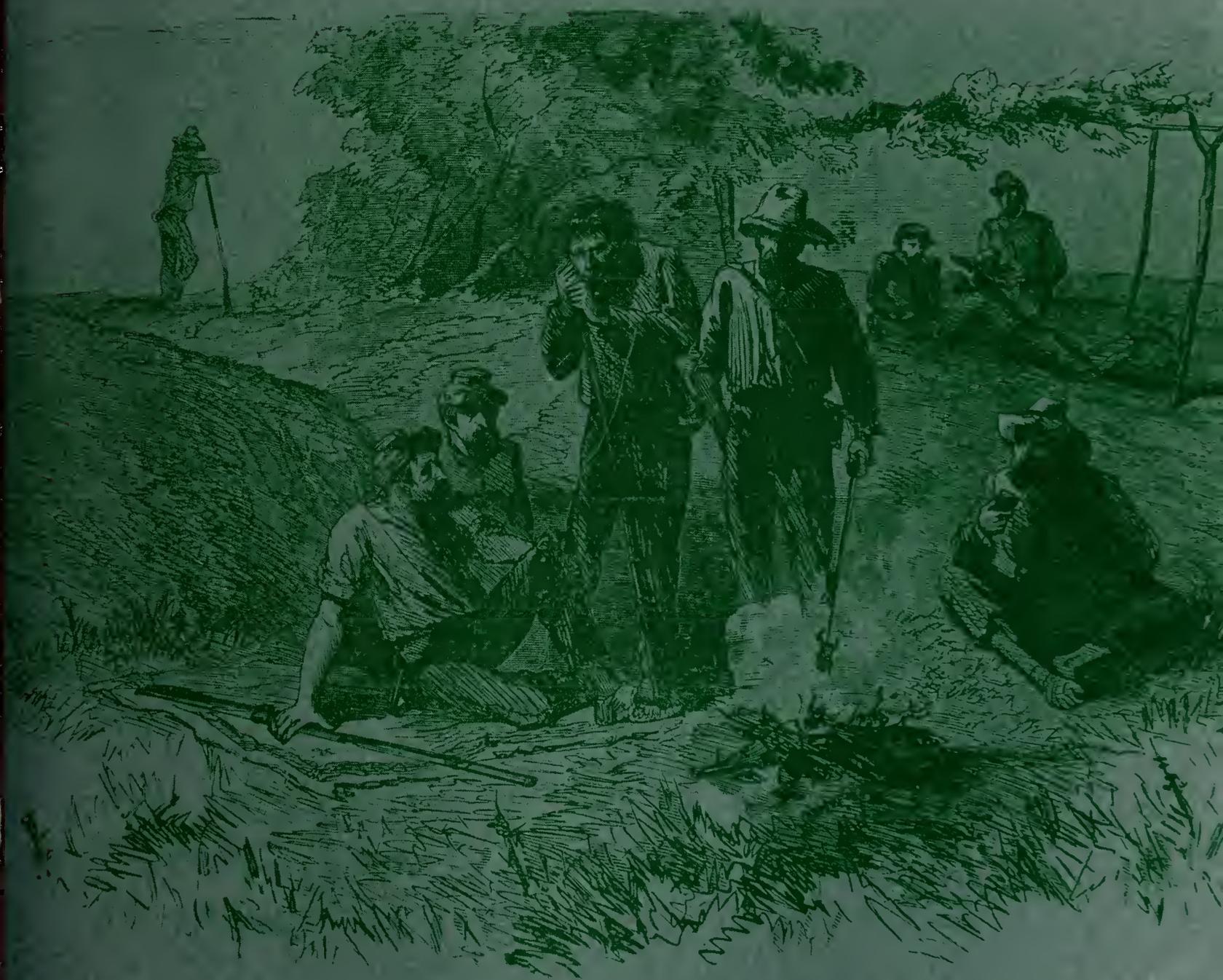


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# The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1964

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Confederate deserters are shown hiding in the North Carolina mountains. From *Pictorial War Record*, October 27, 1883. For an article on desertion, see pages 163-189.

# The North Carolina Historical Review

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# INCONSTANT REBELS: DESERTION OF NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS IN THE CIVIL WAR

BY RICHARD BARDOLPH \*

That the Confederate soldier has no superior in the annals of war is an article of the American Creed. His accomplishments against overwhelming odds, through four years of heroic struggle and suffering, are his monument. Magnificent in his forbearance and his valor; generous, beyond belief, in his response to the fearful demands made upon him; he remains an authentic American hero, celebrated alike by the descendants of his comrade-in-arms and of his conqueror.

And yet, desertion from the ranks of the Confederate Army had progressed alarmingly before the end of the first year of the War, and by the latter half of the conflict hundreds of regiments could not muster so much as one-third of their paper strength.<sup>1</sup> General Robert E. Lee's dispatches give impressive support for the judgment of one modern historian, himself a southerner, that this evil was "the most disgraceful chapter in the history of the Southern War for Independence."<sup>2</sup>

The war was little more than a year old when the Secretary of War, George W. Randolph, wrote the several Confederate State governors that "our armies are so much weakened by desertions and by the absence of officers and men without leave, that we are unable to

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<sup>1</sup>The standard account of desertion in both the Confederate and Union armies is Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York and London: The Century Company, 1928), hereinafter cited as Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*. Also important on desertion in the Confederate forces are Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), hereinafter cited as Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*; Bessie Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army; A Study in Sectionalism* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., 1932), hereinafter cited as Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*; Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), hereinafter cited as Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*; Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*. Number 8 in *Confederate Centennial Studies*, editor-in-chief, William Stanley Hoole (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company [26 numbers], 1958), hereinafter cited as Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953), 237.

reap the fruits of our victories and to invade the territory of the enemy.”<sup>3</sup> His estimate was sadly confirmed two months later by Lee himself. When the first major attempt to invade the North came to frightful repulse on Antietam Creek, at Sharpsburg, Maryland, Lee told President Jefferson Davis that a vast number of his troops never crossed over into Maryland at all. Desertion and straggling deprived him of one-third to one-half of his effective force, he said, and “were the main causes of . . . retiring from Maryland.”

In the following summer Lee again wrote that “the number of desertions from the army is so great . . . I fear success in the field will be seriously endangered.” In September, 1864, President Davis told a Macon, Georgia, audience that two-thirds of the army was absent without leave, and that if half of these would return, victory would be within the Confederacy’s grasp.<sup>4</sup> The warning went unheeded. Two months later Lee mourned that “desertion is increasing in the army notwithstanding all my efforts to stop it.” In February, 1865, he declared that “hundreds of men are deserting nightly and I cannot keep the army together unless examples are made of such cases.” In March he suspected that the disease was beyond remedy. “I do not know,” he wrote Davis, “what can be done to put a stop to it.”<sup>5</sup>

The testimony of the men in the ranks tells the same story. Confederate deserters who were received inside Union lines were promptly interviewed, and frequently reported that countless other Confederates were determined to run off at the first opportunity. Confederate troops also repeatedly wrote family and friends that great numbers of their comrades meant to run off when they saw a fair chance of

<sup>3</sup> R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series IV, II, 7, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part I, 143; Series I, XIX, Part II, 597, 605-606, 622; Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb, The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 143, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*. For Davis’ Macon speech, see Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 10 volumes, 1923), VI, 341-344. *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), October 8, 1862, hereinafter cited as the *Weekly Standard*. The press gave extensive publicity to the explanation that the failure of the Maryland campaign was to be ascribed to desertion and straggling before and during the fateful engagement on Antietam Creek. It should, however, be pointed out, as Lee indicated in his official report on “Operations in Maryland” in 1862, that “the arduous service in which our troops had been engaged, their great privations of rest and food, and the long marches without shoes over mountain roads, had greatly reduced our ranks before the action began. These causes had compelled thousands of brave men to absent themselves, and many more had done so from unworthy motives. This great battle was fought by less than 40,000 men on our side, all of whom had undergone the greatest labors and hardships in the field and on the march.” *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part I, 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLII, Part III, 1,213; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143, 1,250; Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 28.

success. Not a few wrote about their own plans to decamp, sometimes asking about the sort of obstacles they might expect in their home communities. "At least half would desert if they had an opportunity," declared one disheartened soldier.<sup>6</sup>

Statistics on Confederate desertion are even more elusive than are figures on enlistments, but the magnitude of the wastage is suggested by the War Department's estimates as of the end of June, 1863, that there were then 136,000 absent from the three Confederate armies of Lee, Braxton Bragg, and John C. Pemberton.<sup>7</sup> The figure takes on added meaning when it is recalled that the entire effective Confederate force at the decisive Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863, was approximately 75,000.

A table constructed from field returns demonstrates that the aggregate, both present and absent, on the muster rolls from December, 1861, to the spring of 1865, was as low as 316,000 in mid-1864, and at no time exceeded 500,000, a peak attained in April, 1863. The percentage absent, with and without leave—more of them in the latter than in the former group—was at best 27 per cent (again, in early spring, 1863), and at worst 51 per cent, at the end of 1864. A rough estimate suggests that the average number of absentees without leave comprised one-fifth of the enlisted force before May, 1863, one-third in the latter part of 1863 and early 1864, and two-fifths in late 1864 and early 1865.<sup>8</sup> General D. H. Hill was already saying in 1862 that willful absenteeism "was and still is the curse of our army." General P. G. T. Beauregard admitted before the close of the struggle that the disease was genuinely epidemic, and General J. G. Martin, commanding the District of North Carolina, reported in the month before Appomattox that he had "nothing to report but disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, demoralization of the people, and desertion of both officers and men."<sup>9</sup>

Thirty years after the surrender, North Carolina's future chief justice, Walter Clark, himself a veteran of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Regiment, became Editor of the massive five-volume *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*. The authors of that work's regimental histories made little or no reference to the deserter problem, but Clark candidly set down that "this evil became so great that . . . finally it

<sup>6</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 387; Series I, XXIV, Part III, 407.

<sup>7</sup> Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, 202. See also, Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 21-37.

<sup>8</sup> Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 26-33.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XI, Part I, 606; Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,042; Series I, XLVII, Part III, 730.

overcame all bounds and together with the break down in the finances of the Confederacy was the cause of its overthrow.”<sup>10</sup>

It may be instructive to note here the transformation in the attitude of soldiers and civilians toward desertion. In the spring of 1863, General James J. Pettigrew wrote that “the great majority of my brigade would shoot a deserter as quick as they would a snake.” But by mid-summer the Richmond government heard from a conscription official in South Carolina that “it is no longer a reproach to be known as a deserter”; and in March, 1865, General John S. Preston declared that there were then over 100,000 deserters scattered over the Confederacy, and that “so common is the crime, it has in popular estimation lost the stigma which justly pertains to it, and [deserters] are everywhere shielded by their families and by the sympathies of many communities.”<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the most candid explanation ever offered for the collapse of the will to fight was that of Governor Zebulon B. Vance. His opinion is doubly interesting when it is recalled that Vance’s remarkable forty-year political career is uniformly ascribed to his uncanny rapport with the mass of North Carolina’s people.<sup>12</sup> Idolized by his fellow citizens as no other public figure in North Carolina has ever been, the great War Governor, overwhelmingly re-elected as head of his State in the gloomy summer of 1864, consistently spoke his vigorous mind without fear or favor. A month after the proud vote of confidence his State had given him, he wrote his dearest friend that the Confederacy’s army was thoroughly demoralized, and that William T. Sherman’s forces encountered no considerable resistance anywhere from the people as they made their riotous way through Georgia and the Carolinas. The troops “are now deserting by the hundreds,” he mourned:

<sup>10</sup> Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), IV, 408, hereinafter cited as Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*.

<sup>11</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 713, 1,065; Series IV, II, 769.

<sup>12</sup> On Vance, as the beloved tribune of his people, see Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), XIX, 158-160; Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897); Frontis W. Johnson, “Zebulon Baird Vance: A Personality Sketch,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXX (April, 1953), 178-190; A. Sellev Roberts, “The Peace Movement in North Carolina,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (September, 1924), 190-199, hereinafter cited as Roberts, “Peace Movement in North Carolina”; Phillips Russell, “Hooraw for Vance!” *American Mercury*, XXII (February, 1931), 232-240; Richard E. Yates, “Zebulon B. Vance as War Governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865,” *The Journal of Southern History*, III (February, 1937), 1-33; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, *passim*.

What does this show, my dear sir? It shows what I have always believed, that the great *popular heart* is not now & never has been in this war. It was a revolution of the politicians not the people; it was fought at first by the natural enthusiasm assisted by that bitterness of feeling produced by the cruelties & brutalities of the enemy.

. . . . .

Duty called me to resist to the uttermost the disruption of the Union; duty calls me to stand by the new Union "to the last gasp of truth & loyalty." This is my consolation—The beginning was bad & I had no hand in it; should the end be bad I shall with Gods help be equally blameless. They shall never shake their gory locks at me & say that I did it!<sup>13</sup>

A first acquaintance with these truths is so shocking to most Americans, North and South, that popular historians have preferred to step around them with averted gaze, in favor of more romantic themes. Not only do such disclosures offend third-generation Confederates who are "more steeped in the Lost Cause than their ancestors were energetic in defending it";<sup>14</sup> grandsons of Union soldiers are no less apt to deplore the tarnishing of the Confederate hero.

The misgivings are, of course, absurd; for the hero is, after all, indestructible. To know him better is to increase, not to diminish, his stature. And a frank inquiry into the many and varied factors that produced despair and inconstancy in the beleaguered South renders all the more remarkable the fact that despair did not overtake many more soldiers and civilians, and far sooner. The heaped-up testimony on desertion from Confederate ranks may outrage the sensibilities of the summer chauvinist and the sunshine fire-eater, but a view of it from a proper perspective softens immeasurably the indictment against those who succumbed to the temptation, and reveals more clearly the heroic stature of those who continued steadfast.

<sup>13</sup> Zebulon B. Vance to David L. Swain, September 22, 1864, Zebulon B. Vance Papers, National Archives, Washington, D. C. The letter is cited by Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 112-113, and reproduced at greater length, but somewhat inaccurately, in Cornelia Phillips Spencer, *The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina* (New York: Watchman Publishing Company, 1866), 27-28.

<sup>14</sup> James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda*. Number 3 in *Confederate Centennial Studies*, editor-in-chief William Stanley Hoole (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company [26 numbers], 1957), 7. "The legend of a united people who went down fighting as one man against overwhelming odds," says Silver, "simply could not stand serious investigation. In reality the Confederacy had collapsed from within. Its people had been divided from the start and as the 'short' summer war lengthened into weary years of fighting, Southerners lost their will to fight. Real unity in the South came only after Appomattox and Reconstruction, too, when those who were waging a desperate struggle against poverty and disease and hopelessness paused long enough to glance back at the 'good old days.'"

Silver's candor, which parallels the judgment of professional historians at large, affords an instructive contrast to the exuberance of latter-day swashbucklers who, in crisp new uniforms which their tattered grandfathers would not have recognized, board air-conditioned excursion trains and ride forth to televised sham battles that prove more expensive, if less sanguinary, than the originals.

Most accounts agree that North Carolina produced more runaways than did any of her sister States. One leading historian of the Confederacy, himself a North Carolinian, writes that "almost twice as many soldiers from North Carolina deserted as those from any other state."<sup>15</sup> Another reports that when desertions thinned the ranks in the late spring of 1863, it was "striking as usual with greatest force in the North Carolina regiments."<sup>16</sup> Even commissioned officers, up to the rank of colonel, were among the fugitives. More than 1,000 officers deserted from the Confederate forces, and, if one excepts from the computation the single State of Tennessee, which stood second with 15 per cent, North Carolina's share, accounting for 42 per cent of the total, almost equaled the number of officer-deserters from all of the other Confederate States combined.<sup>17</sup>

Confederate military and civilian authorities repeatedly declared that the North Carolina regiments were the chief offenders. General Hill, one of the two highest-ranking Confederate commanders that North Carolina produced, wrote the Richmond government in May, 1863, that desertion was particularly excessive in his State. A month earlier Lee wrote James A. Seddon, the Secretary of War, of the "frequent desertions from the North Carolina regiments," and again on May 21, he wrote him that "desertion of the North Carolina troops from this army is becoming so serious an evil that . . . I fear the troops from that State will become greatly reduced." A month after Gettysburg "Rebel War Clerk" Jones noted in his diary that huge numbers of deserters were abandoning Lee's army, "and they are mainly North Carolinians."<sup>18</sup>

Lee himself, as he mournfully witnessed the defection of the troops who idolized him, wrote General John D. Imboden in August, 1863, that "there is much desertion, I regret to say, from this army, principally from the North Carolina troops. . . . I begin to fear nothing but the death penalty, uniformly, inexorably administered, will stop it." Early in February, 1865, he wrote Governor Vance that "the divisions

<sup>15</sup> E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*. Volume VII 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—], 1950), 464.

<sup>16</sup> Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 48.

<sup>17</sup> Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 36. Officers who decamped sometimes entered the Union Army to serve at similar or higher rank. Captain Wallace Rollins of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, for example, went over to the enemy and served as a major in Kirk's Regiment, operating in Western North Carolina and Eastern Tennessee. Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, II, 493.

<sup>18</sup> John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 2 volumes, 1866), I, 325; II, 4, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary; Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, 998; Series I, XXV, Part II, 814-815.

from which the greatest number of desertions have taken place are composed chiefly of troops from North Carolina"; and to the Secretary of War, J. C. Breckinridge, he wrote on the same day of the "alarming number of desertions that are now occurring in the army . . . chiefly from the North Carolina regiments," a circumstance that he attributed to the despondency and the peace sentiment on the North Carolina home front. Four days later he sent Breckinridge a summary of recent defections, saying, "I regret to say that the greatest number of desertions have occurred among the North Carolina troops, who have fought as gallantly as any soldiers in the army. . . . This defection in troops who have acted so nobly and borne so much is so distressing to me that I have thought proper to give you the particulars."<sup>19</sup>

It is impossible to measure the volume of North Carolina desertions,<sup>20</sup> but the record documents an irregularly increasing flow, with spasmodic acceleration in the wake of military defeats or of hard campaigning. A protracted stint of short rations was sure to touch off an avalanche of escapes, and depressing news from the home front—ranging from crop failures or "peace meetings" to the depredations of skulkers and the exactions of Confederate taxgatherers—had much the same effect. The temptation to run was particularly strong in the summer when combat was most severe, heat was most oppressive, and prospects of making one's way home while subsisting on the country were most favorable. Sometimes there were barely perceptible increases and decreases traceable both to Confederate government policy in combating desertion and to the federal government's efforts to entice "Johnny Reb" into Union lines.

For the present study, the principal evidence attesting the ebb and flow of deserters consisted of newspaper advertisements; the correspondence of army headquarters, commanders in the field, the War Department, and Confederate and State executive offices; and personal correspondence from troops in the field. Analysis of the deserter-advertisements in the newspapers as a method of effecting the return of renegades is reserved for another page in this study. For the present

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<sup>19</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 651; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254, 1,265.

<sup>20</sup> The following item is of more than passing interest: ". . . there were ten large bound volumes containing the names and records of deserters from this State . . . since the war all these volumes had mysteriously disappeared. One volume only has been recovered. . . . In like manner just after the Revolution, a list was adopted by the Legislature of North Carolina of those Tories whose names should be preserved as enemies of their country and copies were sent to the other States, but this list has not only been removed from our archives, but the copies have disappeared from the archives of all our sister States." Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 408.

a brief observation on their volume and general purport will suffice. Relatively few of the advertisements appeared in the State press in 1861.<sup>21</sup> The notices, inserted by the captain of a company or the colonel of a regiment, in a newspaper circulating in the region in which the deserter lived, usually offered a reward of \$30 for the detention of the miscreant. His name, company, regiment, and often the date and place of his enlistment, were set forth, and sometimes his physical appearance was described. The public was asked to effect the deserter's return to his regiment or to have him lodged in a local jail.

In 1862 the quantity of these notices showed a marked increase. The form was much the same as those in the previous year except that a goodly number, instead of identifying one or two now were addressed generally to "all absentees" of a particular outfit. Individual issues of a newspaper carried as many as three or four separate advertisements, some of them naming as many as 42 from a single company. Fairly typical examples list 66, 80, 125, and even as many as 188 from regiments whose full muster was considerably short of 1,000. In one case a regimental commander couched his advertisement, in a Wilmington paper, in the form of a General Order, directing the "more than 200 enlisted men . . . absent without proper leave" to report back immediately.<sup>22</sup> Such notices continued to crowd the advertising columns through June, 1863, and then fell off sharply,<sup>23</sup> disappearing entirely in 1864, when the magnitude of desertion was so great and the results of earlier advertisements were so disappointing that the practice was abandoned.

Testimony of the multiplication of runaways from the Tarheel regiments is especially voluminous in correspondence appearing in the *Official Records* dealing with Confederate and State efforts to arrest

<sup>21</sup> Examples are in the *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), June 24, August 1, 1861; *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), June 25, July 16, August 2, 1861, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal*; *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), August 21, November 13, 20, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Standard*; *Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), September 7, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Semi-Weekly Standard*; *Weekly State Journal* (Raleigh), October 9, 1861, hereinafter cited as *State Journal*.

<sup>22</sup> For these and other examples in 1862, see *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), January 9, May 26, November 8, December 12, 1862; *Weekly Standard*, March 19, May 7, June 11, July 9, August 6, 27, September 17, October 22, 1862; *Semi-Weekly Standard*, May 3, 14, June 14, 25, July 16, 30, September 3, 24, October 1, 31, November 4, 11, 1862; *The Daily Bulletin* (Charlotte), March 22, 1862, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Bulletin*; *The Daily Journal*, April 17, June 16, July 2, 9, 25, August 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, September 24, 25, 1862; *Fayetteville Observer*, June 9, September 15, 22, 1862; *The Greensborough Patriot*, June 26, September 4, 18, 1862; *Carolina Watchman*, August 11, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> For advertisements published in 1863, see *Semi-Weekly Standard*, January 1, 20, 23, February 24, March 3, June 30, July 3, 28, October 27, 1863; *The Daily Journal*, January 5, 21, February 23, 1863; *The Daily Bulletin*, January 5, 22, August 20, 1863; *State Journal*, March 13, 16, 1863; *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), April 2, December 28, 1863.

and punish deserters, to induce them to return, to cheer the wavering, to neutralize despondency, and to protect the civilian population from the plundering recusants who were lying out in the hills and forest.<sup>24</sup> Far more numerous were dispatches by commanders of corps, brigades, regiments, and companies, reporting such losses,<sup>25</sup> and communiques of Union commanders to their headquarters to report the countless arrivals of Confederate deserters into their lines.<sup>26</sup> In 1862, such communications were fairly numerous, but after the spring of 1863, they reached flood stage.

The causes of desertion were more numerous and diverse than may at first appear. The historian has at his disposal thousands of letters written by troops in the ranks, many of which all too clearly explain actual and potential flights from duty.<sup>27</sup> The *Official Records* contain many hundreds of dispatches by Federal commanders in which data drawn from interviews with rebel defectors were transmitted to Union headquarters. The same collection supplies many letters of Confederate military commanders and of Confederate and State civilian officials in which they discuss the causes of willful absenteeism, and evasion. The contemporary press hazarded similar diagnoses. Finally, the historian has, from these and similar sources, an abundantly detailed picture of conditions in camp and field as well as behind the

<sup>24</sup> Examples may be found in the *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, 821-822, 855, 860-861, 928, 998; Series I, XXVII, Part III, 1,052; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 676, 729, 740; Series I, XLII, Part II, 1,235; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271, 1,296, 1,353-1,354; Series I, XLI, Part II, 689, 706-708, 709, 712-713, 714-716, 1,038, 1,065.

<sup>25</sup> For a sampling of such items, relating particularly to North Carolina deserters, see *Official Records*, Series I, IX, 293; Series I, XI, Part II, 892; Series I, XVIII, 165-166, 1,052, 1,066, 1089; Series I, XXIII, Part II, 914-915, 950; Series I, XXV, Part II, 746-747, 812, 814-815; Series I, XXVII, Part III, 870, 1,052; Series I, XXVIII, Part II, 449; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 651; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,265; Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,406; Series I, XLVII, Part III, 707; Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.

<sup>26</sup> Full data concerning this kind of desertion by North Carolina soldiers may be drawn from the following: *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, Part I, 587, 669; Series I, XIX, Part II, 516; Series I, XXV, Part II, 518; Series I, XXVII, Part III, 39; Series I, XXIX, Part II, 114, 249, 454, 593; Series I, XXX, Part I, 748; Series I, XXXIII, Part I, 53, 56; Series I, XXXVI, Part II, 842; Series I, XXXVI, Part III, 677, 725-726; Series I, XL, Part II, 336, 563, 570; Series I, XL, Part III, 37, 97, 293, 301, 362, 375; Series I, XLII, Part II, 50, 318, 327, 420, 658, 718, 789, 796, 806, 855-856, 867, 881, 922, 965, 971, 984, 998, 1,042, 1,048, 1,055, 1,065, 1,116, 1,123; Series I, XLII, Part III, 37, 86, 91, 96, 103, 106, 120, 134, 144, 158, 177, 198, 230, 255, 258, 305, 318-319, 350, 375, 440, 479, 487, 508, 510, 511, 530, 536, 543, 548, 576, 597, 613, 618, 632-633, 659, 663, 666, 673, 691, 700, 749, 755, 767, 773, 785, 797, 845, 908, 933; Series I, XLVI, Part II, 202, 264, 272, 463, 531, 568, 614, 639, 659, 720, 732, 810, 858, 927, 937, 938, 1,238; Series I, XLVI, Part III, 19, 20, 53, 76, 90, 184, 204, 263, 289, 373, 374.

<sup>27</sup> The Civil War scholar who is interested in these prime sources has access to one of the richest accumulations of Civil War letters and diaries to be found anywhere, in the combined repositories of the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham; and the manuscript collection of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. These depositories will hereinafter be cited as the Southern Historical Collection, Duke Manuscript Collection, and State Department of Archives and History.

lines, which afford a dependable insight into the attrition under which the troops suffered.

This ample record shows that while some causes operated almost uniformly in regiments from all the Confederate States, some struck with unequal force at troops from particular sections, others bore with unusual intensity upon North Carolinians, and some were virtually peculiar to soldiers from that State. Letters and diaries of the troops and their families reveal yet another dimension in the problem of weighing the causes of flight from the ranks. There was, the historian senses, an immensely complicated interplay of forces that went into the lonely calculation as the individual soldier was pulled and hauled by competing impulses. As always, fate dealt unequal cards to equal men, and, what is no less inequitable, dealt equal cards to unequal men. It is one thing to catalog the hardships that burdened the army as a whole; but it is quite another thing to pass judgment upon a particular soldier whose resolution broke under the strain.

It may well be doubted that even the most careful and resourceful historian will ever fully explain the goads that finally prodded any single soldier over the line—to say nothing of the thousands who abandoned the Confederacy's colors. One wonders whether, in after years, he was ever able to explain it to himself. What finally induced him, just before dawn, to cross over from the lonely picket line to the enemy's outposts? Or to detach himself, at some convenient ford or mountain pass, from a marching column, as it was being hurried to combat on a blazing afternoon? Or to permit himself in the boisterous confusion of battle to slip to the rear and into the woods, or to fall willingly into a captors' hands?

Some soldiers, either by individual temperament, inheritance, experience, or biological predisposition, could bear up better than their fellows under the strain of hunger, nakedness, cold, and rain. So unevenly are men constituted that forbearance by some men under lesser trials may be greater heroism than the enduring of more grievous burdens would be in other men. Some could sleep better than others, and some who slept ill were far less affected by the deprivation than were others who suffered from the same infirmity. Of those who entered the ranks in robust health, some retained their strength throughout the War; others, worn down by disease, wounds, undernourishment, anxiety and exhaustion, felt their vitality ebb until they could scarcely drag themselves to the line of march when the long roll sounded. Still others were far gone in physical decay when they entered the service.

Another significant variable was the individual soldier's understanding and evaluation of the War's issues. A heart-whole dedication to the "Cause" could steel a weary trooper against his hardship, while his comrade who did not, or could not, in full sincerity, share such faith in the worth of his sacrifices, was seriously handicapped without this crucial advantage. Not only did morale rise and fall with a soldier's physical and mental health and well-being; there were the further factors of time and coincidence. Of two soldiers of equal mettle, one might suffer exposure to a series of shocks and deprivations in sequence, and withstand them, each in its turn; while upon the other the whole series descended at once with more disastrous consequences. The mood of despair might capture one soldier when no avenue of escape was offered; in another, who stumbled upon a wide-open door and yielded to an unpremeditated impulse to use it, defection was far less a function of calculated disloyalty than of propinquity. Some soldiers attached more importance than did others to the good opinion of kinsmen, neighbors, and fellow soldiers and were thus held in ranks. Some whose families begged them to come home were subjected to a fearful pressure from which their messmates were wholly exempt. Even the economic, social, and regional backgrounds of a soldier could strongly predispose and prejudice his loyalties. Compulsory military service, moreover, drew into the net persons of foreign or of northern birth and others whose zeal for southern independence was weak; and still others came from politically under-represented and socially and economically disadvantaged communities, whose hostility to more fortunate sections dampened their enthusiasm for any cause identified with the better-favored classes in the counties near the seaboard.

Some homesick privates, it may be presumed, were more deeply attached to wives and children, or to parents, or sweethearts than were others, or had relatives more dependent upon them for their livelihood than had their fellows. To a soldier with a wife and a houseful of little children on a precariously marginal farm, a full year's arrearage in the pitiful army pay was a far sharper prod to return to his home than it was for a less encumbered young private. Some pious soldiers missed religious services more sorely, and suffered more painfully than did others from the soul-blasting wickedness that offended their eyes and ears at every turn.

Yet another burden that fell unequally upon harassed men in the ranks was alarming news from home. For some soldiers it was an advantage that their families were too illiterate to write of their

own distresses. Others were fortunate in the relative safety of their kinsmen. But still others were in an agony of fear for wives, children, and parents exposed to possible molestation, and left in direst poverty in areas suffering from invasion, from enemy occupation, from armed bands of looting deserters and recusant conscripts, and even the plundering of Confederate cavalry, all of which took a fearful toll in crops, household goods, livestock, firewood, and fences. The dilemma indeed forced upon the distracted soldier the cruel choice of one kind of desertion or another—desertion from his imperiled flag or from his no less imperiled family. A desperate break for home by such soldiers is hardly to be weighed in the same balance as the absconsion of a soldier untroubled by such anxieties. Some, no less steadfast at heart than their comrades, sensed more accurately the danger they faced or foresaw more clearly that the cause was lost, precisely because of their keener intelligence, or more accurate sensibilities, or their greater information. And even within that group, there were those less disposed than others to co-operate with the inevitable, for reasons that cannot be guessed.

The individualized slings and arrows that could pierce the armor of a wearied will were endless and infinitely various, but enough has been said to caution the unwary against oversimplified explanation. Among objective causes of desertion, apart from precise individual reactions to them, the most obvious was the determination to flee the physical and spiritual hardships that bedeviled the man in the ranks.<sup>28</sup> To begin with, there was an appalling shortage of such items as shoes,<sup>29</sup> shirts, trousers, coats, and blankets. In some cases this equipment was never issued, or it wore out, was lost or discarded on the march in mid-campaign, and only tardily, if ever, replaced. Army

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<sup>28</sup> Much the best treatment of this theme is in Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*.

<sup>29</sup> "A great many of the soldiers in Our regt have been bare foot and half in our company until yesterdy . . . it is very cool to be steping about in the Ice these mornings my shoes has nearly give out and no time to mend them." James C. Zimmerman to his wife, October 27, 1863, James C. Zimmerman Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Zimmerman Papers. Another soldier said of his regiment that there were "a great many barefooted their feet bleedin from the rocks . . . the ground covered with snow." John A. McDowell to Thomas McDowell, November 13, 1862, Thomas D. McDowell Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel H. Walkup, of the Forty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, recorded in his diary that there was "much falling out, particularly by the barefooted men, about one fifth of the Regt one whole company G Capt & all fell out except one man & he shoeless." *Diary of Samuel H. Walkup*, February 21, 1862, Southern Historical Collection. General Bryan Grimes wrote his wife that there were at least 200 barefooted men in his command, and that "the poor fellows are in rags and tatters, but few having tents." Bryan Grimes to his wife, September 10, 1864, Bryan Grimes Papers, State Department of Archives and History. Like so many other regiments at Sharpsburg, the Twenty-third had a large number of men who were "barefoot and absolutely unable to keep up in the forced marches over rough and stony roads." Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, II, 222-223.

pay—small enough in all conscience, especially for men whose families looked to it for a bare subsistence—was as much as a year or more in arrears.<sup>30</sup> Shelter, in most instances, was totally wanting, so that men lived and slept during most of the year like animals under the open sky. The men lay on the bare ground even during a pelting all-night rain, with nothing for cover except, if one were lucky, a sodden blanket or an oilcloth.

It was the shortage of food that was most often mentioned in the soldiers' letters. Rations hovered for long periods at starvation levels. "There is some leaving nearly every day," wrote one Tarheel private from Camp Gregg, Virginia, in the spring of 1864. "I don't know why it is that so many is leaving," he added "unless it is Short Rations." Another in the trenches before Petersburg, wrote in December, 1864, to his brother in another regiment, "Sum of the boys is going to the Yanks ocasionally and I think oald Jef had beter giv his boys moar to eat or their will be moar of thim going plase from tha way tha talk We get a pound of loaf bread and a half a pound of beef and to day their was nun com."<sup>31</sup>

More gloomy were the frequent letters of Private Virgil Cavin to his parents in Alexander City, North Carolina, also written from Petersburg. In late 1864 and early 1865 the dominant theme of his letters, when near-starvation had sapped his will, was his indecision about deserting. On January 13, 1865, he wrote "I dont think I can stay here and Starve wee dont get a half a nuff to eat. . . . I ant agoing to stay here more than tow or three more weekes I will go some way or other I cant Stay here this away." Two weeks later he repeated "I cant Stay here and starve the way I have to do I get a pint of meal a day I cant stay here the is a croud of us a going to come home." On March 19 he was still in the trenches, but not from choice. "I dont no what to do," he said. "I hate to Stay here and Starve and I hate to go to the yanks I hant got much chance the wach [they watch] us So close that wee hant no chance . . . [but] the average from 8 to 10 men every night the cross the lines."<sup>32</sup>

Some troops who had served and suffered steadfastly for three or

<sup>30</sup> At one time some North Carolina regiments had not been paid for 15 months. *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel McMillan to Mr. Holder, April 23, 1863, Alexander McMillan Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; G. W. Love to S. E. Love, December 20, 1864, Matthew N. Love Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection. General Lee, in explaining a rush of desertions in January, 1865, thought that "insufficiency of food and non-payment of the troops have more to do with [it] than anything else. All commanding officers concur in this opinion." *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,143.

<sup>32</sup> These and several other letters by this despondent infantryman are in the Virgil S. Cavin Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Virgil S. Cavin Papers.

four years felt that they had earned retirement, and quietly took to the hills. Some finally left because they were galled by their failure to rise from the ranks while others less deserving, but more fortunate in their connections or more ingratiating in manner, moved up the commissioned grades. In the early months impatient young volunteers who had been hurried to Virginia indignantly decamped when they found that instead of being rushed into dashing sallies against the enemy, they were only assigned to holding him at bay by digging trenches and throwing up earthworks. Two or three years later, especially in the winter when the regiments lay idly in quarters, a mere day or two from home, jaded veterans who had fought bravely enough in the spring and summer campaigns could see no reason to be denied furloughs, so long as there was nothing to do, so they took leave on their own account, and in all too many instances never came back.

Still more productive of discontent was the persistent suspicion that this was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. "Rebel War Clerk" Jones summed up the mood of a vast segment of the army in his conclusion that "the people of wealth who had most at stake were more and more allowing the burden of war to be carried by the very people who were least able to carry it and who would benefit least from success."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cited in Frank L. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), 446-456. See also, Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 13-20; Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, Chapter IV, *passim*; Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 14-15. General D. H. Hill writing Governor Zebulon B. Vance early in 1863, in his usual salty manner, blamed the mounting desertion on "the wicked teaching of our newspapers and the still more wicked exemption bill" by which persons of means enjoyed immunity from military service while the enrolling officer reached out for nearly every poor man in North Carolina. "Ignorant men cannot but be dissatisfied when they are taught that their Government has wronged them & their state & when they see the capitalist, the extortioner & the foreigner kept out of service by this bill of abominations." Hill insisted that the exempt was more despicable than the deserter, "especially that exempt who was breathing nothing threatening & [sic] slaughter before the war & now contents himself with military criticism in his parlor at home, or still worse in making a fortune upon the miseries of the country." D. H. Hill to Zebulon B. Vance, April 26, 1863, Zebulon B. Vance Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Zebulon B. Vance Papers.

In July, Private Zimmerman wrote from near "Matison Courthouse," Virginia, to his wife in Forsyth County, North Carolina, painting a pitiful picture of his broken health, hard marches, dwindling rations, and the mounting desertions from his brigade. "it is no wonder you see and here tell of so many comeing home the way they are treeted here a man can eat all he gets for a days rashions at one meal they wont send one off to the hopittle until there is no chance for them to get well. . . . they would not send off four or five in our company until it was two late they died at the hospittle directly they got there." Three days later he wrote again, from near Orange Court House. "I have become verry poor and weak. I dont look like I did when I as at home last. . . . I always had good hops of whipping the Yankees until now but I have become disharten and now say we are whiped no country can gain her indipendance when there is so many speculators grasping and grabing at what little the poor women have to spair to get cotton and other things they are helping more to whip us than the Yankes." In October he frankly discussed the prospects for deserting. "I cannot think any of my neighbors would molest me if I was to come and stay a short time and return again to the army I make no calculation of ever seeing peace any more if I should

One surprising cause of disaffection was a fear that the Confederacy was dedicated to "Negro equality." When, as one means of filling up the depleted regiments, Negro conscription was proposed, one outraged soldier from the Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment wrote his parents in Jones County that he and his comrades would not "submit to such wrongs, & there is but one way they can escape such wrongs & that is to *desert* wick they are doing every night. . . . Mother I did not volunteer my services to fight for a free negroes country but to fight for A free white mans free country & I do not think I love my country well enough to fight with black soldiers."<sup>34</sup>

Officers ascribed the inconstancy of their men to the fact that many were illiterate rustics, too ignorant and unintelligent to understand their military obligations. Totally mystified by rules of discipline and the Articles of War, they had little understanding of the gravity of their offense,<sup>35</sup> and were easily misled by rumor, peace-propagandists, and the pleas of their families, who had no more conception of the issues than they. All they knew was that they had fallen upon very hard times since the fighting began.

That a large proportion of conscripts took early leave is in part explained by the low opinion of them expressed by volunteers. The judgment was often unjust. The volunteer was himself, often enough, in ranks only because the draft gave him no real alternative, whereas many draftees had waited until the enrolling officer claimed them only because circumstances at home were so exigent that they too took Hobson's choice in tarrying as long as possible. Some early volunteers in fact proved less steadfast than did many a conscript. Young hotspurs rushed to the colors in April and May, 1861, in the expectation that they were to take a brief and glorious part in a triumphant little war, and when that illusion proved false, lost their zeal. Some indeed quit after First Manassas, believing that it was all over, or that they, at least, had done their share.

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live to be as old again as I am and nowhow as long as a part can stay at home and hunt up and compel the other part to remain in survive If you will show me a man that is trying to compel soldiers to stay in the army he is a speculator or a slaveholder or has a interest in slaves and Jef Davis and Old Aabe cannot make peace on no turmes to soot them. If this ware ends and we all get home there will be more blood spilt than Co D has lost yet every man must beare his part eather here or at home." James C. Zimmerman to his wife, July 30, August 2, October 21, 1863, Zimmerman Papers.

<sup>34</sup> J. Francis Maides to his mother, February 18, 1865, James F. Maides Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Mallett, the State's Commandant of Conscripts and of the Camp of Instruction at Raleigh, wrote that the large number of deserters and draft dodgers abroad in North Carolina in the summer of 1862 were avoiding duty not for "the purpose of evading the law or in opposition to the Government, but from ignorance chiefly." Peter Mallett to George W. Randolph, August 6, 1862, Mallett Letterbook, Peter Mallett Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

A fearful strain upon the loyalty of the troops was caused by despairing letters from home. One distracted wife wrote her husband in December, 1864, of the suffering of their children and concluded by saying, "I don't want you to stop fighting them Yankees . . . but try and get off and come home and fix us all up some and then you can go back . . . my dear, if you put off a-coming, 'twont be no use to come, for we'll all hands of us be out there in the garden in the old graveyard with your ma and mine."<sup>36</sup> A North Carolina farm wife wrote her husband, "I would not have you do anything wrong for the world, but before God, Edward, unless you come home, we must die. Last night I was aroused by little Eddie's crying . . . 'O, mama, I am so hungry!' . . . your darling Lucy is growing thinner every day."<sup>37</sup>

In May, 1863, General James Johnston Pettigrew and Colonel Thomas C. Singletary sent Governor Vance two batches of such letters addressed to North Carolina troops in their command, adding that "men from our State are deserting every day." Blaming the desertions on homefront despondency, communicated to the troops in letters like the ones he enclosed, he explained:

A certain class of soldiers is influenced by this condition of public opinion. They are told as you see by the letters, that they can desert with impunity; that the militia officers will not do their duty; that they can band together and defy the officers of the law. . . . If the rascals went to work at home, one could understand the sympathy they meet with, but it is a notorious fact that they give themselves up to idleness and thieving, thus inflicting double injury upon their country.<sup>38</sup>

In January, 1865, a Fayetteville paper received from a soldier in the Fifth North Carolina Cavalry a letter written by a distracted farm wife to her husband. She pleaded with him to come home and "lie in the bushes," repeating the entreaty 18 times in six semiliterate pages full of references to the soldier's children and to the advice and

<sup>36</sup> Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 148.

<sup>37</sup> John W. Moore, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh: A. Williams and Company, 2 volumes, 1880), II, 237-238. Also quoted in Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 148; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 43-44; Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 13.

Family letters urging soldiers to run off usually begged them to come home, but one North Carolinian wrote his brother in the ranks "there is a great many men leaveing the Arma at this time and I am very glad to see them comeing home but if you have any notion of leaveing the arma I would like very mutch to see you comeing home you could get home very easy if you would only start but still I would advise you if you want to leave the war to go to the other side whear you can get plenty and not stay in this one horse barefooted naked and famine stricken Southern Confederacy for we have come to very near naught . . . evry person or very near say the Southern Confederacy is bound to die and if it would I would not cry." Jere Smith to Isaac Smith, January 6, 1863, cited in Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 43.

<sup>38</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 712-713.

pleas of his father, and promising to provide him with a "den" and arrangements for his visiting her at night. His brother had deserted and was now at home, she went on, and she and his father pledged to feed him as long as provisions were to be had, assuring him that while he was hiding out he would "not be hunted for there is no one to hunt."<sup>39</sup>

The hardships of campaigning and combat also took a heavy toll. Exposure to heat and cold, rain and mud, filth and vermin, incredibly hard marches, hunger and thirst, at just the time when the ordeal of battle strained their utmost reserves of strength and resolution, at last broke down even some of the stoutest fighters. The perfectly normal fear of combat was especially unnerving for those who were thrown into heavy fighting mere days after their induction, and for those who were hurried from one battle to another before they had recovered their balance. The frightful casualty rate—and not infrequently it was their own brothers and dearest companions who were killed or wounded before their eyes—eroded the will of not a few, as did battle defeats, and the fear of fear itself. Many a soldier was distracted by worry that he might "turn coward" in the next engagement. Their letters also speak of dreams haunted by an indecision about desertion which the day-time conscious mind would not permit to come to the surface.<sup>40</sup> It is difficult to determine at what point honest battle fatigue shaded off into disloyal defeatism, but nothing is easier to document than the prevalence of war weariness and the strain it placed upon the soldier's resolve to keep in ranks. Hundreds of letters from North Carolina soldiers now reposing in libraries of the State bear pitiful witness to its incidence. Ella Lonn reports that

. . . mail bags captured by the United States officers "showed already in 1863 that letters of Southern soldiers breathed but one sentiment—weari-

<sup>39</sup> *Fayetteville Observer* (Semi-Weekly), February 16, 1865. General Lee was deeply concerned about the despondency of the homefront and its effect upon the army. Writing of desertions from North Carolina units, he said "It seems that the men are very much influenced by the representations of their friends at home, who appear to have become very despondent as to our success. They think the cause desperate and write to the soldiers, advising them to take care of themselves, assuring them that if they will return home the bands of deserters so far outnumber the home guards that they will be in no danger of arrest." *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254. See also, *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 1,270-1,271.

<sup>40</sup> David Thompson, a private in Company G, Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment, wrote his sister from Winder Hospital in Richmond where he was convalescing, "I must tell you a dream I had last night. I thought I was at home & you & I wanted to go some where in a buggy & Pappy to prevent us from going cut every horses throat on the plantation I thought he told me he was going to have me arrested for a deserter." David Thompson to his sister Mary, November 20, 1863, Frank Nash Papers, Southern Historical Collection. Thompson, a Cedar Grove, Orange County, farm boy, was nineteen years old when he enlisted in June, 1861, and served faithfully throughout the War.

ness of the war. Soldiers saw, despite desperate and heroic efforts, defeat everywhere, saw their toils and sufferings unproductive against apparently inexhaustible numbers."<sup>41</sup>

High on the list of complaints by defectors was their failure to get furloughs. Confederate authorities were reluctant to reduce the wasted ranks still further, especially since bitter experience proved that the furloughed soldier too often yielded to the temptation to extend his leave until it dragged on into downright desertion. Governor Vance wrote that many left because, contrary to promise, they had not been assigned to the regiment of their choice, and some offered the surprising excuse that they had entered the forces to defend their communities only. Also heard was the argument that a man who volunteered never lost his right to leave the ranks voluntarily, much as (some slyly hinted) a State that had voluntarily entered the Union could voluntarily withdraw.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 18. See also, *Official Records*, Series I, LXI, Part III, 145. For samples of expressions of war weariness and its toll on morale among North Carolina regiments, see: letters of James C. Zimmerman, Zimmerman Papers; letters of Virgil Cavin, Virgil S. Cavin Papers; Nat Raymer to E. B. Drake, March 30, 1863, Zebulon B. Vance Papers; James H. Baker to his Mother and Father, February 1, 1865, James H. Baker Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; Charles W. Fulk to B. W. Pulliam, August 13, 1863, and S. M. Goff to B. W. Pulliam, February 9, 1863, Solomon Hilary Helsabeck Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Diary of J. E. Green, August 11, 1863, State Department of Archives and History; Wade Hubbard to his wife, October 16, 1864, Wade Hubbard Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; A. M. Johnson to Governor Vance, January 30, 1865, Zebulon B. Vance Papers; Frank Mills to his brother, January 6, 1865, Amanda E. Mills Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Amanda E. Mills Papers; J. K. Wilkerson to his mother, December 29, 1864, J. K. Wilkerson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; John Fair to his mother, January 16, 1862, A. E. Henderson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; William Newant (Stewart?) to his father, June 11, 1862, Bryan Tyson Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

<sup>42</sup> Governor Vance wrote the President in the spring of 1863 that in addition to arresting and returning deserters it was important to attack the causes of defection. He insisted, with characteristic overstatement, "I do not believe that one case in a hundred is caused by disloyalty. . . . Homesickness, fatigue, hard fare, &c., have, of course, much to do with it." A "principal cause," he said, was the unredeemed promise of furloughs. "They invariably offer this excuse when arrested." He was convinced that another "great cause" among conscripts was "that they were refused permission to enter the regiments of their choice with their neighbors and relations. Large numbers actually threaten to desert before they leave camp, and generally make good their threats." *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 709-710.

Legislation by the Confederate Congress had, in fact, promised liberal furloughs and the pledge was not fulfilled. An act of December, 1861, intended to encourage the re-enlistment of 12-month volunteers, promised such men 60-day furloughs, bounties, and the privilege of re-organizing themselves into companies, with officers of their own election. James M. Matthews (ed.), *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, Virginia: R. M. Smith, [printer to Congress], 1864), 223. Four months later the first conscription act stipulated that men already in the service, who were now retained by the new principle of compulsory service for men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, were to be awarded 60-day furloughs unless they had already had them under the previous law. James Matthews (ed.), *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the First Congress; 1862*. (Richmond, Virginia: R. M. Smith, [printer to Congress], 1862), 30.

The *Standard*, itself accused of fomenting desertion by preaching disloyalty and a

Occasionally desertion could be traced to friction between private and officer. The native "techiness" that characterized the uncomplicated southern yeoman bred insubordination,<sup>43</sup> a tendency which the lax discipline that marked the Confederate forces, or exactions of an occasional petty tyrant in shoulder straps, did little to inhibit. Once begun, the evil was cumulative; every deserter who went unpunished—and all but a tiny minority of them did—was an argument against putting up any longer with suffering and deprivations.<sup>44</sup>

Hardship and despair on the homefront had a disastrous impact on the allegiance of the troops. It was a call to return home and look to the immediate relief of their beleaguered loved ones; it sowed doubts of the wisdom of secession and war; especially when the hardships were traceable to profiteers, it was further proof that it was a rich man's war; it was the ground for a smoldering resentment against the Confederate government that sometimes exceeded the soldier's hatred for the Lincoln regime. Especially productive of hostility to Richmond were the taxes in kind and the impressment laws that seemed to bear with unequal weight upon the rural poor; the conscript system—especially the exemption and substitute provisions—and other evidences of centralized authority and "military despotism"; the deterioration of Confederate currency and the demoralization of prices under the twin pressures of shortages and profiteering; and the belief that a soldier's home State was more discriminated against by the Richmond government than were any others.

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negotiated peace, retorted in August, 1863, that desertions long antedated the so-called "peace movement"; that the real cause of mass desertion was to be sought in the Gettysburg disaster and in the failure of the Confederate government to live up to its promises in the matter of furloughs, plus the notion that the army must fight on until exterminated rather than consider any plan to negotiate an honorable peace. *Semi-Weekly Standard*, August 18, 1863.

<sup>43</sup> See, on this point, Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941), 4-58, and David Donald, "The Confederate as a Fighting Man," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXV (May, 1959), 180.

<sup>44</sup> Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 17. General Lee was keenly alert to this consideration. "Great dissatisfaction is reported among the good men of this army at the apparent impunity of deserters," he wrote Davis in August, 1863. *Official Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 650. In February, 1865, he expressed to the Secretary of War his deep anxiety over the huge defections of North Carolina troops who were hiding out with scant danger of arrest. He concluded that "these desertions have a very bad effect upon the troops who remain and give rise to painful apprehensions." *Official Records*, Series I, XLVI, Part II, 1,254.

A soldier in the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment made the same point in a letter to his local newspaper in 1862. A private had deserted from Company H seven months ago, he said, and had been advertised in the local press. But far from being arrested by the county's sheriff, militia, or private citizens, he was permitted to run at large while the advertisement was appearing. The result was that the men in the deserter's outfit began to think lightly of the offense, and four more ran off. Meanwhile, troops sent home on deserter-hunting service reported that "they could get no assistance, or information from any one about them," and all the while the men who remained in the ranks had to endure the knowledge that their communities were being plundered and terrorized by such recusants. *Fayetteville Observer*, September 22, 1862.

Some grievances were more keenly felt in North Carolina than elsewhere, and there were some causes of desertion that were almost unique to that State. One North Carolinian, who as a boy had lived in the deserter territory and had mingled freely with disloyal soldiers and civilians, pointed out in a remarkable piece in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1891 that the same circumstances that had made North Carolina "at once the most loyal and disloyal state on both sides" during the American Revolution placed her again in the same "anomalous" position in 1861-1865, "sending more men into the Southern ranks, and [giving] more lives for the Southern cause than any others at the same time that she contained by far the largest and most determined disaffected elements of any state where disaffection was as little backed by Northern arms." The explanation, he argued, lay in the survival in North Carolina of the old English yeoman type, "a sturdy, independent middle class." Even those in this class who were small slaveholders, said he, were in the ranks of the disaffected and "entirely out of sympathy with the slaveholding class in general."<sup>45</sup>

The astonishing independence of North Carolina owed much also to the vigorous leadership of public men committed to the conservative cause at the outset of the war; to the personal and political strength of the impetuous popular idol, Governor Vance; and in no small degree to the "Peace Movement" and the energetically anti-Davis (and after January 1, 1864, the virulently anti-Vance) stand of the State's most influential newspaper and its volatile editor, William W. Holden.<sup>46</sup> Similarly involved were the State's unusually high proportion of small owner-farmers; its relatively small stake in slavery and secession; its reputation for provincialism and reactionary ruralism that had won it the nickname of the "Rip Van Winkle State" (in fact no longer deserved after 1840, but still lingering in the southern mind), engendering in touchy Tarheels an injured sense of alienation from the South as a whole.<sup>47</sup> Many North Carolinians also believed that the

<sup>45</sup> David Dodge, "Cave Dwellers of the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVIII (October, 1891), 514-521.

<sup>46</sup> The writer is treating the theme of the peace movement in another essay. For convenient summaries of the story, see Horace W. Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (October, 1954), 493-526, hereinafter cited as Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement"; Roberts, "Peace Movement in North Carolina," 190-199; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 85-107. See also, Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, Chapter VI; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, Chapter XII; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University, 1914).

<sup>47</sup> For some history of North Carolina's reputation for reactionary rusticity and provincialism, see R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1585-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 152ff; Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 21, 25, 764, 827; Hugh Talmage Lefler and

draft operated more disastrously in their State where a disproportionately large number of farms were wholly dependent upon their owners (and their sons) for labor. Entire counties were stripped of adult males (except for the aged) when forced military service had sent them either into the ranks or into hiding.

After mid-1863 many Confederate and State authorities, as well as civilians and troops in the ranks, were convinced that the greatest single cause of desertion by North Carolinians was the peace sentiment and despondency at home, which they blamed on "Traitor Holden." The growing sentiment for trying negotiation rather than protracting a hopeless war made a plural thrust upon the man in the ranks. It not only won adherents in the army. Many soldiers who were not themselves captivated by its melancholy logic were demoralized by it because they felt that it was foolish for the troops to sacrifice themselves for a cause the country seemed ready to abandon. The triumph of defeatism at home mocked all the suffering that the army had endured from the beginning; it blasphemed the memory of every soldier who had fallen; it sneered at every privation, every pain that every soldier had borne.

Holden himself resented imputations of treason. His editorials thundered against desertion and against betrayal of southern principles, but he scolded the Confederate government, for, said he, it "had lost its original character and had been perverted to despotic purposes against her own rights and the rights and liberties of her citizens."<sup>48</sup> The troops would fight better, he insisted, if they knew that friends at home were preparing the way for negotiating an honorable peace, for it would give real point to fighting hard for bargaining leverage."<sup>49</sup> Even Vance came close to saying the same thing long before Appomattox.<sup>50</sup>

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Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 298-311, 336, 355. There is an interesting observation by a perceptive northern traveler in North Carolina in 1853, in Arthur M. Schlesinger (ed.), *The Cotton Kingdom* by Frederick Law Olmsted (New York: Knopf, 1953), 148, where North Carolina is described as having "a proverbial reputation for the ignorance and torpidity of her people; being, in this respect, at the head of the Slave States."

<sup>48</sup> Raper, "William W. Holden and the Peace Movement," 507.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, *Semi-Weekly Standard*, August 18, 1863; *Weekly Standard*, May 25, July 27, 1864.

<sup>50</sup> Said the forthright Governor, "After a careful consideration of all the sources of discontent in North Carolina, I have concluded that it will be perhaps impossible to remove it except by making some efforts at negotiation with the enemy. . . . If fair terms are rejected [by the North] it will . . . rally [our people]." It would, he added, also place the blame for this "slaughter" squarely on the North. "I have not suggested the method of these negotiations or their terms; the effort to obtain peace is the principal matter." *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 807.

Critics of Holden, however, saw him as a peace-at-any-price man, if not an unqualified traitor, driven by political ambition. In the peace movement and its principal voice, Holden's *Standard*, they saw the real cause of the growing defection. General D. H. Hill repeatedly wrote the Richmond government that it was the newspapers and factions favoring reconstruction who induced North Carolina troops to decamp.<sup>51</sup> From the western counties came word that peace meetings were touching off a rush of desertion among the North Carolina regiments stationed there.<sup>52</sup> General Lee was convinced that peace-minded newspapers were a major spur to defection when he wrote James A. Seddon, the Secretary of War, enclosing a letter from one of his colonels who reported enormous withdrawals from the Twenty-second North Carolina Regiment and blamed them on "that disgraceful 'peace' sentiment spoken of by the *Standard*."<sup>53</sup> General Stephen D. Ramseur wrote his wife from Orange Court House two weeks later, "W. W. Holden is responsible in great measure for the desertions among North Carolina troops."<sup>54</sup>

Similar views were shared by men in the State's regiments at the front and by civilians at home. A young Granite Falls (Iredell County) soldier of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment wrote in the summer of 1863:

I beleaf the talk at this [time] among the boys is that thay are all coming home before long . . . there is a good deel of dissatisfaction among the N C troops at this time but I think all things will be wright before long if old Holden's press was stopt, that has don more harm in the army among the Soldiers of N. Carolina than every thing else.<sup>55</sup>

Another North Carolina private wrote his brother in the spring of 1864 of a military execution he had just witnessed:

There has been a good many N. Carolinians shot in this army for Desertion old traitor Holden is Responsible for the most of it. . . . I think the N C Soldiers passing through Raleigh on Furlough ought to stop and hang the old son of a bitch. I think about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the N Carolinians at home are tories through the enfluence of W. H. Holden and nearly half the Soldiers. I cant see how he keeps of the gallows. . . . N.C. has and is disgracing herself and Soldiers.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XVIII, 1,052-1,053.

<sup>52</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XLIX, Part I, 1,034-1,035.

<sup>53</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXVII, Part III, 1,052.

<sup>54</sup> Stephen Ramseur to his wife, August 15, 1863, Stephen D. Ramseur Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>55</sup> C. F. Mills to Harrison Mills, September 6, 1863, Amanda E. Mills Papers.

<sup>56</sup> J. W. Bell to Ike Bell, March 14, 1864, A. W. Bell Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection.

A condemned private in Company B, of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment, seconds before the executioners' volley cut him down, declared that "though others persuaded me to do what I did, the reading of Holden's paper has brought me to this."<sup>57</sup> Colonel D. M. Carter of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment learned that "A number of Deserters of Nethercut's battallion [*sic*], caught at New Berne in arms, were hanged last week—all of them attributed their base conduct to the traitorous teachings of the Standard and [Raleigh] Progress."<sup>58</sup>

It was also widely believed that the State's courts, and especially Chief Justice Richmond Pearson, accounted for as many desertions as did spokesmen of the Peace Movement and the traitorous "Order of the Heroes of America." Intervening at first in behalf of principals whose substitutes were forced into service after the repeal of the substitution law, but later issuing writs of habeas corpus freely to deserters and recusant conscripts who had been arrested in contravention of what the Justice conceived to be their constitutional rights, Pearson seemed to deny the constitutionality of the conscription laws themselves, as well as the means used to enforce them.

In the spring of 1863 General William D. Pender, one of North Carolina's most brilliant officers in the Army of Northern Virginia, wrote Lee his opinion of the causes of recent desertions of North Carolinians in Lee's force:

The whole trouble lies in the fact that they believe when they get into North Carolina they will not be molested, and their belief is based upon the dictum of Pearson, Chief Justice of the State. . . . Our men are of the opinion that he held that the conscript law was unconstitutional, and hence they draw the conclusion that enrolled conscripts will not only be justified in resisting the law, but that those who have been held in service by the law will not be arrested when they desert. . . . Letters are received by the men urging them to leave; that they will not be troubled when they get home. . . . To be just to my state . . . I must say that . . . too many of the troops of other states of the Confederacy would act as ours are doing if they thought they could with safety.<sup>59</sup>

Governor Vance was drawn into acrimonious correspondence with the Davis government over the issue of his State's courts. Secretary Seddon wrote him that deserters

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<sup>57</sup> Lt. J. M. Goff, Provost Marshall in Rodes' Division, to Col. Bryan Grimes, commanding the Fourth North Carolina Regiment, February 9, 1864, published in the *Wilmington Journal*, March 10, 1864.

<sup>58</sup> Clara B. Hoyt to D. M. Carter, February 23, 1864, David Miller Carter Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>59</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXV, Part II, 746-747.

think they have only to come within the jurisdiction of your courts to be permanently exonerated from the perils and hardships of military life . . . [or] that if they can reach certain western counties of the State they will find no reprobation in public sentiment, but be secure of harbor and protection. . . . It might be well [for you] to restrain the too ready interposition of the judicial authority in these questions of military obligation.<sup>60</sup>

Vance leaped to the rebuttal. Recounting his recent and continuing energetic exertions to combat desertion and to inspire the people of his State, he took sharp exception to imputations of "a too ready interposition of the judicial authority. . . ." Insisting that the State's unhappy reputation was to be explained by the fact that her neighbors were too willing to think evil of her, he reminded Secretary of War Seddon, that she had done more to arrest conscripts and deserters, "she has better executed the conscript law; has fuller regiments in the field than any other; and . . . in the two last great battles on the Rappahannock [Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville] in December and May she furnished over half of the killed and wounded."

The decisions of North Carolina's courts have been widely misconstrued, he went on, and "I must decline to 'restrain the judiciary.'" He further said,

While I will do everything for the common cause, I will also sustain the judicial authorities of the land, the rights and privileges of the citizens to the utmost of my power. . . . The decisions of the Supreme Court of North Carolina will be binding on all parties.<sup>61</sup>

Vance's loyalty to the southern cause was in fact beyond question, but his hostility to Davis and his government (notably on the score of its neglect of North Carolina and her fair claims to defense, and to a proportionate share of appointments of high civil and military officers; its centralized authority and "military tyranny"; his solicitude for his State's rights; his avowed unfriendliness to conscription;<sup>62</sup> and his vigorously expressed refusal to subject the courts to executive usurpa-

<sup>60</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXV, Part II, 814; Series I, LI, Part II, 714.

<sup>61</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 715.

<sup>62</sup> The full story of the opposition to conscription in North Carolina, both in the courts and elsewhere, merges with the problem of desertion, and is too complex to be recounted here. It forms a separate chapter of the study upon which the writer is engaged, and has, moreover, been recorded by others. See J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The State Courts and the Confederate Constitution," *The Journal of Southern History*, IV (November, 1938), 348-444; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The North Carolina Courts and the Confederacy," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (October, 1927), 366-403; Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 44-48; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy*, Chapter XII; Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), Chapter IV; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 114-118, 127.

tion) made him, especially beyond his State's borders, appear the ally of Pearson, if not of Holden, in sabotaging the Confederacy's desperate efforts to recruit up the nation's vanishing armies.

One other source of disaffection which fed the North Carolina troops' inclination to desert the Confederacy's flag was the belief that their State was deliberately discriminated against, and would, in the end, have little more to hope for in the Confederacy than in the old Union. The suspicion was strengthened by Vance himself, who repeatedly and intemperately accused the Davis government of such partiality. The State smarted under doubts of her loyalty that the Davis regime and the Confederacy at large and the Confederate Army entertained, based, she presumed, upon her prudent conservatism in the secession crisis, her preference for moderate office-holders rather than fire-eaters, her manful resistance to Confederate centralization and usurpations, and her consistent defense of the prerogatives of States at war against the principle of consolidated federalism.

Soldiers and civilians were moved to wrath against Richmond by Vance's charge that the Confederacy sacrificed the defense of the State's coast in favor of the prior claims of Virginia. They shared the Governor's fierce indignation over the assignment to North Carolina of Virginians and other "foreigners" to enforce the Confederate tax, impressment, and conscription laws, and over the systematic exclusion of North Carolinians from high posts in the Davis administration.

Especially bitter were the recriminations over the slighting of North Carolina's claims to military commands. The State by Davis' own admission was supplying the Confederacy with more men than was any other, and she insisted on a proportionate share of high-ranking commissions. Of a total of eight full generals in the Confederate armies, none was a North Carolinian; of the 21 lieutenant generals, the State had only two; of 99 major generals, she had only six instead of the 20 that she felt was her due. And of the 480 Confederate brigadier generals, the State's twenty comprised only one-fourth of her fair share.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Clark, *Histories of the North Carolina Regiments*, V, 3-4. There is frequent mention of these discriminations, in the letters of troops from the front. One soldier in the Fourteenth North Carolina Regiment, speculating on the cause of his State's troops' low repute, wrote his observations to his hometown newspaper. "North Carolina Troops are looked upon . . . by other State Troops with contempt, caused by the reconstruction rumors and sentiments from North Carolina that have been put afloat. . . . Such rumors are one great cause of so much desertion. . . . I can hear every day, more or less that North Carolina is for reconstruction and that all her troops are deserting and going home." To rebut the charge the writer pointed out that any soldier who wished to escape from the army had simply to step out of ranks during the retreat from Pennsylvania with little fear of reprisal. "We could now be in Yankeedom if it had been our desire, or in North Carolina either." *North Carolina Argus* (Wadesboro), September 24, 1863.

Finally, the troops, with no little coaching from their Governor, repeatedly expressed bitterness over the favoritism shown Virginia and other States, at North Carolina's cost, in official reports and newspaper accounts of battles. North Carolina's contribution in killed and wounded exceeded that of all other States, but she was, she believed, consistently robbed of her share of glory not only because officers from other States (particularly Virginia) held most of the commands and because the war office and the Richmond government generally were staffed largely with Virginians, but also because the Confederacy's press was largely dependent upon Virginia newspapers and Virginia correspondents for battle news of the Army of Northern Virginia, to which most of North Carolina's regiments were attached.<sup>64</sup>

A considerable number of runaways went directly over to Union lines by abandoning their trenches or rifle pits and delivering themselves to Federal pickets. Others left their own posts as pickets and crossed over while still others contrived to be taken prisoner. Still larger numbers struck out for the Confederacy's interior, preferably for their own communities, going boldly to their homes or "lying out" and maintaining precarious contact with their families. The break was often made by dropping out of moving columns at fords, ferries, gaps, and passes, especially in rough country, or by falling back at swamps near camp. Some slipped from railway stations and troop trains, even jumping from moving cars. Many simply failed to return from hospitals or furloughs, sometimes using stolen or forged passes and other papers. Some sprang to freedom under cover of darkness or in the confusions of battle or in the course of disorderly retreats. Some managed with help from sympathizers to escape in civilian clothes, or were relayed by stages into the interior, by a kind of semi-organized underground. The record even mentions a Richmond embalmer who passed off the renegade as his assistant or even as a corpse.<sup>65</sup>

The problem of controlling desertion was complicated by the fact that the offense was not clearly defined by law. Indeed, the laws of States, North Carolina among them, did not recognize the offense, and the fact that it was therefore a Confederate crime greatly impeded the efforts to arrest and forward the runaways. Desertion as the military

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<sup>64</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXIX, Part II, 723-724; Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, I, 391. There is a summary of heart-burnings in North Carolina over the several discriminations mentioned in this and the foregoing two paragraphs, in Walter A. Montgomery, "Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina*, Bulletin 15 (1913), 35-55.

<sup>65</sup> This paragraph relies heavily upon Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 38ff, and Martin, *Desertion of Alabama Troops*, 1-25, 246.

and Confederate law contemplated it, was the abandonment of the military service without permission and with the intention not to return. The latter intent was, of course, extremely difficult to prove. A surprising number took self-awarded furloughs to make a crop, to cut firewood, to look to repairs about the house and farm, to assuage the pangs of homesickness, or to beget a child. Nothing is more astonishing about the life of "Johnny Reb" than his casual departures and returns in the face of laws that defined his conduct as punishable by death.

Sometimes deserters quit one regiment to join another. Far more common was absence without leave, involving, it was presumed, intention to return. Another widespread practice was that of "straggling"—falling out of line of the march, or immediately before or during battle, with intent to return when peril was past—or when a particular blackberry patch had been stripped of its fruit. Still another form of shirking was "skulking," avoiding military service by fraud or other law-breaking: self-mutilation, malingering at the expiration of a furlough or at the commencement of a battle, securing forged papers of paroles or furloughs or exemptions; collusion with medical boards for exemption or with subordinate military officers for assignment to easy duties and pleading ignorance of the machinery of enrollment under the conscription laws. As the War progressed, the distinctions between these and other dodges became increasingly blurred, and the various artifices were eventually subsumed under the general term "desertion."

Means for coping with slackers, shirkers, runaways, and turncoats were as numerous and varied as the modes of escape, and they comprise an absorbing, if saddened, chapter of Civil War history. That story is, however, too long to be recounted here, and must be reserved for separate exposition.

# THE SHAPING OF A POLITICAL LEADER: JOSIAH W. BAILEY AND THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1924

BY JOHN ROBERT MOORE \*

In North Carolina the primaries for nomination of Democratic candidates for the governorship have usually been the occasions for hotly fought battles. From time to time the nature of the factions competing within the Democratic Party for control of State affairs has changed, but over several decades the chief divisions have fallen between organization and antiorganization groups. The 1924 gubernatorial campaign proved no exception as Josiah William Bailey, an insurgent candidate, vied with Angus Wilton McLean, the candidate of the political organization led by Senator Furnifold M. Simmons, for the Democratic nomination. Although Bailey was soundly defeated in his first State-wide race, he did succeed in building a workable, personally loyal organization and in bringing recognition to himself as a powerful figure in State politics. Upon this foundation he sprang to national prominence in 1930, when he wrested the Democratic nomination for senator from North Carolina from Simmons, who had held that office for 30 years. The 1924 campaign not only illustrated the techniques and ideas which Bailey used with good effect in subsequent races, but also revealed much of the character and determination that later made him an influential leader of southern conservatives in the United States Senate during the turbulent years of the Depression and World War II.

Josiah William Bailey, fifty-one years old in 1924, was a veteran politician with a self-acknowledged "propensity for battle" that thrust him into one struggle after another.<sup>1</sup> A man of inherent dignity, he was medium in build, his expression grave, and his face angular with a prominent nose, a lantern jaw, and greying temples. His dress was

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<sup>1</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers. For a detailed account of Josiah W. Bailey's 1924 campaign see John Robert Moore, "Josiah W. Bailey: Candidate for Governor of North Carolina, 1922-1924" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1960).



Josiah William Bailey. From files of the State Department of Archives and History.

austere, almost Edwardian with dark, carefully buttoned suits, somber ties, and high starched collars at which he often tugged when speaking.<sup>2</sup> In manner and appearance there was a hint of the Baptist minister, and his speeches were nearly always tinged with Biblical phrases that expressed a deep sense of moral indignation.<sup>3</sup> Recognized as one of North Carolina's finest orators, he had a sharp, incisive intellect, which his enemies suspected concealed the makings of a demagogue. During a political campaign he would drive quietly to the courthouse, ascend the platform, and begin sorting the documents from which he planned to quote. Hardly ever did he seek out people, although when approached by friends and admirers he demonstrated the typical politician's facility in exchanging pleasantries and in shaking hands. He seemed to have an abounding confidence in his power to reach the people from the speaker's platform.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 7, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

<sup>3</sup> Both his father and grandfather had been Baptist ministers, and Bailey himself had edited the *Biblical Recorder*, the weekly organ of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, from 1893 to 1907. For a brief account of Bailey's family history, see the *Biblical Recorder*, January 2, 1935.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.

On the stump for 15 years Bailey had vigorously upheld the policies and principles of the Democratic party. He had given head and heart in 1908 to William Jennings Bryan, "the Knight Errant of mankind," while at the same time aligning himself with the political organization in North Carolina led by Senator Furnifold M. Simmons.<sup>5</sup> From 1912 Bailey fought beside Simmons in every campaign, received and distributed patronage, and compiled an official record as Collector of Internal Revenue for North Carolina during his eight-year tenure that was distinguished by efficiency.<sup>6</sup> His marked ability, knowledge of public affairs, and deep interest in political questions placed him in the front line of aspirants for State office.

Shortly after Bailey left the office of Collector of Internal Revenue in October, 1921, rumors circulated that he might be a candidate for Governor in 1924. *The News and Observer* reported, however, on January 2, 1922, that "A. Wilton McLean, W. B. Cooper, and John H. Kerr are apparently in the running in earnest with still a doubt as the intention of J. W. Bailey."<sup>7</sup> Bailey himself neither confirmed nor denied the rumors publicly at this time, but remained an acute observer of the shifting political sands in the State. By April, 1922, however, he admitted privately:

I suspect I shall have a fight to the finish with the machine, but I am ready for it. I have stood with the machine for the sake of Senator Simmons many years, but there are certain elements of it that will never harmonize with me. I shall make no final decision to run in the near future.<sup>8</sup>

Although his activities gave little indication of his political aspirations, the 1924 primary was never far from his mind.

Apparently Bailey waited only until the time seemed ripe to introduce himself. His opportunity arrived during the Wake County primary election of county officers in June, 1922, which presented the scene of a bitter contest between John Hinsdale, W. F. Evans, and John Mills for the Democratic nomination for Solicitor in the Seventh Judicial District. With the first ballot split three ways, no one received a majority of the votes, and a second primary was held to decide

<sup>5</sup> Furnifold M. Simmons (1854-1940), member of the United States Senate from North Carolina, 1901-1931. He was defeated for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1930 by Josiah W. Bailey, his former supporter and friend. J. Fred Rippey (ed), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> N. Y. Gulley, *Josiah W. Bailey: A Brief Sketch of his Career and Activities* ([Raleigh: Allied Printing Trades, 1924]), 1-4.

<sup>7</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 2, 1922.

<sup>8</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to J. H. Weathers, April 28, 1922, Bailey Papers.

between Hinsdale and Evans. John Mills, the third contender, cast his lot with Hinsdale. With the battle thus intensified, Bailey chose to step into the fray, as a private citizen, in support of Evans.<sup>9</sup>

Speaking at the Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh on June 12, 1922, Bailey informed several hundred of Evans' supporters that a coalition of lawyers, bankers, and others was trying to railroad Hinsdale into office. On a more personal note he acknowledged, "I do not know whether or not I shall lose votes for Governor tonight or not. I do not care. I know I am going to do my duty and let the future take care of itself."<sup>10</sup> As the second primary approached, he further charged that certain lawless elements had distributed large sums of money in an effort to corrupt the voters in Wake and Franklin counties.<sup>11</sup> The outcome of the second primary was an outstanding victory for Bailey's candidate for solicitor, W. F. Evans. Raleigh's leading newspaper aptly summarized the situation:

The Bailey forces accept victory with what modesty it has at its command. . . . In the latter days of the campaign less was heard of Bailey, but he had already centered the attention of the entire State on himself through the medium of a local fight. Many of his friends see in the overwhelming victory of the Bailey candidate, a measure of the strength that will come to Bailey two years hence when he goes out to battle with A. Wilton McLean for Governor.<sup>12</sup>

Bailey's speech in behalf of Evans was his first public pronouncement of his intention to campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1924. That he had chosen both the time and the method of his revelation with rare political acumen was attested to by the bountiful harvest of publicity that followed. His charges that certain members of Governor Cameron Morrison's administration, principally A. D. Watts as Commissioner of Revenue, were using money to elect their favorites and to subvert the primary election system seemed sufficient to win for him both the guise of a reformer and the appearance of an antimachine candidate.<sup>13</sup> The latter move held peculiar significance since not only had Bailey himself been a beneficiary of the political organization headed by Senator Simmons, but he had vigor-

<sup>9</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1922.

<sup>10</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1922.

<sup>11</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 26, 1922. Two years later, Bailey recalled: "Mr. A. D. Watts, Commissioner of Revenue, used his office in 1922 for political purposes; and when he did I went to the Court House in the month of June, in the City of Raleigh, and denounced him and his doings." Josiah W. Bailey to W. L. Spencer, April 3, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>12</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 3, 1922.

<sup>13</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 26, 1922.

ously defended it against the attacks of W. W. Kitchin in the senatorial campaign of 1912.<sup>14</sup>

During the summer of 1922 Bailey let the subject of irregular election practices fade from the headlines and tended to some political fence-mending. His willingness to abandon his supposed discoveries of bribery in State politics was unusual in view of the tenacity with which he held to any reform that he believed was needed. Bailey explained his silence in this manner: "Loyalty to the Party required that I should hold my peace until after the November election."<sup>15</sup> As for his political fence-mending, he took his most important step concerning the attitude of his friend and patron, Senator Furnifold M. Simmons. In August, 1922, Bailey visited briefly with the Senator in Washington, D. C., and discussed both the election irregularities and his possible candidacy for Governor.<sup>16</sup> Recalling this visit some 20 years later, he observed:

In 1918 I became aware of the cheating in our Primaries and Elections. I discovered that Watts had arranged to have thousands of absentee soldiers votes cast in the election. I took the matter up with Simmons and told him I would not stand for it, and in 1921 I demanded the Australian Ballot and a fair election system. He did not like my attitude as he said it would make trouble between him and Watts. I told him I was going ahead and would undertake to whip Watts and expected Simmons to lay off. He gave me a lecture on politics then and said he thought I wished to be Governor, and he would assure me I would be Governor and might be Senator, but he wished me to be quiet and go along with him and the others. I told him I was unwilling to be quiet and I did not care to run for any office, but I was concerned about an election reform and would go ahead. I asked him if he would fight me if I ran for Governor and he said no he would take a neutral position.<sup>17</sup>

Writing to Simmons in March, 1924, Bailey reminded him of the August conference: "I mentioned to you that there was a possibility of my running for Governor; and you immediately said that as between me and any of your other friends, you would not take sides; and I said that I would expect no more of you than this."<sup>18</sup>

Following the general elections of November, 1922, Bailey detonated a political bombshell that more than compensated for his relative silence during the last four months. In a lengthy public letter delivered to the Associated Press and published throughout North Carolina on

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, J. W. Bailey, *Simmons—Organizer of Victory* (n.p., [1912]), 1-16.

<sup>15</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 18, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to J. Crawford Biggs, March 1, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>17</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.

<sup>18</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Furnifold M. Simmons, March 20, 1924, Bailey Papers.

November 22, 1922, he called on the Democratic Party and the recently elected General Assembly for an extensive program of reform. He specifically set forth four services for the State and Party to perform: (1) safeguarding and checking the issuing of long term bonds, (2) reducing the volume of taxes for State, county, city and town, (3) rescuing primary and election systems from corrupting use of money, and (4) rehabilitating the office and curbing the power of the State Tax Commissioner.<sup>19</sup>

On the issuance of long-term bonds, Bailey argued simply that North Carolina must curb the current tendency to tap the credit of the State at the expense of future generations. In urging a reduction of taxes, he was not merely echoing the politician's habitual cry for economy in government. His case was built solidly upon the almost threefold increase in the volume of taxes in North Carolina over the 1912 to 1922 period. Proper efforts in the direction of business-like economy and the elimination of sinecures, graft, and supernumeraries would, he estimated, save hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars. His chief complaint about taxes, however, was that the burden fell heaviest upon farmers and owners of small homes.<sup>20</sup>

Although the first two issues of Bailey's program of reform took precedence in his own view, neither carried the impact of his third and fourth points. Bailey harshly denounced those persons who had sought to corrupt the primary and election system by the use of money in the purchase of votes and in tampering with the election officials and returns. In his denouncement he mentioned no names, but insisted he knew "the man who boasts that he is 'the greatest fat-fryer since Aaron,' and will name him when necessary."<sup>21</sup> As a correction, Bailey bluntly asserted that "for the man who solicits . . . the man who pays . . . the man who takes the money the doors of the penitentiary should open."<sup>22</sup>

Bailey's demand for the rehabilitation of the office of State Tax Commissioner, which was held by A. D. Watts, created the greatest furor. The heat generated by this demand was not surprising, since Bailey's wording was strong to the point of intemperance:

I have said that the State Tax Commissioner has more power than Julius Caesar. . . . It ought to be made a penitentiary offense for him to solicit,

<sup>19</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922.

<sup>20</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922. In Bailey's opinion, "big bond issues tend to develop pork-barrel politics, and evidences of that are now at hand in this state."

<sup>21</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922. In view of Bailey's running battle against A. D. Watts, the most probable inference here was that this was another oblique attack upon Watts.

<sup>22</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922.

receive, or distribute campaign contributions in primaries or elections. He ought to be utterly divorced from politics. . . . Otherwise, we stand guilty of having given to a taxgatherer the power to raise unlimited funds for political purposes and return them with interest in favors at the public expense.<sup>23</sup>

He also pointed out that had he suggested these reforms prior to the November elections, he would with reason have been charged with giving aid and comfort to the Republicans. After the election and before the meeting of the General Assembly, however, he could put forward these reforms with the hope that the legislature might apply the necessary remedies before the next election.<sup>24</sup>

Whatever Bailey's real intentions may have been or the effect he hoped to create with his sensational exposé, he quickly found himself embroiled in a conflict of personalities. The controversy stemmed chiefly from the immediate opposition of Governor Cameron Morrison, who with some justification considered Bailey's statements a direct attack upon his administration. In the following bitter exchange of accusations and recriminations, Bailey was hard put to explain his support of Morrison in the 1920 primary and his dramatic break with Morrison's administration in 1922.<sup>25</sup> Despite the blunting of the initial impact of his program of legislative reforms, he determined to impress the need for reform deeply upon the people of North Carolina. To facilitate this end, he published his program in a pamphlet entitled *Four Services of Progress* and distributed it throughout the State. In the Preface, dated December 5, 1922, he noted that his program had created widespread interest, but that much of the discussion had not revolved around the soundness of the views expressed. He further observed:

I have seen but little discussion as to whether the policies proposed would serve or disserve our Commonwealth. But much has been said upon the subject of how the expression of my views at this time might affect the contest for the Governorship in 1924! As if that were the question!<sup>26</sup>

“The turning point in my political career was the discovery of what

<sup>23</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 22, 1922. Earlier Bailey had declared: “I have said that the next General Assembly ought to pull every political tooth out of his head. He is Tax Commissioner. The head of our taxation system has no business in politics.” *The News and Observer*, July 10, 1922.

<sup>24</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 10, 1922.

<sup>25</sup> Bailey later remarked: “With regard to the machine, I did not consider the Simmons following in this state as a political machine; but when Governor Morrison came in, he converted his Administration into a machine.” Josiah W. Bailey to N. Y. Gulley, March 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>26</sup> Josiah W. Bailey, *Four Services of Progress* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1922), 1-8.

was going on in the 1922 primary," wrote Bailey on March 18, 1924.<sup>27</sup> His reasons for severing his association with the controlling elements of the Democratic Party in North Carolina were probably not so simple or so idealistic as his public statements and letters indicated. Having been active in State politics for more than 15 years, he doubtlessly knew of the compromises involved in selecting candidates and in maintaining power on both State and local levels. Although his name may have been connected in the public mind with the so-called Democratic machine, this association was probably more the consequence of his support of the leaders of the Democratic organization than the result of any control which he exerted upon that machine. Bailey himself protested: "I think the machine capitalized my support. I call your attention to the fact that from the day of my entrance into politics until now, I was fighting the political machine in Raleigh and Wake County."<sup>28</sup> Yet alongside the Bailey who was repulsed by the excessive lengths to which he thought machine politics had been carried in the State, there was the Bailey whose political career, although moderately successful, had never included a major elective office.

Throughout 1922 Bailey tested the measure of public support his candidacy for governor in 1924 might call forth. As an experienced politician he appreciated that his chances of attaining the Democratic nomination depended upon either the influential backing of the party leaders or a mighty ground swell of popular support. In relation to these hard political facts, his tactics in the 1922 primary and in his subsequent demand for legislative reforms had a greater significance than superficial appearances might warrant. Wade Harris, Editor of *The Charlotte Observer* and by no means a Bailey sympathizer, made the following analysis: "Mr. Bailey wants to be Governor and finding that about all the elements of the party were minded for another man—these elements constituting 'the machine' he is endeavoring to discredit the leaders of it and to make capital for himself among the people."<sup>29</sup>

The problem of channeling public sentiment to the support of Bailey's candidacy was manifold. In the first place, since his political activities had been limited largely to city and county levels, and since his participation in State campaigns had always been as a supporter rather than as a candidate, he had to bring about recognition of himself as a candidate, and, if possible, as a strong contender for the governorship. In the second place, since there was no indication that

<sup>27</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 18, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Stacy Brewer, February 8, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>29</sup> *The Charlotte Observer*, November 26, 1922.

he would receive the backing of the party leaders with whom he had formerly allied, his identification with the so-called Democratic machine could be only a liability in any attempt to arouse popular support. Finally, since his chances of success rested upon an informed and sympathetic public, his candidacy needed a firm basis upon certain issues which would exploit public dissatisfaction with the existing order and stimulate the pulse of reform throughout the State. In publishing his *Four Services of Progress*, Bailey reconciled, perhaps unconsciously, his candidacy to these difficulties. By this one step, he not only signaled his political availability, while bringing about State-wide notice, but also showed his independence from the political machine, challenged the practices of Morrison's administration, and pointed the way to progressive reform.

Throughout the winter of 1923 Josiah W. Bailey maintained an attitude of inquiry in respect to his prospective candidacy and the popular support he might expect. To the urging of his supporters that he organize for the coming campaign, he remained quietly but firmly aloof. His impression of political conditions was: "While there is an extensive and increasing interest, the people as a whole are not disposed to become intensely interested in a campaign that cannot really begin until 1924."<sup>30</sup> The public may have been indifferent, but such was not the case for the supporters of Angus Wilton McLean.<sup>31</sup> *The Charlotte Observer* in a thinly disguised "news article" on July 2, 1923, editorialized:

If reports that come into Raleigh from every district from the first to the tenth portray the actual political situation, and it is believed they do, McLean has the forces of influence active for him in four-fifths of the counties of the state . . . see the recognized party leaders who have cast their lot with the McLean forces . . . Governor Morrison, O. Max Gardner, Robert N. Page, Senator F. M. Simmons, Senator Lee S. Overman, the entire North Carolina delegation to Congress. . . .<sup>32</sup>

This loose coalition of party leaders lending their influence and support to Angus W. McLean was only slightly exaggerated. Bailey had long since recognized that his candidacy would not be endorsed by the

<sup>30</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 8, 1923.

<sup>31</sup> The political career of Angus Wilton McLean was marked by an impressive record of service to the Democratic Party and the nation. From 1916 to 1924 he served as the North Carolina member of the National Executive Committee to the Democratic Party. During the First World War, he rendered conspicuous service as a director of the War Finance Corporation and as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. William H. Richardson, "Angus Wilton McLean," David Leroy Corbitt (ed.) *Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925-1929* (Raleigh: Council of State, 1931), vii-xvi.

<sup>32</sup> *The Charlotte Observer*, July 2, 1923.

leaders of his party, but he had hoped that his personal friendship with Senator Simmons would at least prevent this accepted "boss" of the Democratic party organization in North Carolina from taking sides.

Bailey's hopes that Simmons would remain nonpartisan went unrealized, for on April 25, 1923, Simmons announced in conversation with Bailey: "Now Mr. Bailey, you have been very candid with me; and I must tell you that I am going to support Mr. McLean for Governor."<sup>33</sup> On July 4, 1923, Simmons publicly stated that he would champion the candidacy of McLean.<sup>34</sup> In reaction to Simmons' endorsement of his opponent, Bailey issued a formal declaration through the Associated Press in which his disappointment was evident:

Let the statement by Senator Simmons . . . go for whatever it may be worth. It is not for me to appraise the force of it one way or the other. My position is unchanged. I would not be fit to run for Governor, if my running depended upon the support of any man or set of men. . . . With all due respect, therefore, to any and all the powers, so far as I am concerned, the people must determine my course. "The Machine" did not put me up; it can not pull me down.<sup>35</sup>

If Bailey's statement showed his disappointment, it also affirmed his determination to carry his candidacy to the people of North Carolina. In a very real sense Simmons' support of McLean broke the last tie holding Bailey to the controlling elements of the party organization. Although Bailey precipitated the estrangement by his independent attitude and his denunciation of election irregularities, Simmons made the final break. Looking back 20 years later, Bailey recalled:

But in 1923 before I had announced he sent for me and told me he must frankly tell me he would fight if I ran. This made a break between Simmons and myself. I told him I would fight back. Had he gone along with me in the matter of the election law I would have been his faithful supporter as long as he lived.<sup>36</sup>

At this time, however, he remarked simply: "He has tried to keep me from running; and, unfortunately for him, he tried in the wrong way—he really challenged me to run—and as I see it, made it almost necessary that I should run."<sup>37</sup> Almost at once he abandoned his former attitude of cautious inquiry toward the prospects of his candidacy and his posture of quiet aloofness in regard to campaign organization. His

<sup>33</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Furnifold M. Simmons, March 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>34</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 5, 1923.

<sup>35</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 8, 1923.

<sup>36</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.

<sup>37</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, October 2, 1923, Bailey Papers.

private letters and public speeches expressed a purposefulness of intent unknown before Simmons' announcement.

On July 16, 1923, Bailey wrote of his campaign plans: "It will be no trouble to me to make a speech every night and, if necessary, I think I can make one every morning and every night. . . . My plan will be to travel and speak constantly for six months."<sup>38</sup> He apparently considered his campaign experience and his oratorical ability among his chief advantages in arousing support, but he was too astute to depend upon speeches alone. Above all he understood that his chances rested upon psychological factors:

No man can look abroad over the country at present, without being convinced that the people are tired of machines and bosses. A candidate must always depend upon psychological effect, rather than anything he may say or do. He must get the benefit of the mass movement, or lose out.<sup>39</sup>

At the same time he realized the necessity of cultivating a friendly press if his candidacy was to reach the greatest number of voters throughout the State. Although he expected many of the city newspapers to be nonpartisan, if not sympathetic, he believed his major source of strength was in the small county newspapers which could influence the farm vote.<sup>40</sup>

Friends and supporters continually urged Bailey to initiate county campaign organizations, but he proposed to hold out until the most auspicious moment. He perceived that his campaign would need the appearance, if not the reality, of ever-growing momentum as the June primary of 1924 approached. By the first of August, 1923, he had received sufficient assurances of support to organize in at least 50 counties, but he was not prepared to risk the danger of organizing precipitately. Intent on preventing his candidacy from bogging-down before the climax of the race, his plan of action called first upon an unrelenting speaking campaign and second on a thorough-going distribution of printed material. These two courses would, he hoped, establish the issues involved in the election and arouse the people from their lethargy.<sup>41</sup>

Writing to Judge Walter Clark, Bailey confided, "If I may judge from what I hear, there is a tremendous revolt on against the machine,

<sup>38</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, July 16, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>39</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, July 16, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>40</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to E. F. Watson, July 25, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Clark, August 2, 1923, A. L. Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1948-1950), II, 469-470, hereinafter cited as Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*.

and its administration. Heaven knows, we have enough to arouse the last drop of red blood in the State.”<sup>42</sup> There was certainly sufficient encouragement at this point to prompt him to remark, “I believe they will demand, on the part of the people, a new deal inside the Democratic Party and I suspect that the machine captains will realize this, if they do not already realize it.”<sup>43</sup> His optimism was not completely unfounded, but his hopes had become dangerously high. By the first of October, he even toyed with the idea that Senator Simmons could be persuaded to abandon McLean and to join the Bailey camp. He suggested to his friend, Archibald Johnson:

I believe a letter from you to Senator Simmons will have great effect; he comes up for election next time; the Party will be on the defensive. . . . I have reason to believe that Simmons is very much concerned about the present situation and that he is fearful of the consequences. . . . You may be surprised that I entertain the thought that Simmons may yet pull McLean down, but I do think (from what I have heard) that he is very much concerned.<sup>44</sup>

All was not well in the Bailey encampment despite the glowing reports of his supporters and the wishful thinking of Bailey himself. His optimism sprang from the overzealous views of his supporters, whose letters tended to indicate a swing of popular feeling to Bailey. Even this correspondence was not completely favorable, for a few of his friends advised him against seeking the nomination. Locke Craig, Governor of North Carolina from 1913 to 1917 and a political friend of both Bailey and Simmons, wrote on November 24, 1923:

I would regret exceedingly for you to run for Governor. I feel sure that you cannot be nominated. You may carry this county, but if my subjective symptoms are any indication of the sentiment of North Carolina, they will not nominate you this time. A great many people severely criticise our present governor and his policies, but there are influences that you can not overcome now.<sup>45</sup>

Former Governor Craig did not explain the “influences” that Bailey could not overcome, but his advice against running was explicit. These warnings from a veteran politician for whom Bailey held high regard may well have had a sobering effect.

If Craig's counsel did not persuade Bailey to forsake his campaign, it at least evoked a response that revealed much of his character. His

<sup>42</sup> Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*, II, 469-470.

<sup>43</sup> Brooks and Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*, II, 469-470.

<sup>44</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Archibald Johnson, October 2, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>45</sup> Locke Craig to Josiah W. Bailey, November 24, 1923, Bailey Papers.

reply to Craig disclosed a depth of feeling and a measure of idealism that his speeches, despite their eloquence, had seldom expressed. "I got into politics by accident," Bailey wrote, "and my first venture in general politics was founded in my regard for you. I was very much of an amateur in 1908."<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, because so much in politics disgusted him, Bailey alleged that he had always verged on renouncing his political activities. The only real satisfaction he could claim was "in my successful wars against a crowd of rascals in Wake County and Raleigh," and in his hopes that "whipping the same sort of rascals in the State" might prove equally gratifying.<sup>47</sup> As for the gubernatorial race, he contended, "Suppose I refuse to undertake it; who will take my place? Suppose no one undertakes to do it; what will become of the Democratic Party and the State? This is the matter that is giving me concern."<sup>48</sup> He perceived that his campaign would be arduous, and he admitted a great desire to quit politics altogether and to enjoy his home and legal practice. "On the other hand," he maintained, "I have a natural propensity for battle—a propensity that puzzles me, it seems so strange to my real nature. Nevertheless, it seizes me, and thrusts me into one political struggle after another."<sup>49</sup>

On January 17, 1924, Josiah W. Bailey formally announced his candidacy for the nomination of the Democratic Party for Governor of North Carolina in the primary on June 7, 1924. In a three-page declaration he outlined his reasons for seeking office and presented the policies and principles he intended his candidacy to represent. "I am now a candidate," he attested, "because I believe there is a service to be rendered, a cause to represent. . . . I have not been thrust forward as the candidate of any group or faction."<sup>50</sup> He advanced 11 principles as the essence of his candidacy:

1. To relieve land from the unjust burden of taxation;
2. To foster all that makes for progress with emphasis upon moral and spiritual factors;
3. To get a dollar's worth of public service for every dollar of taxes paid;
4. To end a policy of special favors and privileges in the State's administration;
5. To call the people to a renewed devotion to law and order;
6. To encourage farm ownership and make farm life attractive;
7. To establish election and primary laws that will end the power of money in politics;

<sup>46</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>47</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>49</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Locke Craig, November 28, 1923, Bailey Papers.

<sup>50</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 17, 1924.

8. To set the trend of progress strongly in the direction of local self-government;
9. To renew the Democratic Party's spirit by direct contact with its constituents and by full and free discussion;
10. To break down within the Democratic Party a political machine that seeks power only to serve itself;
11. To evoke the unrelenting assertion of the public will as the way to economy, just freight rates, justice in taxation and agricultural relief.<sup>51</sup>

With his campaign promisingly begun, Bailey gave every sign of embarking upon a fast-moving and hard-hitting contest. His recognized opponent for the nomination, Angus W. McLean, had made no public statement of the date upon which he would formally announce. McLean continued to follow a policy of noncommitment regarding the gubernatorial race, while permitting his followers to push his candidacy.<sup>52</sup> Between January 17 and March 10, 1924, however, Bailey presented fewer than three speeches per week of which only six were avowedly political addresses.<sup>53</sup> If the press of North Carolina accurately reflected the political situation, he was chiefly engaged in a letter-writing rather than a speaking campaign. He had hardly announced his candidacy before he was embroiled in several editorial controversies with various newspapers, which were as prolonged as they were indecisive.<sup>54</sup>

Opening his speaking campaign at Raleigh on March 10, 1924, with an aggressive program of governmental action, Bailey discussed for more than an hour and a half "The Way of Progress in North Carolina." Commenting on the direct relations of politics to human welfare, he explained that there were "500,000 homes in North Carolina of which 450,000 were cottages wherein resided families on incomes less than \$2,000 per year and that at least 350,000 of these families were living on less than \$900 per year."<sup>55</sup> He averred that the State faced three great tasks in the next ten years, which could be classified in terms of securing just freight rates, equal taxation, and a political

<sup>51</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 17, 1924.

<sup>52</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 1, 1924.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, *The News and Observer*, the *Durham Morning Herald*, and *The Charlotte Observer*, January 17, 1924, to March 10, 1924.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, *The Charlotte Observer*, January 19, 1924, to February 20, 1924. A total of 13 letters and editorials were exchanged between Bailey and Wade H. Harris, the Editor of *The Charlotte Observer*, and its Raleigh correspondent, Brock Barkley. The controversy was on a personal level and was consequently very bitter. Bailey's participation did little to enhance his image before the voters, but he did force Harris and Barkley to reveal the offices they held under the Morrison administration and the salaries they received. Harris as President of the North Carolina Railroad Company received \$95 a month, while Barkley as Secretary to the North Carolina Water Transportation Commission received \$150 a month. *The Charlotte Observer*, January 23, 1924.

<sup>55</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 11, 1924.

awakening and restoration of representative government. Emphasizing that relief for the farmer and small homeowner composed the immediate task, Bailey said: "The official records show that the average farmer pays 13 per cent of his income in taxes. The average for the rest of us is only 11 per cent. . . . Our tax problem is primarily one of readjusting the burden."<sup>56</sup>

Adjustment of taxation was the most urgent problem, but in Bailey's opinion the adverse and unfair freight rates under which the people suffered presented the greatest obstacle in the way of progress. The railroads, he contended, had conspired to exploit North Carolina's failure to secure a through line from the middle west. So-called independent short lines had been set up by the large railroads and were permitted by law to charge higher freight rates because of their independence. "Our history is a history of the dismemberment of our east and west roads. . . . Let us not be content with filing petitions and begin making demands. The railroads are not more powerful than this commonwealth," Bailey insisted.<sup>57</sup>

The Raleigh address set out the main issues which Bailey planned to develop in his campaign. During the following months he hammered at these points with little deviation. He professed, "I may not be elected Governor; but one thing is certain; I am going to inform the people."<sup>58</sup> His presentation of the problems confronting North Carolina constituted an almost singlehanded endeavor, since his organization was woefully inadequate. Bailey had not yet selected a State-wide manager for his campaign, much less marshaled the aid of possible county managers. His organizational difficulties were peculiar to almost any insurgent candidate in his first State race. Although he was known throughout North Carolina and had made valuable political contacts in his campaigns on behalf of Senator Simmons, he had not worked formerly to create ties of personal loyalty to himself. This lack of personal political "friends" worked to his disadvantage now, since most of the regular party organizers hesitated to work for him after Simmons had strongly endorsed McLean.<sup>59</sup>

As an insurgent candidate, Bailey could not personally command the regular party machinery for distributing publicity, advising on local issues, arranging rallies, and marshaling campaign workers. As a consequence, he counted heavily on the ideas he had broadcast

<sup>56</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, March 11, 1924.

<sup>57</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, March 11, 1924.

<sup>58</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Clark, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>59</sup> Personal interview with A. J. Fletcher, August 20, 1959. Fletcher assisted Bailey in the early campaign management and later spoke on Bailey's behalf in many of the counties.

through speeches, letters, and newspapers, to arouse a significant following. He believed:

Very few votes are made by personal solicitation or political maneuvers. Some votes are made by spending money, and a few by telling lies, but the great body of our people vote in response to instinctive impulses—and these impulses are always derived from ideas spread abroad. It is a difficult thing to comprehend; but this is the theory of all my politics. I think in the next 30 or 40 days, you will see a great manifestation of public sentiment; and it will be accounted for in this theory.<sup>60</sup>

Although Bailey's theories may have been sound, his lack of an organization seriously hampered his efforts to arouse the voters, establish the issues of his campaign, and reveal the tactics used against him. Just two months before the primary, Judge Walter Clark advised, "Of course it has not escaped you that the campaign of the Opposition was to postpone and prevent any discussion as long as possible and after that to 'chill' any debate so that the news that there is opposition, and the ground of it, shall not reach the masses and from information I get, they are succeeding in this far more than you are doubtless aware."<sup>61</sup>

Bailey's position regarding campaign expenses was noteworthy, for he not only intended to abide by the North Carolina law limiting political expenditures to \$6,500, but also provided that amount from his own pocket. When a supporter sent him a check, Bailey returned it with the following note:

I very greatly appreciate your letter and also your kindness in sending the check. I made up my mind, however, when I announced my candidacy, that I would accept no contributions whatever. I think you see why; I provided the sum allotted by law (\$6,500), and also made provision for the support of my family these 5 months.<sup>62</sup>

His reluctance to accept contributions coincided with his whole attitude concerning campaign expenses. In conscientiously keeping the law, he was often hard pressed to explain his course to supporters who pointed out that a little money discreetly placed in the counties might sway the primary.<sup>63</sup> Not only did he refuse such suggestions, but he also turned his back on requests that he pay potential campaign workers.<sup>64</sup> His soft replies may have turned his supporters' wrath, but

<sup>60</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to J. M. Parrott, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Walter Clark to Josiah W. Bailey, April 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>62</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to D. L. Gore, February 15, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>63</sup> Joseph W. Bailey to D. C. Weeks, February 29, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>64</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to J. J. Thomas, April 2, 1924, Bailey Papers.

Bailey himself deeply resented the promptings. Writing to a close personal friend, he protested:

I think that one of the most deplorable facts that I know of is that our candidates are disposed to spend more than the law allows . . . and that in the many counties there are so-called "workers" who expect from \$25 to \$500 for their influence. . . . I would rather be beat, than pay one cent for influence in a political fight. . . . My news continues to be good, and the only discouraging feature is the constant demand for money from grafters; I am turning all of them down—flatly.<sup>65</sup>

On April 17, 1924, Bailey announced that C. L. Shuping, a Greensboro attorney and the Guilford County manager for R. N. Page in the 1920 gubernatorial primary, had been chosen to manage his State-wide campaign.<sup>66</sup> Shuping immediately assumed charge of the Bailey headquarters in Raleigh and began the delicate task of recruiting county leaders. During the next month he worked with considerable success to perfect the county organizations. Some difficulty still existed, of course, in recruiting able and determined workers, but in many communities the Bailey organizations developed with surprising success. In Greensboro 41 supporters met on the night of April 23, 1924, at the Guilford County Courthouse to form a "Bailey for Governor Club." They brought with them a roster containing the names of 381 persons pledging their support, and formulated detailed plans for boosting Bailey's candidacy.<sup>67</sup> Although Shuping searched unsuccessfully in some counties for managers, nevertheless, by mid-May he had set up some form of organization in almost every county.

Leaving the problems of organization in the capable hands of Shuping, Bailey struck out on a speaking tour of North Carolina which he confidently announced would continue until the primary on June 7, 1924.<sup>68</sup> Carrying his appeal directly to the voters, he drew large crowds at his speeches in Wake, Nash, Durham, Johnson, Cleveland, Northampton, Edgecombe, and Franklin counties in the first two weeks. The subject of his speeches remained always the same—taxation, freight rates, and machine politics, but his single-mindedness caught the attention of the voters. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported:

In the Greensboro News six weeks ago it was recorded that the Bailey tax speeches were getting next to the voters, so much so that easterners

<sup>65</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Tom P. Jimison, March 22, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>66</sup> *The News and Observer*, April 18, 1924.

<sup>67</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, April 24, 1924.

<sup>68</sup> *The News and Observer*, April 17, 1924.

declared a party statement would be necessary. Since then the state convention has met. Its platform was admirably adapted to Bailey's speeches but not purposely so. It was broad as a Cincinnati block. . . . It promises millennial peace to every discontented tax-payer and Bailey is discontenting a pile of them.<sup>69</sup>

On May 1, 1924, when the State Bar Association met at Pinehurst, the lawyers favoring McLean seriously admitted that "Mr. Bailey must be watched because he is making a strong appeal to the rural people."<sup>70</sup>

Moving into the western section of North Carolina in the first week of May, Bailey told a cheering throng at Thomasville that the State faced four important questions. On the question of taxes, he held that the State must give back to the counties more of the burdens of government. Until that had been done, he argued, land taxes would continue to increase. The problem of machine control of the Democratic Party and the State could be corrected, he advised, only by adoption of the Australian ballot and court review of election results, which together would provide secrecy in voting and make the purchase of votes difficult. Bailey promised not only to resist the freight rate discrimination against the State, but also to fight the proposed increase of rates, pointing out that the Atlantic Coast Line and the Southern Railway paid large dividends to stockholders on watered common stock. He further pledged to institute a program of economy in the expenditure of public money, and noted that the Morrison administration was notoriously and boastfully supporting his opponent. "It looks to me," he observed, "at any rate that they think I mean business when I said I would get a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's taxes."<sup>71</sup>

Bailey's speeches were clearly designed to inculcate in the minds of the voters a suspicion that certain vested interests used the State government to their own profit. He had also presented the implication that these interests greatly feared the election of a reform governor. On May 12, 1924, N. Y. Gulley, an ardent Bailey supporter, carried these implications to their logical conclusion in a political advertisement entitled: "What the Atlantic Coast Line has at Stake in the Gubernatorial Race."<sup>72</sup> Gulley revealed that McLean had been President of the Virginia-Carolina Railroad Company, running to Lumberton, and connecting the Atlantic Coast Line near Hope Mills, until January 2, 1924, when he had resigned to run for the governorship. According

<sup>69</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, April 28, 1924.

<sup>70</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, April 28, 1924.

<sup>71</sup> Speech of Josiah W. Bailey at Thomasville on May 2, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>72</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 12, 1924.

to Gulley, the Virginia-Carolina Railroad claimed the right to charge higher rates because of its independence.

Yet all this time, every dollar of the stock (while it stood on the books of the company, in the name of Mr. A. W. McLean), was really owned by the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad company, and was held by that company endorsed in blank by Mr. McLean.<sup>73</sup>

This accusation certainly implied that McLean himself had collaborated with the large railroads in the exploitation of North Carolina, and supported similar charges made by Bailey himself. Gulley observed further that there was considerable evidence to indicate that the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company was financing McLean's campaign in order to maintain a hold on the next State administration. In concluding, he impugned, "Mr. McLean is an honorable man. . . . But the men or interests that want Mr. McLean to be governor, are under no \$6,500 limit, and they are spending lavishly on his behalf."<sup>74</sup>

By mid-May Bailey had scored heavily against McLean, and his campaign had aroused support throughout the State. According to the *Greensboro Daily News*, McLean's candidacy had been hurt by "the popular resentment toward the Simmons partisanship in this fight, and the growing suspicion about election laws."<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, Bailey still faced formidable opposition from several fronts. In the first place the old Simmons machine, although enfeebled by the loss of Bailey's services, possessed sufficient strength to be a major factor. Secondly, the newly-formed organization of "O. Max Gardner, John Dawson, D. F. Giles, Lindsay Warren and the other young Turks" had allied temporarily with the Simmons' forces against Bailey.<sup>76</sup> Finally, there was the personal opposition to Bailey which, although a growing party, "isn't likely to become attached to either of the old factions."<sup>77</sup> Although this analysis of the factions resisting Bailey may have been slightly exaggerated, it did indicate the extensive opposition confronting him.

In the final swing of his campaign before audiences in Lenoir, Greene, and Wayne counties on June 5, 1924, Bailey confessed, "The fight is yours, I have finished my part and I leave the rest to you. . . . But if I am not nominated I shall go right on, joining in the common battle against the Republicans in November, but not quitting my fight

<sup>73</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 12, 1924.

<sup>74</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 12, 1924.

<sup>75</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, May 12, 1924.

<sup>76</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, May 12, 1924.

<sup>77</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, May 12, 1924.

to reform the Democratic party.”<sup>78</sup> The correspondent assigned to Bailey's campaign by *The News and Observer* aptly summarized the situation:

His speeches today reflected the strange admixture of confidence and indifference which has made the Bailey campaign a marvel to everyone in the State except the candidate. All the way through . . . he has had his own idea about the way things were going and has not appeared surprised at developments. When the Bailey showing at the State convention was so small as to be pitiful, the candidate did not seem perturbed. . . . About two weeks ago when his dormant strength suddenly crystalized, Bailey took it just as calmly. Now on the eve of the primary, when his opponents and his friends alike seem confident of the result, he takes the situation in the same spirit.<sup>79</sup>

This insight hit upon the strangest aspect of Bailey's candidacy and campaign, for outside his public statements and occasional flashes of personal optimism, he had never believed that he would win the nomination. Both his attitude and method of campaigning indicated that he aimed first to inform the people and only second to win the nomination. Beginning with the full understanding that he would be a personal candidate, he had appealed directly to the people, and there he rested his cause. Instead of hiring workers, he had asked for and received hundreds of volunteers. The response to his candidacy had greatly encouraged him, but he faced tremendous opposition.

As the polls opened on Saturday, June 7, 1924, the people of North Carolina streamed 235,000 strong to make known their choice for governor. Slowly mounting returns from the 100 counties, representing 1,719 precincts, moved McLean's majority steadily toward the 50,000 mark. The final majority of A. W. McLean over J. W. Bailey was officially declared by the Election Board to be 67,624, with McLean carrying 83 of the 100 counties by majorities ranging from ten votes to 4,000. The total vote was 151,197 for McLean to 83,574 for Bailey.<sup>80</sup>

In the face of defeat, Bailey issued a formal statement on Monday, June 9, 1924, pledging his continued support to the Democratic Party. In this serious expression of the aims of his candidacy, he affirmed:

Five months ago I set out upon an undertaking—being nothing less than to interpret the spirit of Progressive Democracy in our Commonwealth. . . . I stated as the principle of this undertaking that politics ought not to be regarded as the means of power or honors or office or privilege, but

<sup>78</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.

<sup>79</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1924.

<sup>80</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 19, 1924.



Governor Angus Wilton McLean in his office, probably taken in 1928. From Albert Barden Collection in the State Department of Archives and History.

as the means of maintaining human rights and welfare and progress. . . . I undertook to apply these principles throughout the campaign in terms of a sound and just taxation system; just freight rates, election and primary laws providing every facility for the expression of the will of the voters and preventing the power of money in politics; and economic administration of public affairs.<sup>81</sup>

Bailey also noted that the number of persons supporting his cause afforded substantial encouragement and that no good cause was ever defeated. In concluding his statement, Bailey urged, "Let us press on with patience born of courage and confidence founded upon faith in the right. We are at the beginning, not the end of our struggle."<sup>82</sup>

Throughout Bailey's campaign there had been a subtle sense of perspective extending far beyond the June primary. His comments on his defeat reinforced the supposition that his campaign had been more than a battle to win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Two days before the primary, John E. White, an old schoolmate and a close personal friend of Bailey, remarked to a newspaper correspondent:

<sup>81</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 10, 1924.

<sup>82</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 10, 1924.

"He has told me all along in letters and personally that he cannot carry the State . . . but Bailey has the long view. He has something else in his mind. He isn't done. He has just begun."<sup>83</sup> Although White let slip only a few hints to the correspondent, he declared himself fully to Bailey on June 10, 1924:

Well, what I think you anticipated in your race for Governor came to pass. . . . My own judgment of the situation is this: You have vastly increased your political and moral prestige in North Carolina. You had to overcome—and you did it—two tides—the tides of inertia about change . . . and the tide of personal criticism. When you come as you probably will before the public again these tides will be through running. Max Gardner will fall into your footsteps, and when he runs for Governor it will be in the animus of his unforgotten defeat by Morrison and his resentment of the machine. If Simmons lives four years more and the field is open for a new deal in the U.S. Senatorship, no man in the field could defeat you.<sup>84</sup>

The validity of White's insight was indicated by Bailey's reply:

Your estimate of the campaign is pleasing. Gardner and I are not likely to become political brothers. I think he wants to be Governor at any cost. He will probably offer an alliance with me. . . . Our cause has been pretty well advanced; and I have no question about our opportunity arriving in due season.<sup>85</sup>

If there could have been any doubt that Bailey looked to future triumphs, the tone of his letters following the primary dispelled the illusion. Bailey wrote, "I think we made a very fine start. . . . The present situation will break down rapidly—there will be developments which none of us now anticipate."<sup>86</sup> On his campaign, he reaffirmed, "What we needed was a stronger organization; this we will obtain in due season. . . . We did probably as well as we could have hoped in the first campaign."<sup>87</sup> In his most definitive statement, however, he assured:

Events will develop quite rapidly. I do not hesitate to say to you that I am going to hold the trust committed to me. . . . I believe there are at least

<sup>83</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, June 9, 1924.

<sup>84</sup> John E. White to Josiah W. Bailey, June 10, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>85</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to John E. White, July 9, 1924, Bailey Papers. "I supported Gardner in 1928 on a specific promise to stand for an Australian Ballot law. He gave me the promise in writing and he performed it." Josiah W. Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>86</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to R. G. Grady, and to E. F. Upchurch, June 30, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>87</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to S. A. Adams, July 9, 1924, Bailey Papers.

83,600 people who will stand with me; and I think there will be many more. . . . This is quite an army. It will not go to pieces.<sup>88</sup>

Although he did not specifically reveal his future plans, he had apparently evaluated the political situation with some goal in mind. Bailey concluded:

I am satisfied that the present line-up cannot be maintained. The Simmons and Gardner coalition will not last. Whenever it breaks, I will be in a position to move—and I shall move.<sup>89</sup>

Bailey's campaign, although generally constructive, was gauged to draw support from regions of North Carolina most rife with discontent. The conflict between the rural-agrarian east and the urban-industrial west over taxation admirably suited his purposes. His repeated calls for a readjustment of taxation probably appealed to the rampant sectional feelings of the west, while his pleas for agricultural redemption and just freight rates found favor chiefly in the east. The coupling of the two issues, however, had a canceling effect in centers of urban industry, for Bailey used both taxation and freight rate issues in his appeal to the farm vote and offered little, if any, concession to industrial and big business interests.

The nature of Bailey's campaign may have influenced the outcome of the Democratic Primary of 1924, for he received the most intense support from eastern counties and suffered his worst defeats in the west. On the other hand, the patch of northeastern counties in which he won his easiest victories were traditionally antiorganization. The Simmons' machine was avowedly aligned with big business and industrial interests in the west, although Simmons himself had strong personal strength in the southeast around his home. Angus W. McLean, a native of Robeson County in southern North Carolina, drew large majorities as expected from neighboring counties. In the northwest and in the southwest Bailey met two centers of resistance: the one in Iredell County, which was the preserve of Bailey's arch-enemy, A. D. Watts, and the other in Cleveland County, from which O. Max Gardner had extended his influence throughout the State. In view of the loose coalition of high State officials and of the two factional organizations within the Democratic Party supporting McLean, Bailey undoubtedly anticipated defeat. Yet if he did not believe he could win the contest, why had he entered so boldly?

Bailey's experience in State and local politics had been considerable,

<sup>88</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Santford Martin, July 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.

<sup>89</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to Santford Martin, July 5, 1924, Bailey Papers.

but never before had he sought a high elective office. If he was ever to rise above his position as a local bureaucrat, he needed to signal vividly his political availability, while at the same time to draw about him a nucleus of loyal supporters and dependable organizers. As an individual and as an insurgent candidate he had no established party hierarchy of State and county chairmen and precinct committeemen to carry his message to the voters. Although he did have personal friends of varying political usefulness around the State, his major task was to secure competent county managers and allied helpers. His refusal to hire campaign workers may be seen as a deliberate strategem calculated to build a personal organization dependent entirely on volunteers. Such a following attracted without inducements, money, or hope of reward might be too weak to achieve more than a nominal showing in the first State-wide race. This kind of organization would, however, be more likely to survive campaign after campaign no matter how overwhelming the victory or how crushing the defeat. Bailey, entering a contest he knew he could not win, created for himself an image of party regularity and of political and social reform, while simultaneously developing an organization based upon personal allegiance. Although many elements were to be involved in Bailey's victory over Senator Furnifold M. Simmons in 1930, the keystone of his rise to political power was the gubernatorial campaign of 1924.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> The Simmons and Gardner coalition was a loose alignment at best and disintegrated completely in the 1928 presidential primary. In 1930 Gardner supported Bailey in his contest with Simmons for the Democratic nomination for Senator from North Carolina.

# ARCHAEOLOGY: HANDMAIDEN TO HISTORY

BY I. NOEL HUME\*

The rather glib title which I coined for this speech a year ago—long before I started to give it any serious thought was “Archaeology: Handmaiden to History.” I planned merely to provide a series of examples which would show how historians and archaeologists should and can work together to the advantage of both. I still intend to do this. But during the last few months I have been becoming increasingly alarmed about the unwitting and uncaring destruction of archaeological remains not only in my own State of Virginia, but up and down the eastern seaboard. I hasten to add that I have not had the privilege of working in the State of North Carolina. It may be that you are not beset with the problems of apathy and ignorance in archaeological matters which I have met so often in the course of my travels in neighboring States, in which case you are very fortunate—and I have chosen the wrong subject for this audience.

But because I *am* stuck with this theme and because I actually feel very strongly about it, I am going to assume that your interests and problems are much the same as mine.

The role and usefulness of the historian to federal, State, and local history is well known, understood, and generally respected. But the place of the archaeologist in the historic period is not nearly so well known, is generally *not* fully understood, and he can rarely claim to be respected. There are plenty of good reasons why this state of affairs exists. In the first place, the historic site archaeologist is generally tarred (and probably feathered) with the same brush as the small but ubiquitous groups of pot-hunters and collectors of Indian relics. Let me hasten to say that I am not underestimating the importance of prehistoric archaeology or the scholars, both professional and amateur, who have devoted their lives and labors to that field, nor am I confusing them with the pot-hunters. But, just like any activity that acquires popular appeal, prehistoric archaeology has at the same time been blessed with more than its fair share of cranks and oppor-

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\* Mr. Noël Hume, Chief Archaeologist at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, presented this article as an after-luncheon speech at the twenty-third annual meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in Raleigh on December 5.

tunists. As a result, the popular image of the archaeologist seems to be an extraordinary cross between a cobwebbed Methuselah and a rather sharp-looking youth with a shovel who is unable to read "No Trespassing" signs.

Until recently, historic site archaeology has been largely ignored by both professionals and amateurs—and also, thankfully, by the pot-hunters. But this is now rapidly changing. Only a few weeks ago I visited an important Colonial site along with members of a local archaeological group who had hitherto concerned themselves only with Indian relics. After picking up considerable quantities of eighteenth-century pottery, glass, and metal items, the wife of the leader of the group came up to me and said, "Fancy our having spent all these years hunting for Indian relics, walking miles for one arrow head, when we can have such fun collecting these Colonial relics so easily." The temporary nature of many Indian habitation sites, coupled with the disturbing agencies of wind, rain, vegetation and plowing, together ensure that surface collecting can be extremely informative—largely because there is often very little else that one can do. But in historic archaeology there is *so much* that can, and must be done. Surface collecting does no more than indicate the approximate location and date range of the site. Such collecting is merely a very small means to what is generally a large, time-consuming and back-breaking end. In short, the amateur collector who frequently does valuable work in the field of Indian archaeology cannot expect to turn chameleon-like into a historic archaeologist, just by setting himself down on a Colonial site.

I have been a professional archaeologist for 16 years, during most of which time I have specialized in the period from about 1485 to 1820. My background is entirely European and, consequently, I would not dare—I would not presume—to attempt to excavate an Indian site. I do not have the right kind of knowledge to do so. Similarly, unless the Indian specialist has a deep and catholic knowledge of the history, arts, technology, manners, customs, and possessions of the people who lived on the Colonial or Federal sites on which he plans to dig—he might be advised to leave them alone. The historic site archaeologist is a new breed—he is actually a historian with a pen in one hand and a trowel in the other. Unfortunately, he is still quite a rare bird, but I am happy to be able to note that he seems to thrive extremely well in North Carolina.

The archaeologist is, of course, merely a means to an end. But what is that end? What is the purpose of archaeology in the historic period? Assuming that its excavated artifacts are still not generally sought by

collectors, the answer is simply that the only reason for archaeological interest in the historic period is to obtain, not relics, but information.

In the case of a restoration project such as Old Salem or Colonial Williamsburg, the archaeological evidence can be employed in three different ways. First, it provides architectural and topographical data which will be used in restoring or reconstructing houses, shops, gardens, dairies, smokehouses, privies, and the like. Secondly, excavation yields information as to the furnishing of the houses and, in the case of crafts or industrial sites, it often reveals both tools and products. The third, and to my mind the most interesting dividend, stems from a combination of the other two, the provision of information which helps to reconstruct and interpret the social history of the period.

All three of these archaeological contributions serve a practical and physical purpose when a house or a glass factory, or a town, or whatever it is, is being restored. If that information adds to available written historical data, it acquires a historical value of its own.

Take, for example, the National Park Service excavation of the seventeenth-century glass factory at Jamestown. None of the documentary evidence gave any description of the furnace or of its ancillary ovens, but those details *were* provided through excavation. Now the documents did tell us what one of the glassmaking ventures was *intended* to manufacture and consequently many people have assumed that those objects were actually produced. Everyone who has read anything about the beginnings of American glassmaking has heard of "Jamestown beads." But the excavations yielded not the slightest indication that beads were made there and so we must modify our interpretation of the written history, and refrain from confusing intent with achievement. Through this admittedly negative evidence, archaeology made a very real contribution to the early history of American glassmaking. It has done as much, and more, for other trades in other places—ironworking, brickmaking, potting, silversmithing, pewtering, cabinetmaking.

The history of early eighteenth-century industry in Virginia and the Carolinas is somewhat obscured by the fact that the British Board of Trade frowned on the setting up of any manufacturing enterprises which might damage the export trade of the Mother Country. Consequently, the factory operators, and even the Colonial governors went to considerable lengths to play down the importance of manufacturing projects and even to keep them out of the records altogether. Thus a man who is well known to us as having been a merchant in Yorktown, Virginia, in the 1720's is only revealed through his

will, as having been the prosperous operator of a pottery factory, the single clue being a passing reference in that will to his desire that no "green" (that is, unfired) pottery should be appraised after his death. Who but a potter would be in possession of unfired pottery? Thus, merchant William Rogers of Yorktown, Virginia, was belatedly found to have been the owner of a pottery—undoubtedly the same pottery whose waste products had been frequently discovered in archaeological work in the town. Fragments of spoiled pots and kiln furniture were found to have been used in making good the roads of Yorktown, a discovery which assumed much greater significance after Rogers was known to have been the potter—for in 1734 he had been appointed "Surveyor of the Landings, Streets, and Cosways in York Town." Clearly he had used fragments of his pottery in repairing the roads under his jurisdiction.

The story of William Rogers is just one example of the way in which written history can deliberately distort and obscure, and how archaeology can sometimes set the record straight. I have no doubt that there were a great many small industrial enterprises dotted through the woods of which there is not the slightest documentary knowledge, and—if we are ever to know anything of them at all—we must rely entirely on the sharp eye and good luck of the archaeologist. And luck does play a very large part in the life of an archaeologist.

A couple of years ago, while fishing on the James River, about three miles above Jamestown, my wife decided to go ashore and sit on the beach. As we grounded the boat she saw a fragment of eighteenth-century pottery lying at the water's edge. I then walked along the shore and picked up many more pieces, some of them waste products from a pottery kiln. The beach lay below a rapidly eroding cliff and it did not take long to find where the fragments were coming from. We climbed up on top of the cliff and discovered that although the kiln had been eroded away, the potter's waste dumps survived. The excavation of the remaining areas yielded thousands of fragments which not only identified a wide range of products, but through the wasters, provided much information about the type of kiln used and problems of manufacture. About 75 yards to the east was found another kiln site whose potter was far less skilled than the first. Close by, in a shallow drainage ditch, lay a magnificent collection of iron tools, also a sword blade, a seventeenth-century brass candlestick, locks, stirrups, bridle bits, pewter spoons, and other metal objects. A rubbish pit was already exposed in the side of the cliff as also was a brick-lined well—and both were eventually excavated.

Eighteen months ago this site was at least a mile from the nearest road, under heavy woodland and protected on two sides by swamp. It was only approachable from the water. Today it is part of a housing development, one house is already up, within 15 yards of our 1962 excavations—all of which have been graded out in the course of landscaping the cliff down to the river. Had my wife not wanted to beach our boat that summer day back in 1961, the site and all it contained would have been swept away unnoticed. And thus one of Virginia's earliest industrial efforts would have been lost without trace, for no references to it occur in the known documentary records.

In 1960 bulldozers clearing for a reforestation project near Williamsburg cut through the remains of a Colonial plantation site which was not marked on any of the existing maps and plats. Again luck was on our side; one of our landscaping people happened to be walking over the site and picked up a few scraps of pottery which he brought in to me. Working on week ends we were able to uncover what was left of the foundations of both the residence and a kitchen building. Under the chimney of the kitchen, and so predating it, we found a large rubbish pit which contained more than 100 broken wine bottles of the period 1690-1710. One of the bottles bore the seal of Richard Burbydge and was dated 1701. This was the earliest dated bottle yet found in Virginia. The records told us only that Burbydge was living in James City County in 1710, at which time his name appeared on a list of residents who inspected a ship lying in the James River. Not another word did we know of him. We do not know much more now. But we can say that he was a person of some substance, for the number of Virginia Colonists who had such elaborate seals to be engraved for marking their bottles, was very small.

But more important to the site was the discovery in the pit of five other bottles bearing seals stamped with the initials "F.J." Another similar seal was found in a different pit on another part of the site. So six "F.J.'s" to one Burbydge made it probable that "F.J." was the owner of the plantation and that Burbydge was merely a friend who gave "F.J." a bottle of his wine. The County Records had been destroyed in Richmond during the War Between the States, and so I did not expect that we would have much luck in identifying "F.J." But I was wrong. He turned out to be Frederick Jones, quite a prominent person in the Colony—or at least his father had been. Capt. Roger Jones had come over with Lord Culpeper in 1680 and had been given the job of stamping out piracy in the Chesapeake Bay. But Jones soon found that collusion was less effort and infinitely more profitable,

and as a result he amassed a large estate. The Council of Virginia, although all for private enterprise, thought that this was going a bit far, and Captain Jones was eventually run out of the Colony. When he died in London in 1701, his two sons, Frederick and Thomas Jones, inherited the Jones lands in Virginia and came over in 1702. We found a reference to Frederick Jones owning property at Tutter's or Tutties Neck, and our site was on Tutter's Neck Creek.

The Jones brothers may have had interests in North Carolina before they came over, for as early as 1702 they were joint owners of a ten-ton sloop the "Otto of Carolina." In 1703 Frederick was indulging in litigation here, and in 1707 he received a grant of more than 4,500 acres in parts of what are now Jones and Craven counties. Shortly afterwards he moved here from Virginia, and eventually rose to be Chief Justice of the Colony, succeeding Secretary Tobias Knight, who had resigned after being too closely associated with Blackbeard, the pirate. It would seem that Jones plunged into his new job with an enthusiasm that would have gladdened the heart of his late father. In 1721 Frederick was accused of appropriating court money given into his hands for safekeeping. But five days after the charge was tabled, Jones made his will, and then conveniently died before he could be called to account.

You may wonder what all this had to do with archaeology. My point is that *thanks* to archaeology we now know where Frederick Jones lived before he moved to Carolina, and we know something of his standard of living—as revealed by the size of the house and the artifacts that were found around it. If you want to bring it down to the level of simple museum exhibits, the initialed Frederick Jones bottles are of considerable historical interest both to Virginia and to North Carolina. More important, however, was the lead which those bottles gave us toward tracing the history of the property. Once they had established Jones' ownership, it was possible to trace the subsequent story of the land through the eighteenth century. Without them we would not have had the first idea of where to start. As a by-product I might add that the discovery of the Jones home site launched us on a purely historical research project into the lives of both brothers, an undertaking which we would not have started without first being prompted by the archaeology.

The results of this work will eventually be published by the Smithsonian and I hope that they will serve not only as a useful contribution to historic site archaeology, but that they will also demonstrate how archaeology and history complement each other, to show how the two disciplines combine to give the past a new dimension.

I would like, if I may, to say a word or two about this new dimension. The fruits of historic site archaeology can do much to make the work of historians more palatable to the public, particularly at the school level. The dedicated and painstaking work of the historian is hard to project in a visual form, in museum exhibits, slide-lectures, in movies or on television. You must admit, I think, that there is nothing very exciting from a filmic point of view, about a historian making a discovery in say, an old diary—unless he is prepared to leap up and throw himself out of the window in his exuberance. Similarly, a museum exhibit of old land plats is not particularly provocative unless the visitor already has a definite interest in that particular property. It is equally hard to give a slide-lecture about, say, Frederick Jones, and expect the average audience to be interested when your only illustrations are of sections of his will or pages from the Colonial Records. But the fact that we can show people the foundations of his house and drawings or model reconstructions of how it may have looked; the fact that we can show them his wine bottles, the plates, cutlery and glasses which he used at his table—these things give Frederick Jones some substance—substance which can be brought across to the public through those visual media which are so essential today—in a world which is no longer willing to obtain its knowledge or pleasure from mere reading.

Those of us who are concerned with studying, preserving, and presenting the past, must make use of every possible means at our disposal to achieve our goals. I do not believe that it is necessary for us to hide behind a mask of erudite solemnity to prove that we treat our work seriously. I contend that the happily vanishing breed of historians, archaeologists, and curators who shut themselves away from the public in psychologically constructed ivory towers and sit there watching them turn yellow—do neither themselves nor the past any service. Furthermore, I do not believe that by popularizing our work we are automatically guilty of lowering our standards. On the contrary, it can be argued that the only good reason for studying the people of the past is to introduce them to the public of today. If we make that introduction so dry and so forbidding that nobody enjoys the experience, we have surely been wasting our time.

In short, therefore, it is my contention that by accepting and using the techniques and products of archaeology the historian is not only able to broaden his own knowledge, but he can also make his studies more readily acceptable to the general public.

Frankly, I do not believe that the much denigrated “man in the

street" is nearly as disinterested as some of us suppose. One of the best archaeological excavators I have ever met is a colored laborer who works for me now. In London my team of volunteers, who gave their week ends to salvaging the archaeological remains of the city after the war, ran the gamut from a noble lord to a meat-packer, and there was nothing to choose between them. If you think I am wandering from the point, let me get right back to my thesis that the public is actually fascinated by the past—providing we spark its interest by presenting our history in an exciting manner. The same is true of legislators, philanthropists, landowners, building contractors—more or less anyone with whom we are likely to come in contact in the course of our efforts to preserve the past, be it above ground or beneath it. An appreciation of the past is not a prerogative enjoyed only by the erudite, or well endowed; it can be understood, enjoyed, revered, and protected by any level of society—providing we, the custodians of the past, blow the dust of pedantry out of our museums and out of our own heads.

In the early 1950's the British Broadcasting Corporation borrowed an American television show called "What In The World?" and re-named it "Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral." Perhaps you have seen the original. In it, museum curators, archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and such—like strange birds, were shown an object and asked to identify and discuss it. The British public suddenly found that those people were not nearly as dull and dry as they had supposed. The public also reveled in finding that the experts were fallible. That show became one of the most popular in the nation, and as a result millions of people discovered that archaeology was as exciting as a detective story. Archaeological and antiquarian societies flourished as never before, thousands of volunteers offered their services to dig during week ends and on their vacations—without getting paid for it. When builders and vested interests threatened archaeological sites, the roar of popular indignation rattled the windows of Parliament. We need something of that fervor here.

You can argue, of course, that we English let our Roman remains sit moldering in the ground for nearly 2,000 years before we started to care about them, so why not let America's Colonial relics lie there for a few centuries more until they acquire the venerable patina of antiquity. But as I have tried to show you, the mechanical monsters of twentieth-century progress are swallowing up the past at such a rate that unless we do something now, there will be nothing left in 100 years—let alone four or five. The relics of Roman Britain and those of Colonial America are vanishing at the same rate and so both deserve—demand, precisely the same treatment.

There are, I admit, a great many people—too many—who say, why bother about the past at all. They may agree that an existing old building should be saved because it is architecturally pleasing or a possible tourist attraction, but they can see no reason for digging up the foundations of lost structures which have no obvious visual or commercial appeal. The same people tell us that history is bunk. It is the present and the future that matter. If we are to maintain our place in the world's sun, we must devote all our efforts to pressing forward—not looking back over our shoulders. As a result of this drive we are rolling up the carpet behind us as we advance. The buildings that were built in the 1890's or the 1920's, regardless of their architectural merit are torn down to make way for those of the 'fifties and 'sixties, which in turn will be scrapped—regardless of merit—to make way for those of the 1990's. We are living in the age of the garbage grinder and the disposable everything. Nothing lasts long enough these days to become venerable with age, because first it becomes obsolete—and that's the dirtiest word you can utter in the twentieth century. Obsolescence cannot be tolerated, not in buildings, not in art, not in thinking, not in people. Throw them all on the scrap heap. They all have to be young to be good, and if they are young, they *are* good—which is why there's no such thing as juvenile delinquency these days, only delinquent parents, delinquent homes, delinquent schools. Those homes and schools will be torn down and replaced by fine new antiseptic boxes, and because these boxes must be stacked so high on top of one another, their foundations must go ever deeper into the ground. So all trace of what was there before will be, must be, swept away. This process is ensuring that there will be nothing left of our culture for the archaeologists of A.D. 3000 to dig up.

Not only must we care, therefore, about the Colonial centuries, we as historians and archaeologists must concern ourselves with the nineteenth century too. The techniques of archaeology can be usefully applied to any period—no matter how recent, if, by digging something up we can hope to learn more than is to be discovered from written records. I think that you in North Carolina have splendidly demonstrated this in your work at Fort Fisher. Fort Fisher, of course, is a Civil War site, but I think the excavations there have shown that this sort of research can be eminently rewarding with or without military connotations.

There comes a time, of course, in the life of every nation when it can no longer put all its pride and enthusiasm into being young. It must then switch its approach to its own people, and to the world at large,

saying it still merits its place at the head of the table because of its wisdom born of long experience. It is not too big a step from there to a reliance on the deference due to advanced age. Much is then made of tradition, pageantry, times remembered—in a word, history. This may not cut much ice among the world's new giants, the young, cocky, virile nations intent on taking our place, but it may be all that we have left. What we here, and those like us, do in the next 50 years in the field of preservation and archaeology may have a very real influence on how this nation thinks of itself in the centuries ahead.

In making a plea for an increased acceptance of archaeology I am not suggesting that digging must be automatically followed by reconstruction. To reconstruct a house, or a factory, or a fort, unless one has all the necessary information, and the unlimited means to do it completely and do it right, is—in my view—a great mistake. There can be no substitute for authenticity, and you are not going to get all you need from archaeology alone. But I do believe that archaeology, properly directed, can yield both information and pleasure for the future.

Archaeology is, itself, destructive, and we are not yet sufficiently skilled to be sure that we are extracting every last ounce of information that the soil has to offer. Therefore, we should only dig when we have to. When a site is threatened by development we must, of course, go in and do the best we can—salvage what we can—and at the same time improve our own techniques so that we can do a better job next time. But when a site is *not* threatened, and the information it contains is not immediately needed, it is a great mistake to start digging just for the fun of it.

The most important contribution that we can make right now is to locate the sites so that we know where they are and who owns them. We dare not wait until the contractor's bulldozer churns them up to discover that something should have been done first. It is therefore essential that the State and local government offices which issue building licenses should be aware of the location of archaeological sites. It's up to us to give them that information. Once they have it, it is surely reasonable to expect that it will be made available to the prospective developers and that the archaeologists will be informed of any impending destruction of historic sites so that they can get down there and do their salvage work before it is too late.

There is another aspect which may not have occurred to you, and it's one which I find particularly frightening. Statisticians have figured out that in precisely 100 years from now, there will be about 800,000,000 more people living in this country than there are today, and

the cities will have grown proportionally. The same statisticians claim that on the eastern seaboard alone there will be one vast city stretching all the way from mid-Virginia to northern Maine. It will not be too long afterwards that North Carolina hooks on to that city. The only open spaces will be those areas like the Dismal Swamp where nobody wants to build, and the few select areas protected by the National Park Service, the States themselves, and by philanthropic foundations. What has this to do with archaeology? It has a great deal.

As I have said, many of the sites are not yet threatened. They lie in open farmland, and in now safe wooded tracts. I believe that it might be financially possible, and eminently worthwhile for local civic societies to raise funds to purchase some of the most important of these archaeological sites, particularly those which are scenically attractive, so that they can be preserved both for excavation at some future date and as open spaces for all time. I am not talking in terms of 100-acre tracts, but only of an acre here, a couple there. I feel that public spirited landowners might well be prepared to sell at a reasonable price on the understanding that they would still retain the full use of the land to do anything that would not result in its mutilation.

I would envisage that after the foundations of what had been there had been archaeologically excavated, they would be back-filled and the area marked out with new brickwork or stone (rather as has been done at Jamestown) and the ground around could be landscaped into public gardens or picnic areas. Thus, the generations who follow us would be able to enjoy the occasional breathing space amid the ever-growing cities, and at the same time they would be made physically aware of their heritage.

First, of course, the sites have to be found and their relative importance accessed. And that brings us back to the problem of who's going to do it. I spoke earlier of the need for a new breed of archaeologist born, not in schools of anthropology, but in college history departments. If eastern universities will include a grounding of field archaeology as part of their American history courses, then we can produce a new generation of historians, schoolteachers and trained amateur antiquaries with enough sound knowledge to direct excavations, using local volunteers from the high schools, scout troops, even the garden clubs. But make no mistake about it, until we create the leaders, it will be highly dangerous to encourage the volunteers to dig. In the meantime we can use these people and groups to make projects of finding the sites by studying the documentary histories of their area and seeking out the locations on the ground. This, in any case, is an essential first step.

It is up to the few professional archaeologists who are now working in this field to make teaching just as much part of our work as is basic archaeological research. It is more important in the long run that we train 20 good amateur archaeologists, than it is to dig two archaeological sites instead of one. We must sacrifice a little speed now for a much greater dividend in the future.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe that North Carolina is giving us all a very real boost by its examples which have already been made at the State level. You have an enlightened and vigorous State Department of Archives and History with a highly competent staff, including an archaeologist with considerable experience in work on historic sites. I am thinking specifically of the work of the Department of Archives and History at Brunswick Town. I recall with particular pleasure your Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission's sponsorship of the conference on preservation earlier this year at Winston-Salem. That was vastly encouraging to all of us.

The bicentenary of 1776 is, as far as planning is concerned, almost upon us. I would like to think that the lead which North Carolinians traditionally gave in Mecklenburg County in May, 1775, will be forthcoming again—to show other States what *they* should be doing in the field of archaeology and preservation.

## REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, 1962-1963

BY ARLIN TURNER \*

The biographers of Edgar Allan Poe have been tempted to speculate as to what his achievement might have been if he had not been haunted by poverty all of his mature years. Poe himself lamented that literature received only meager support in his time and place. Nathaniel Hawthorne called his home town of Salem, Massachusetts, "a region of sleepyheads," and joined Poe and others in protesting that readers seemed to value books in proportion to the remoteness of their origin, especially valuing all foreign books above American books. William Gilmore Simms once wrote that his books were read less in his native South Carolina than in any other State, and least of all in his native Charleston. His friend, Henry Timrod, wrote with equal bitterness of the poor support a southern author could expect, bolstering his remark by stating that Nathaniel Hawthorne received in his native region, New England, the support he deserved—a statement Hawthorne was himself hardly ready to accept.

Such accusations as these are common to all times and all countries; and they are at least partly just whenever they are made. The program we are engaged in today is a partial answer to any such accusations that may or may not be made or may or may not be deserved. For our purpose here is to call the roll of our authors and to honor them; and that purpose is to benefit ourselves no less than the authors we honor. I need not assert—I need only remind you—that a nation or a State without a literature lacks a distinctive character or an identity; and, further, that if we ignore or slight our authors, we do so at our own peril. Literary authors concern themselves with implications and meanings, with rights and morals. They normally speak for our conscience, or they *are* our conscience. They are reformers, in spirit if not in fact; they inspire us to justice and humanity, to generosity and compassion.

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\* Dr. Turner, Chairman of the Department of English at Duke University, read this paper in Raleigh at the morning session of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, December 6.

Joel Chandler Harris, writing in the aftermath of the Civil War, regretted that in the period before the War and also in his own time authors had not been at liberty to discuss controversial issues of the region. If a southern novelist had dealt with his region as freely as the English novelist Thackeray dealt with his own, Harris editorialized in *The Atlanta Constitution*, "he would probably," in Harris' words, "have been escorted beyond the limits and boundaries of our Southern clime astraddle of a rail." We today may wish that our authors throughout the past century had furnished us more guidance, had spoken in louder voices of conscience, on the issues which have confronted us, and we may at the same time rejoice that in most of the southern regions today an author may state his convictions freely without fear of "a ride astraddle of a rail."

A literature can have the importance I have been describing in part because of the freedom it may enjoy, the variety which authors may claim in the subjects they choose, the methods in which they handle their subjects, and the attitudes they express. It has often happened that a major literary work was produced by an author isolated or in fact alienated from his time (the poet Emily Dickinson comes to mind); it has often happened also that the greatest work of an age has broken the prevailing rules and has burst out of conventional molds (here the name of Walt Whitman suggests itself). One might generalize, plausibly, I believe, that the greatest literature has flourished when authors felt least entrained and were freest to follow where unencumbered talent might lead, as was true in the London of the great Elizabethans, or in the New England of Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne, or, to come closer to our concern specifically with fiction this morning, in the South during the decade beginning in 1929, when Thomas Wolfe, Erskine Caldwell, and William Faulkner were publishing their best work; or, to come still closer, in the present South, where a group of remarkable women authors are producing, themselves, a major literature.

In such a time of freedom there is likely to be a free choice of types and subtypes, and a wide adaptation of conventional forms. The books submitted in the Sir Walter Raleigh competition this year might be displayed to illustrate such variety.

One of the books, entitled *Ghosts of the Carolinas*, suffers none at all because it diverges in type from the novel and the short story; it is in fact a fine work. The ghost stories are told by Nancy Roberts, and accompanying photographs have been furnished by Bruce Roberts. (An earlier collaborative book by these two, I might note, is *An*

*Illustrated Guide to Ghosts and Mysterious Occurrences in the Old North State.*) A variety of ghostly happenings are narrated directly, concisely, and without straining for effect; but assisted by the photographs, the sketches often produce genuine ghostly illusions. Bruce Roberts has adapted the techniques of photography to ghostly purposes. By double exposure and other means of superimposing one image on another he has suggested the essential quality of ghostly tales; and by his selection and management of shape, position, and shade in order to reveal truths otherwise obscured by the details of actuality, he has dramatized in his photographs a basic element in literary method.

Another of this year's books, *Der Wizard in Ozzenland, Mein Grossfader's Rhymers und Fable Tellen*, by Dave Morrah, has thoroughly modest intentions. It displays, as Mr. Morrah has done in several earlier books, a delightful skill at fusing the English and German languages for humorous effects, all illustrated by ink drawings of his own. Mr. Morrah has retold nursery rhymes, children's songs, and fables. Besides deriving the interest which lies normally in the imaginative use of dialect, he isolates for our notice several recognizable qualities of the German language.

Olive Tilford Dargan's new book, *Innocent Bigamy and Other Stories*, is a collection of 11 short stories. A note on the jacket reminds us that Mrs. Dargan has published poems, stories, novels, and dramas since 1904 and that the number of her published volumes has now reached 14. These stories are varied in nature and narrative method. They have in common, however, a quality of lightness, which is accompanied at times by whimsy, and now and then by genuine subtlety of thought and presentation. The characters often move in deprived communities and are themselves poverty-ridden, but exposing their degraded state is not the main purpose. They are portrayed sympathetically, and as in the story entitled "Lem Goforth Decides," soberly but not sentimentally. In the story "Gangway" the degraded lives of the characters are given understanding but humorous treatment in a manner common in William Faulkner's novels and tales, in which one character tells the story, in stops and starts and with prompting questions from other characters, leaving the reader much to figure out and much to learn only after tantalizing delays. One of the pieces, "She Walked in Beauty," is an anecdote in which the reader enjoys with a beautiful, mischievous young woman her success over the other women in her community who are jealous of her. The title story, "Innocent Bigamy," is a study in insanity which manifests itself in the belief in

an avenging ghost. Here the author displays to best advantage her skill in handling her materials, for the insanity is thoroughly convincing and the ghost half-convincing without challenging the reader's normal skepticism.

Mrs. Dargan avows no more pretentious hope than that her "simple and realistic" stories, as she calls them, will furnish entertainment and relaxation for her readers. She achieves this goal, and she exceeds it, for she endows several of her characters with a warm humanity, and she gives some of them thorough individuality.

*The Boy in the Pool* is the first novel from the pen of Camille R. Bittle. The setting is a New England prep school for boys, where the body of one of the pupils is discovered one morning floating in the swimming pool. Half a dozen characters, including the headmaster, among others at the school, and the drowned boy's divorced parents, are observed as each attempts to assess in himself and in others the blame for the tragedy. The writing is straightforward, and the organization is simple. The novel is slightly over 200 pages in length, hardly space enough, one might suppose, to allow the sort of psychological study the author has undertaken, but the characters become clear and believable, though uncomplex. The plain naturalness of the surroundings and the plausibility of the routine happenings at the school carry over to the characters and give them altogether convincing reality.

*The Sand Pebbles*, by Richard McKenna, is likewise a first novel, but it is far different in type from *The Boy in the Pool* and much longer. The scene of the action is the interior of China during the revolution of the 1920's which ultimately brought Chiang Kai-shek to power. The primary stage for the action is the United States gunboat "San Pablo" (which becomes the "Sand Pebbles" of the title) as it moves back and forth on a tributary of the Yangtze River, through a region subject to the ministrations of American missionaries on the one hand and the whims of fortune on the other, manifested in the power which swings from one ruthless war lord to another. The canvas is large and the varieties of human character and existence portrayed upon it are widely divergent. The author captures the tone and the tempo of the life, the tensions which exist between the missionaries and the Chinese outside their sway, between the missionaries and the American naval forces, between the patrolling forces of the various foreign powers, between the gunboat crews (river rats) and the salt-water sailors, and between the factions belonging to the different war lords. It is a teeming, cruel world, complete with odors and sounds,

and producing its own tragedy, sometimes quick and startling, sometimes slow and inevitable, and its own humor, sometimes earthy and hilarious, at other times subtle and restrained. The author studies with care and perception a series of characters drawn into decisive roles in this seething world, particularly an introspective American sailor who experiences the violent forces of the crisscrossing tensions. The author maintains the integrity of the world he portrays and makes no compromise as his chief characters fall victim to the relentless march of events. He has presented with vividness and reality a historical era which was momentous in China and on the world scene as well, and at the same time he has created memorable characters who are no less real than the world they inhabit.

My comments have made it quite clear, I am sure, that the harvest of fiction in the past year seems to me a worthy one, worthy of our sincere applause on this occasion.

REPORT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA  
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,  
DECEMBER 6, 1963

BY HENRY BELK \*

For my annual report to you as President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1963 I want to point with pride. So often our speeches and our press are filled with doleful comment of our low estate as a State and as a people. This downgrading and lamenting, it seems to me, can be carried to such an extent that it becomes almost a cult. And the tendency to look at our place with lament can even affect us psychologically and inhibit purpose and progress.

Unashamedly, then, I happily call your attention to a banner year in advance along the many lines of uplifting endeavor in which your Association and its members work. It has been such a significant year that a general review is in order.

First, let us consider the year for the Association. Membership reached a new high of 1,826, an increase of 36 per cent, up 487, from a year ago. But our membership is far from being what it should be in a State as populous as North Carolina.

Year-long close supervision over membership enrollment by your Secretary, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, has made the record possible.

Through efforts of the Association the Associated Press has distributed a weekly State historical column prepared by Dr. Crittenden. The column generally appears in Wednesday afternoon editions and has received approving comment from editors. It is making a distinct contribution to the popularization of State history. The column should be a clipsheet for all State history classes and the scrapbooks of history collectors.

The year saw the revival, after a lapse of several years, of a regional meeting for eastern North Carolina. It was held through co-operation of East Carolina College at the College in April and drew an attend-

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\* Mr. Belk's presidential address was read by his wife at the luncheon meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh, December 6. Mr. Belk is Editor of the *Goldsboro News-Argus*.

ance of about 125. Dr. Herbert Paschal arranged the program of papers on Old Beaufort and Old Brunswick. A tour to Bath for visits to the restoration projects there was a high spot of the meeting.

The response to the co-operation of East Carolina College and the people of Greenville encourages us to believe that the regional meeting for the East can be successfully continued as a spring feature of the Association year. The dozen or so colleges in the eastern half of the State afford ideal situations for staging such annual events.

Rocky Mount's four-year-old North Carolina Wesleyan College has graciously invited the Association to hold its 1964 Spring meeting there. Dr. Thomas Collins, President of the College, has included offers of full co-operation for the meeting. I have passed the appreciated invitation on to your efficient Secretary and I know he will bring it to the attention of the incoming Executive Committee.

With a policy established through co-operation of East Carolina College and North Carolina Wesleyan College, other colleges in the East, extending from Wilmington to Murfreesboro, may be expected to become interested.

It is important, I feel, that the eastern half of the State share in an annual experience that saw North Carolina beginnings.

Though the eastern half of the State saw the earliest history of the State, the Western North Carolina Historical Association has been more purposeful and energetic in local affairs. That Association has a long record of interesting meetings. The ones for the past year were held at Brevard College and in Hendersonville.

We have had good reports of a week-end consideration and discussion of an interesting program. I should like to see the regional meeting idea expand to include one in the central part of the State. But local interest and co-operation must determine any action for such a session. Your Raleigh office and staff cannot be expected to take the time or the trouble to promote such gatherings, as valuable as they are. They must spring from the desire and interest of the regions themselves. Otherwise there is little if any contribution to the over-all appreciation of our history and our heritage.

Probably of more lasting worth than regional meetings are the programs of the county historical associations. There is, I think, a great flowering of new interest in local history, and the county societies need a helping hand from your Association.

A word or letter or note of encouragement from the parent organization might at times be the means of improving the programs of the

county groups. The State has and should have a great body of local historians gathering, writing, and preserving their own history.

The preparation of county histories is an example in point. More and more the county history is becoming a real historical record and reports of volumes which stand up under the critical eye of the trained historians are appearing.

There should be a history of each county in book form. Some means of giving encouragement and aid to county history projects in counties unable to issue them on their own would stimulate such projects.

Many of us wish that regular contact from the Raleigh office could be maintained with the county history groups. That would require more people on the staff. There is insufficient money for such expansion.

Your Association, by the way, is insufficiently financed to do the job that should be done. I am not suggesting that we become a high pressure, eager-beaver sort of operation. But your Association does require funds sufficient to meet the obligations and responsibilities that lie in its field.

Membership fees as long constituted are too low, and not enough.

I suggested that the incoming officers give consideration to raising the membership dues in the several categories offered. This can be done, I think, with the approval of the membership in general.

The Mayflower Society and Sir Walter Raleigh Literary Awards should include a cash honorarium as well as the honor of winning the awards. A prize of \$1,000 each should be set up for the winners. The Association on its present income cannot do this.

The addition of monetary awards for the top literary honors would fall in step with a policy adopted by the Art Society, which this year has offered several monetary prizes of considerable amount. The Mayflower Society for its cup might well consider such a policy.

I think that pecuniary awards would add greater incentive to the growing number of professional writers in North Carolina.

The good year for the Literary and Historical Association has been accompanied by equal progress in related fields.

North Carolina history and appreciation of our heritage have received a boost as never before from the outstanding observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Carolina Charter. Papers on this session's program reflect something of what has been done in that direction and you need not be bored with its repetition.

We should note, however, that the Tercentenary observance has started projects which will continue to serve and stimulate.

The Colonial Records project should be recognized in this connection. Much original material and many records are being uncovered by this project and the bibliography being made; the index of records not previously available to historians, is extensive. Certainly an understanding State will see to it that this work in original records will be developed to the fullest.

Equally significant as a long-range project, you will agree, was the start of the Mobile Museum of History. Though it operated for only a part of the year ending, thousands of people streamed through the comfortable and attractive van the better to inform themselves on the first 100 years of North Carolina history as shown in numerous well-lighted, well-arranged displays.

Tercentenary-sponsored events and programs are of particular value, you will agree, in that literally thousands of our people have been interested in North Carolina history for the first time. The local commemorative events have had the attention and co-operation of 90 of our 100 counties. Each of these counties has had its own directing committee, and in many instances hundreds of people have been engaged in the observance in some form or other.

North Carolina will be the richer because of this new foundation of interest and work in a field too long slighted or neglected.

A somewhat related development has been the organization of the Coastal Historyland Association. Developing from ideas first discussed in the travel and tourism department of the State Department of Conservation and Development, the Coastal Historyland Association excited the interest and co-operation of towns from the Virginia line to Calabash. The Association, headed by Senator P. D. Midgett, has brought real co-operation and united effort from communities which too often have eyed each other jealously.

While developing tourism is the main idea behind the Association, it will become one of the greatest history teachers serving us. Opening of the Norfolk Bridge-Tunnel in a few months will turn new thousands of travelers into the highways of the coastal region. The Association will have organized programs calling attention to places and incidents which may interest the travelers.

Observance of the Civil War Centennial has proceeded with vigor during the past year. By now, most people recognize the fact that this observance was planned to extend over too long a period. But North Carolina's part has been marked by solid historical advance in commemorating the anniversary of the War of the Confederacy.

The State has an opportunity to stage one of the most significant

observances of the war in the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Bentonville, March 18-20, 1865. Restaging of battles of the War between brothers has already been overdone. We hope that Colonel Hugh Dortch, Centennial chairman, and his group will arrange for Bentonville in 1965 a national reunion of descendants, Federal and Confederate, of men who fought at that great battle. Thousands of people from many States, grandchildren and great grandchildren of men of the battle, would have a personal interest in a reunion there. Such an observance could attract more than State attention to the restoration of the battle site with a museum as a shrine by the people of Johnston County and the State Department of Archives and History.

A deepening interest in our heritage was manifest in the increased projects for restoring historic old homes or buildings. Local residents are coming forward to take the lead in saving landmarks of beauty or history. The program for Halifax, Edenton, and Hillsboro have gained impetus to carry to other communities restoration programs such as that at Bath, now well advanced. Citizens of Swansboro have made a good beginning in saving and marking old homes in that old fishing village. Such a program now should be started for Beaufort, one of the oldest and loveliest of our towns.

That historic sites, under the direction of the State Department of Archives and History, serve more visitors and their place in tourism, is a well known and recognized fact. If North Carolina continues for a few years its program in this field as in recent years our State will occupy a place of repute for such works. Virginia long has shown us the financial and cultural value of such projects.

Equally important has been the year of North Carolina in the field of authorship. Many books of great variety, some of them important in their fields, have been issued. These have been reported on in detail in the several literary awards and we need not repeat, except to point with pride to the growth and development in book publishing.

News of books, authors, music, and art got more space from the papers during the year. Observers point to the work of Harriet Doar on the *Charlotte Observer* and that of Mr. and Mrs. William D. Snider on the *Greensboro Daily News*. The 40-year old "Literary Lantern" from Chapel Hill, weekly book comment column, now serves two papers. Once it was the principal literary column on the State scene. Now the larger papers have their own book editors and book pages and each has recruited many lay people for services as reviewers.

Sam Ragan's column "Southern Accent" in *The News and Observer* provides a focus upon the world of letters with emphasis on the

North Carolina scene. The column, we think, is a great influence for encouraging the author and for recruiting followers for worthy efforts in books, poetry, and drama.

Ragan, from the vantage point of his column, has prepared facts on the significant advances in the cultural field in the past year.

Besides the activities mentioned and those stimulated by the Tercentenary celebration there have been others such as the completion of the lengthy study by the Performing Arts Committee named by Governor Terry Sanford. The recommendation of this Committee that the establishment of such a school and center was desirable and feasible, and subsequent action by the North Carolina General Assembly in appropriating \$325,000 for the establishment of such a school, contingent upon matching funds from private foundations and other sources, indicates to us the great interest that North Carolinians have in the performing arts.

Continued growth of the truly phenomenal Friends of the College Series at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, in which residents of North Carolina can hear the world's finest performers for one dollar each, is amazing. The climax of the series thus far was the attendance of 13,500 persons at the Van Cliburn concert in Reynolds Coliseum—far more than have even seen a basketball game there—and in excess of 12,000 for the Royal Philharmonic of London, directed by Sir Malcolm Sargent.

In addition, North Carolina State has developed a Triad Series which brings to the campus individual performers in music, chamber music concerts, literary speakers such as Flannery O'Connor, Shirley Ann Grau, Bennett Cerf, and outstanding critics such as Lionel Trilling, Malcolm Cowley, Alfred Kazin, Bosley Crowther, and Arthur Mizener. Outstanding foreign films, as well as plays, are part of the series. North Carolina State is also co-operating with East Carolina College in the staging of top dramatic productions of East Carolina College in the Triangle area.

The Poetry Circuit initiated last year is under the direction of Guy Owen of North Carolina State this year. Under this program from four to six of the nation's outstanding poets are brought to college campuses for readings and talks. Participating colleges include North Carolina State, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke, Atlantic Christian and East Carolina colleges. First poet this year was Charles Edward Eaton.

North Carolina State also has launched a Theater Workshop, converting the old Frank Thompson gymnasium into a very modern

theater. The College Union also employs a theater director for production of plays both on campus and on Channel 4, WUNC-TV.

Guy Owen also conducts the State Writers Workshop, which also is occasionally televised on Channel 4. Owen has moved his poetry magazine, *Impetus*, from Stetson to North Carolina State, and is working on plans for an annual anthology of "Southern Poetry Today."

At Chapel Hill, the University has started a Fine Arts Degree program, which gives great promise in the arts in North Carolina. North Carolina State's liberal arts degree in a new school, combined with the stimulus of the pioneering School of Design, also offers great possibilities in the field. The University at Chapel Hill also has, in addition to its creative writers program, a writer-in-residence for the first time, in John Knowles. North Carolina State last year had Romulus Linney as a writer-in-residence.

The University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill has expanded its work—most notable recently being its Poetry Series, in which ten books of poetry are now scheduled for publication. A new literary magazine, *Reflections*, from Chapel Hill has appeared on the scene under the editorship of Robert Brown.

At the University of North Carolina at Greensboro this year an entire Repertory Theater was in residence for three weeks, with outstanding professional performers working with students and giving public performances.

East Carolina College has shown remarkable progress in the arts, with its developments of quality performances in the fields of drama and music, and the showing of paintings. The exhibit of Frances Speight at Windsor in late October is a fine example of how the College is taking art to the people. The East Carolina College literary magazine, *The Rebel*, continues to be one of the best in the region.

At Duke Dr. William Blackburn continues to inspire young writers in his creative writing classes. Their work has been published again in book form and such writers as Reynolds Price, Fred Chappell, and Anne Tyler are getting national attention.

Charlotte this fall launched the North Carolina Writers Forum, patterned after the successful North Carolina Literary Forum held in Raleigh each spring.

The North Carolina Writers Conference, meeting for the second year in a row in Raleigh, has worked with the State and local libraries in promoting reading. It helped establish a library in the Governor's Mansion where none had been before; its members appeared on tele-

vision during National Library Week; and each contributed to the new North Carolina section in Raleigh's Olivia Raney Library.

Down at Chowan College in Murfreesboro, Bernice Kelly Harris has started a creative writing class, and has continued her work with plays in her home community of Seaboard.

Theaters are in nearly every community. Winston-Salem's Tanglewood, Charlotte's professional theater, and Raleigh's summer theater flourished. Long-run dramas such as "The Lost Colony" set new records this year.

This, then, is a report from the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1963. It merely summarizes the historical and cultural endeavors in our State for the past year. It is my hope that the work begun will continue, that new projects will be undertaken, and that both will flourish.

"THE MANNER OF LIVING OF THE  
NORTH CAROLINIANS," BY FRANCIS VEALE,  
DECEMBER 19, 1730

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY EDMUND AND DOROTHY S. BERKELEY \*

Official records of North Carolina trade during the early eighteenth century, represented by the detailed reports which naval officers made to the Board of Trade, might be expected to be found in the archives of the Public Record Office in London. For reasons unknown, they do not seem to be there. The earliest surviving records are those of Port Brunswick for the years 1763-1775, and these are in rather poor condition. Christopher Crittenden, who called this problem to public attention, added that as a result, "a description of the commerce of colonial North Carolina can never be complete or perfectly accurate."<sup>1</sup>

It would seem to be especially important, in view of the lack of official records, for contemporary comment on the trade of this period to be made available, when found in unexpected places. In the Library of The Linnean Society of London, are the manuscripts of Peter Collinson (1694-1768). Collinson is a familiar figure to anyone interested in eighteenth-century science, especially botany. He was a very active member of the Royal Society of London, and carried on an extensive correspondence with scientists in many parts of the world, including Carolus Linnaeus in Sweden; John Bartram, in Philadelphia; and John Clayton, in Virginia. But Collinson was a Quaker merchant, a mercer and haberdasher, and interested in matters related to trade as well as science. Among his papers,<sup>2</sup> and in his unmistakable handwriting, the editors, concerned with his Clayton correspondence,<sup>3</sup> found four sheets and a map. The first sheet is

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\* Dr. Berkeley is an Associate Professor of Biology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Dorothy S. Berkeley is his wife.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1936), 69.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Veale to Mr. Paine, December 19, 1730, Peter Collinson Collection, Library of The Linnean Society of London, England.

<sup>3</sup> For further information concerning Collinson, see E. G. Swem (ed.), *Brothers of the Spade* (Barre, Massachusetts: Privately printed, 1957); and Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy S. Berkeley, *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963).



headed, "The Manner of Living of the North Carolinians." At the bottom, in parentheses, appears the notation "Carolina December 19: 1730 from Francis Veale." The second sheet is headed "Mr. Paine from Francis Veale Carolina December 19:1730," and consists of one-third sheet of writing and two-thirds of map. The map portion is too faded for ready reproduction, but shows "Cape Hatteras, Neuse River, Pamlego River, Allagator River, Knott Island, North River, Little River, Paspatank River, Eddy Town" and several other points. The third and fourth sheets bear no headings, and the map is here reproduced.<sup>4</sup>

"Mr. Paine" cannot be identified, and not very much information can be found concerning Francis Veale. On June 18, 1736, Veale requested a patent for 640 acres on the southern bank of Old Town Creek, west of the Cape Fear River. Again, -on May 7, 1742, he applied for a grant of 257 acres in Bladen.<sup>5</sup> Despite this paucity of information about the man, his comments on North Carolina at that time are both interesting and amusing.

The First Commers had the advantage of takeing the best Land near att hand & most of them have so much Land that the High Rents as they Call them, Hurts their Circumstances very much being a[m]bitious to keep the whole and phaps don't use above a 100 acres out of a 1000-<sup>6</sup> I have seen as fine Orchards there & in Virginia as ever I saw in England but they have not the Method of Grafting but Letts all grow wild & yett some good fruits & Great Bearers, I have seen four Trees 5 years Old had apples Enough to make a Hhd Cider, so productive is the Soil that a Peach from the Stone will bear the Second year. Their Wheat Lands they dont throw into Ridges to Draine the Water as in England but plough it Rough like Summer fallow yett I have seen as good Wheat as any. Where & when it's worn out, It's turn'd down & they plough a fresh piece & in 6 or 7 years its as full of Wood as Ever- They might Have the best pasture in the World but take no Care about It but Lett Cows Horses & Hoggs all Sorts feed together, they never Mow any of their Feilds to Raise fodder for their Cattle in the Winter, w<sup>ch</sup> is sometimes pretty sharp. I saw Last Xmas 1729 snow a foot thick but when it is so severe they cutt down Trees for the Cattle to Browse on - they

<sup>4</sup> The editors are indebted to The Linnean Society of London for permission to publish this manuscript, and to Mr. Thomas O'Grady, General Secretary of the Society, for assistance in many ways.

<sup>5</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), IV, 220, 619, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

<sup>6</sup> For further commentary on this lavish use of land by the colonists, see the Reverend John Clayton, "A Further Account of the Soil of Virginia," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XVII (1693), 978, hereinafter cited as *Philosophical Transactions*; and John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin: n. p., 1737), 41, hereinafter cited as Brickell, *Natural History*.

seldome Mind to Milk their Cows Regularly but one Sometimes in a Day or Two they never take their Calves from them but Lett them suck as Long as they Cann.<sup>7</sup>

Fish is Exceeding plenty I have seen a Hundred Mulletts Catch'd att a Cast without weating ones foot & theres abundance of Trout as big as Salmon with Great Variety of Other Fish & Oysters very Good-

There is very good Hunting never Miss of Sport if you Miss the Deer the Dogs Soone find them & Drive them to the River where Some Lie Ready in a Boat to shoot them I have been att the Catching 2 or 3 a Day for severall Days togeather<sup>8</sup> There's plenty of Wild fowl, Swans, Geese, Duck, Wiggin & Teale & Wild Turkys a Lott is Call'd 640 Acres w<sup>ch</sup> may be taken up only paying the Surveyor 5 £ Sterling or a five pound Bill & you may do with it what you please<sup>9</sup>

Sr I have given you a Rough Draught of the Country & now I'll proceed to Trade, From Eddey or Edey Town<sup>10</sup> to Little River, Paspatank<sup>11</sup> to North River they Raise a great deal of Good Wheat they Reape the Latter End of June or beginning of July att that Time a Vessell of a 100 Tuns may Load in a Month they Raise abundance of Indian Corn & Pease, Pork, Beef, Wax, Tallow, & Hides Some Pitch Tarr & Turpentine, Many Sorts of Oke, Pine, Hickery & Cypress any Quantity may be had for Little or Nothing Oks 4 & 5 foot Diam<sup>r</sup>. 60 foot Long & Masts of any Size to any Length without Knott or ben't any Quality may be had ¼ Mile from the Water Side - Pamplico Cheife Trade is Pitch Tarr & Turpentine where any we sell may be Loaded att any Time, Nause [Neuse] being but now setling they've little besides Beef, Pork, Butter, & Cheese, there is plenty of Fodder in Winter.

I will Now Just Mention Something of their Manners—& Religion theres not a Clergy man in the whole Government<sup>12</sup> but they that are Religiously Inclined getts a Tayler or Some old Pirate or Some Idle Fellow to Read the Service of the Church of England & then He Hacks out a Sermon made before my old Granum Some call themselves Baptists & some as thinks themselves prysbyterians but they all Live very Loving together & comes

<sup>7</sup> For a fuller discussion of such slipshod agricultural practices of the colonists, see Thomas Glover, "Account of Virginia," *Philosophical Transactions*, XI (1676), 623-636; and Gilbert Chinard (ed.), *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934), 120.

<sup>8</sup> A visitor to Cape Fear in 1734 noted, "We might have shot ten brace of deer, for they were almost as thick as in the parks in England, and did not seem in the least afraid of us." James Sprunt, *Chronicles of Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916), 43.

<sup>9</sup> "The general way of taking up Land here, is to go to a surveyor, who is im-powered to survey and give the Taker-up a Draught or Plat of the same, and his Fees will be about 40 s. or 3 l. a tract, which contains 640 acres, and must be settled within Two Years after taken up." E. G. Swem (ed.), *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731*, by Hugh Meredith (Perth Amboy, New Jersey: Privately printed, 1922), 25-26.

<sup>10</sup> This refers to Edenton.

<sup>11</sup> This is apparently Pasquotank.

<sup>12</sup> In 1739 Governor Gabriel Johnston reported only two churches holding weekly services. As late as 1764 Governor Arthur Dobbs could only admit to six ministers in the Colony, two of whom he considered extremely poor. R. D. W. Connor, *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783*. Volume I of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes 1919), 191.



to Meetings att one anothers' Houses, but never talks of Religion, I believe it is because they know not what it Is. There is a great Many Quakers att Paspatank but they are sometimes with a preacher & sometimes without—I have often Inquird why there is no Clergyman in all the province & the Chief Reason I am told, Is, that y<sup>e</sup> Goven<sup>r</sup> has all the profett of Licences, & the Justices Marries - - -

There is Land Lotted out for the Ministers; but the profits of it now goes to mend these [?] ways, that the Great Ones think if they had Ministers amongst them that they Woud be Losers by them, for if the Clergy shou'd take the 7<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> Hogg w<sup>ch</sup> are in great plenty, but the Loss they would sustain Wou'd be so Regretting that they would saye to them as the Gadarens said to Our Savior Depart out of our Country & from Our Coasts - - - I have been told the Last Parson as was amongst them being Fleshly Given Importun'd a Woman to give him a Nights Lodging but no sooner had the Parson his Cloths off but 3 or 4 Neighboruing Women came with Horse Whips & Chastized the poor naked Parson to that Degree that He took his Horse next Morning & has never been seen since, I think as the Lord Cartaret is one of the Cheif proprietors If He had sent Parson Paygen<sup>13</sup> there, instead of giveing Him Bridgewater, by being Punish<sup>d</sup> in the Flesh might have saved his soul & My Lord wou'd have shown some Regard to his province.-

What can Wee stanch Church men think, the Children here that aint Baptized must they be Lost nay Wee doubt are Lost, & they that don't go to Church on Sundays what must become of them & they that don't Receive the Sacrament won't they be Dam'd, then what must become of these poor Souls. Not One in some Hundreds was Ever Baptized, Ever saw a Church or Receiv'd the Sacrament. Yett a Sensible people in all things but Religion.-

The Rich Mines are bacward in the Mountains.

Grapes grow Naturally Wild in abundance upraiding the Inhabitants that they don't take Notice of them & Cultivate them & Make them into Wine of which profit must Ensue. I have Seen as fine & Large as Ever saw up the Straites there is a Sort of Tea Cassenna grows in abundance which y<sup>e</sup> Indians Drink but they have not the Way of Cureing It after the East India Fashion.<sup>14</sup> It's now become a Common Drink amongst the Whites, its sold Cur'd att 2£ Barrell Sterling or 48 Bills.

#### Commodities Wanting -

Ordinary Bridles & Sadles, Pewter, Tinwares, Course Russia Cloth for Towells, Osombrigs,<sup>15</sup> Kerling Garlick  $\frac{7}{8}$  & Little Holland<sup>16</sup> the Coursest

<sup>13</sup> Parson Paygen has not been identified.

<sup>14</sup> This refers to "Yaupon tea," made from leaves of *Ilex vomitoria* (Cassina or Yaupon), a holly whose leaves contain caffenin.

<sup>15</sup> Osombrigs was one of many variations of spelling of the Osnaburg, the name of a kind of coarse linen, originally made in Osnabrück (Osnaburg), North Germany.

<sup>16</sup> The term "Holland" was applied to glazed or unglazed cotton or linen used for slip covers, window shades, and other such purposes.

of printed Linnens & some finer, some Muslin & Course stockings all sizes from the Coapest to 2:9 pair Wax & Rowlers Hunting pipes, the Coapest of Kersies,<sup>17</sup> to NannCloth<sup>18</sup> att 11<sup>d</sup> y<sup>d</sup> Corusse Broad to 8 p y<sup>d</sup> - threds. Mohair Buttons Trimings to, Duroyes<sup>19</sup> no matter how Course & Ordinary, Womans Crapes and Persions, Ribons Handkerchiefs Callico, Cotton, & Silk, from 9/ to 20/. Empty Bottles Cases flask Bottles Pouder Shot Guns - 1/2 Tun of Iron, Hinges Locks & Latches, Nails, from Longs Tens to 3 penny, 6<sup>d</sup> most for shingling Houses, Spurs, Buckles, Knives Forks, Midlin Pins, Combs, Rasers, Buttons for Shirts Beads for Indians Course Indian Cloths with stripes loose Blanketting, Ruggs, some Cordage for Sloops an Anchor or Two, Duck for Sails, Canvas, Bunting Returns are Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine Deer skins and Furrns, Hides, Tallow, Wax, Snake Root, Pork & Beef salted and Wheate & Timber, Beaver, Rice & myrtle wax.<sup>20</sup>

There is Neither Silver & Gold in this Country Butt Paper Money, a 100£ in Bill Money is but 25 in Virginia or Barbadoes.<sup>21</sup> Trade is Carried on there principally by the New England Sloops, who, bring there Goods they can't sell<sup>22</sup> the Collector told Mee from June to Xmas 1729 there had Cleard att Edey Town above 60 sail from 30 to 40 to 60 & 70 Tunns besides whats Cleard att Currytuck & pamplico, they carry Pitch, Tarr & provisions, etc. there has not been a Ship from England In this Country these seven years.

<sup>17</sup> Kersey was a kind of coarse, narrow cloth woven from long wool, and usually ribbed.

<sup>18</sup> Nanncloth was probably Nankeen, a brownish-yellow cloth used for breeches and other heavy-duty garments, originally introduced into England from Nanking, China.

<sup>19</sup> Duroy was a woolen cloth first manufactured in the west of England.

<sup>20</sup> See also, Brickell, *Natural History*, 43-44.

<sup>21</sup> Governor Dobbs considered this reliance upon paper money a great handicap to trade. One of his first recommendations was for the issuance of copper coinage for North Carolina. Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire, 1689-1765, Surveyor-General of Ireland, Prospector, and Governor of North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 116.

<sup>22</sup> In 1707 Robert Holden, Collector of Customs, wrote to the Proprietors concerning North Carolina, "It has barred Inlets into It; which spoyles the trade of it and none but small vessels from New England and Bermuda trades here." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, xiv.

A PROCLAMATION:  
"TO THE PEOPLE OF \_\_\_\_\_."

BY LOUIS H. MANARIN \*

The writer of history must base his presentation and conclusions upon evidence he has gathered from available sources. Generally speaking, he will find that the further into the past he goes, the more likely the possibility that pertinent official documents are lost, figuratively speaking, when they have but passed into private hands. The abundance of source material necessitates research in known depositories and collections. Often unrelated manuscript collections may contain important documents which remain unnoticed. Recently such a document was uncovered in the William B. Rodman Papers in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. It is not known how this document came to be in this private collection. Other manuscripts in the papers do not shed any light on the question.

The discovered document is a signed copy of Jefferson Davis' proclamation to be sent to General Robert E. Lee on his invasion of Maryland in September, 1862. Although addressed to General Lee, there is no endorsement to indicate receipt at the headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia. The significance of the document lies in the fact that this proclamation, dated September 12, 1862, was to the people of Pennsylvania.

All previously published versions of the proclamation either specifically mention Maryland or have blanks where the name of a State was to be inserted. The proclamation as published in the *Official Records* was to the people of Maryland,<sup>1</sup> however, research has raised doubts as to whether the original proclamation was to the people of Maryland. The publication files of the War Records Office, now in the National Archives, reveal that on November 4, 1882, Colonel Robert N. Scott requested Davis to "furnish . . . a list of such . . . dispatches

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\* Mr. Manarin is Editor of the forthcoming roster of North Carolina troops in the Civil War, to be published by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

<sup>1</sup> R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XIX, Part III, 598-599, hereinafter cited as *Official Records*.

(letters or telegrams) to General Lee as you are willing to furnish for the completion of the correspondence with him.”<sup>2</sup> In reply to this request, Davis forwarded copies of seven of his telegrams and letters sent to General Lee.<sup>3</sup> Among those was a copy of the proclamation as copied from Davis’ Letter Book. When originally entered in the Letter Book the date of issue was not recorded, so a probable date of issue of September 7, 1862, was noted on the copy Davis sent Scott. Another change was made before Davis sent it to Scott. In Davis’ Letter Book the proclamation contains three blank spaces where the name of a State was to be inserted. A notation in the Letter Book indicates that copies of the original were sent to Generals Lee, Braxton Bragg, and E. K. Smith, who were at the time either planning or undertaking separate offensives. This accounts for the blank spaces within the copy recorded in the Letter Book. In his correspondence with Scott, Davis did not mention the fact that copies of the same proclamation had been sent to the two other commanders. The first blank of the copy sent to Scott contained the word “Maryland.” The other two blanks were not filled in.<sup>4</sup> The copy was evidently made by a secretary and proofread by Davis before being sent to Scott. On the back is written: “The President to Gen’l R. E. Lee, instructing him to issue a proclamation to the people of \_\_\_\_\_ setting forth the motives and purposes of his presence among them at the head of an invading army.” The copy is written entirely in black ink, except for the date, the word “Maryland,” and in the last paragraph in the last line “on them by” was scratched out and “either by” inserted. These additions and changes are in purple ink, as was Davis’ cover letter to Scott of November 23, 1862. Thus it would appear upon comparison of ink and handwriting that Davis inserted “Maryland” in the first blank.

Upon receipt of Davis’ letter with the proclamation and other letters and telegrams the editors of the *Official Records* prepared them for publication. They retained “Maryland” in the introductory paragraph, deleted one blank and retained the other. Thus the document was altered a second time before being printed. It was not until 1923 that the copy as it actually appeared in Davis’ Letter Book was printed.<sup>5</sup> In this printing it appears with the three blanks and the

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Robert N. Scott to Jefferson Davis, November 4, 1862, National Archives, Washington, D. C., Record Group 94, Entry No. 708, Letters Sent—War Records Office, August, 1879-November, 1862, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Jefferson Davis to Colonel Robert N. Scott, November 23, 1862, National Archives, Record Group 94, Entry No. 710, Letters Received—War Records Office, 1875-1899.

<sup>4</sup> National Archives, Record Group 109, Entry No. 4, Documents Printed in the *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 598-599.

<sup>5</sup> Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 10 volumes, 1923), V, 338-339.

notation that copies were sent to Lee, Bragg, and E. K. Smith. No State is mentioned. The copy found in the Rodman Papers does not contain any blank spaces. Pennsylvania is written in the text without any break. The only other difference, outside of punctuation variances, between this copy and the copy sent by Davis and published in the *Official Records* and in Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis Constitutionist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, appears in the last line. The final line of the copy in the Rodman Papers contains the words "on them by." These words were inserted. This would indicate that Davis may have had a second copy in his possession in addition to the Letter Book. There is a second copy in the Jefferson Davis Papers at Tulane University, in addition to the Letter Book copy, but like the Letter Book copy the name of the State is not filled in.<sup>6</sup> In his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Davis cited the introductory paragraph of the proclamation specifically mentioning Maryland.<sup>7</sup>

It is not known what State, if any, was mentioned on General Lee's copy of the proclamation as it has not been located in any of the major collections of his writings. Soon after entering the State of Maryland he issued his own proclamation to the people of Maryland.<sup>8</sup> Dated September 8, 1862, it appears to have been written by Lee before he received the formal copy from Davis. On September 12, Lee sent Davis a copy of his proclamation with the explanation: "I waited on entering the State for the arrival of ex-Governor [Enoch Louis] Lowe; but finding that he did not come up, and that the citizens were embarrassed as to the intentions of the army, I determined to delay no longer in making known our purpose."<sup>9</sup> It appears that Lee received a copy of Davis' proclamation just after he wrote Davis on September 12, because on the following day he wrote the President: "You will perceive by the printed address to the people of Maryland, which has been sent you, that I have not gone contrary to the views expressed by you on the subject."<sup>10</sup> From this it may be concluded that the copy received by Lee either had the State of Maryland filled in, or was blank. Due to the changing tides of battle, Davis' proclamation, whether blank or to the people of Maryland or Pennsylvania, was never promulgated.

The significance of the Pennsylvania proclamation becomes more

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Connie G. Griffith, Director, Manuscript Division, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, to the author, September 13, 1963.

<sup>7</sup> Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1881), II, 333.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 601-602.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 604-605.

<sup>10</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 605-606.

apparent historically when related to the sequence of events. On September 4, 1862, General Lee informed Davis of his intention of crossing the Potomac River into Maryland. Lee concluded that “Should the results of the expedition justify it, I propose to enter Pennsylvania, unless you should deem it unadvisable upon political or other grounds.”<sup>11</sup> On September 9, he informed Davis: “I shall move in the direction I originally intended, toward Hagerstown and Chambersburg, for the purpose of opening our line of communication through the valley.”<sup>12</sup> From Hagerstown on September 12 Lee informed Davis that “our advance pickets are at Middleburg, on the Pennsylvania line.”<sup>13</sup> It was on the same day, that the proclamation to the people of Pennsylvania was drafted by Davis in Richmond. Therefore, it would appear that both Lee and Davis contemplated an advance into the State of Pennsylvania. The loss of Special Order No. 191 and its subsequent discovery by a Union soldier gave McClellan Lee’s order of battle. Lee was compelled to withdraw from Hagerstown and retired to the vicinity of Sharpsburg where the armies joined in battle on September 17. After the Battle of Sharpsburg he withdrew across the Potomac into Virginia. In his official report on the campaign, submitted on August 19, 1863, Lee said of his movement toward Pennsylvania:

It was decided to cross the Potomac east of the Blue Ridge, in order, by threatening Washington and Baltimore, to cause the enemy to withdraw from the south bank, where his presence endangered our communications and the safety of those engaged in the removal of our wounded and the captured property from the late battle-fields. Having accomplished this result it was proposed to move the army into Western Maryland, establish our communications with Richmond through the Valley of the Shenandoah; and, by threatening Pennsylvania, induce the enemy to follow and thus draw him from his base of supplies.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of the proclamation is evidence that at the time of the invasion Davis concluded from Lee’s correspondence that he intended to invade rather than threaten Pennsylvania.

The document, exactly as it occurs in the Rodman Papers, is as follows:

Executive Office,  
Richmond, Sep’t 12, 1862.

Sir:

It is deemed proper that, in accordance with established usage, you should announce by proclamation to the people of the State of Pennsyl-

<sup>11</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 591-592.

<sup>12</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 603.

<sup>13</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part II, 604-605.

<sup>14</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XIX, Part I, 145.

vania, the motives and purposes of your presence among them at the head of an invading army, and you are instructed in such proclamation to make known,

1st. That the Confederate Government is waging this war solely for self-defense: that it has no designs of conquest nor any other purpose than to secure peace and the abandonment by the United States of its pretensions to govern a people who have never been their subjects and who prefer self-government to union with them.

2nd. That this government at the very moment of its inauguration sent commissioners to Washington to treat for a peaceful adjustment of all differences, but that these commissioners were not received nor even allowed to communicate the object of their mission: and that on a subsequent occasion, a communication from the President of the Confederacy to President Lincoln remained without answer, although a reply was promised by General Scott into whose hands the communication was delivered.

3d. That among the pretexts urged for the continuance of the war is the assertion that the Confederate Government desire to deprive the United States of the free navigation of the Western rivers, although the truth is that the Confederate Congress by public act, prior to the commencement of the war, enacted that "the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi River is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the States upon its borders, or upon the borders of its navigable tributaries," a declaration to which this government has always been and is still ready to adhere.

4th. That now at a juncture when our arms have been successful, we restrict ourselves to the same just and moderate demand that we made at the darkest period of our reverses, the simple demand that the people of the United States should cease to war upon us, and permit us to pursue in peace our own path to happiness, while they in peace pursue theirs.

5th. That we are however debarred from the renewal of formal proposals for peace, having no reason to expect that they would be received with the respect mutually due by nations in their intercourse, whether in peace or in war.

6th. That under these circumstances we are driven to protect our own country by transferring the seat of war to that of an enemy who pursues us with a relentless and apparently aimless hostility: that our fields have been laid waste, our people killed, many homes made desolate, and that rapine and murder have ravaged our frontiers. That the sacred right of self defense demands that if such a war is to continue, its consequences shall fall on those who persist in their refusal to make peace.

7th. That the Confederate army therefore comes to occupy the territory of their enemies and to make it the theatre of hostilities. That with the

people of Pennsylvania themselves rests the power to put an end to this invasion of their homes, for if unable to prevail on the government of the United States to conclude a general peace, their own State government in the exercise of its sovereignty can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on the soil of the State by a separate treaty of peace which this government will ever be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis.

8th. That the responsibility thus rests on the people of Pennsylvania, of continuing an unjust and aggressive warfare upon the Confederate States, —a warfare which can never end in any other manner than that now proposed. With them is the option of preserving the blessings of peace by the simple abandonment of the design of subjugating a people over whom no right of dominion has ever been conferred on them by God or man.

Very Respectfully  
 - yours  
 Jeffn. Davis<sup>15</sup>

To General Robert E. Lee,  
 Commanding &c., &c., &c.

people of Pennsylvania, of continuing  
 an unjust and aggressive warfare  
 upon the Confederate States, — a warfare  
 which can never end in any other manner  
 than that now proposed. With them  
 is the option of preserving the blessings  
 of peace by the simple abandonment of  
 the design of subjugating a people over  
 whom no right of dominion has ever been  
 conferred on them by God or man.

Very Respectfully  
 yours  
 Jeffn. Davis

To General Robert E. Lee,  
 Commanding &c., &c., &c.

Conclusion of proclamation, showing Davis' signature.

<sup>15</sup> William B. Rodman Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

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BY WILLIAM S. POWELL \*

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- HOLMES, URBAN TIGNER. A history of Old French literature, from the origins to 1300. New York, Russell & Russell, 1962. 356p. \$8.50.
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## BOOK REVIEWS

*My First 80 Years.* By Clarence Poe. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Dedication, preface, acknowledgments, and index. Pp. xvi, 267. \$4.75.)

Dr. Poe's story covers the period from 1881 to 1963. He correctly acknowledges, however, that the book is not a formal autobiography. His principal effort in the book was to record personal experiences, those of a young boy to those of an elderly man looking back on a distinctively fruitful life.

The author describes a life composed of an unusually wide range of experiences. It is a life of a farmboy born in the South at late dusk of the Civil War, a boy who was marked with a sense of destiny, a young man who was editor of one of the South's leading agricultural magazines at the age of eighteen, a person considered as a candidate for Governor of North Carolina just before World War I, a person considered at the same time by President Woodrow Wilson for Secretary of Agriculture, a counselor to Food Administrator Herbert Hoover interested in sharing America's agricultural abundance after World War I with Europe and Russia, and an adviser to President Truman in the Four-Point Program after World War II.

Even though the author relates these accomplishments and associations with considerable pride, his paramount achievement was building an agricultural magazine. Through this he touched hundreds of thousands of farm lives in the South. Through it he crusaded for improved health and education, and a more prosperous southern agriculture. Herein lies his contribution as a dedicated leader.

Through the experiences he describes, one is able to glance back and see clearly some of the conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though not related in a highly organized fashion, he shows how events of this period contributed so much to what Americans enjoy today in health, education, and prosperity.

Most readers will recognize the close attention the author gives to personal details. Treatment of basic issues of the day, of the time, that produced the man is somewhat light and scanty. Yet Dr. Poe obviously is a man who studied life diligently in order that it might become better.

*My First 80 Years* is a reflection of a person who believes he has lived during the most exciting age known to man. It presented many personal challenges to him. As he mastered them he was able to improve his life, and to contribute bountifully to others of his day, as well as to those of tomorrow. Anyone who would aspire to be a civic, as well as an agricultural leader, will gain much by studying the story of Dr. Poe's life.

William C. White

National Plant Food Institute  
Washington, D. C.

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The History of Western Carolina College: The Progress of an Idea. By William Ernest Bird. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, and index. Pp. xvi, 294. \$7.50.)

William Ernest Bird's *History of Western Carolina College* is a very useful addition to the scanty but growing historical literature devoted to education in North Carolina. The author is uniquely qualified for the task he has undertaken. Today President Emeritus of Western Carolina College, he has served the institution for thirty-seven years as teacher of English, Dean, and President, and has been personally acquainted with nearly every instructor connected with the College since its founding.

The training of teachers for the scattered, understaffed, and—until recent times—impoverished schools of the Carolina highlands is the "idea" whose development forms the theme of Professor Bird's volume. The idea was first envisioned by young Robert Lee Madison, who came from Virginia in 1889 to teach in the primitive grade and high school established by the community of Cullowhee. Largely by his efforts the school added a normal department in 1901 with the help of a \$5,000 appropriation from the legislature. During the following decade the school expanded rapidly in student body and physical plant. By 1917 Cullowhee High School offered two years of college training. Ten years later the high school was separated from the normal school and Western Carolina College added a full college curriculum for prospective teachers. Although the College, along with all other State institutions, suffered severely during the Depression from deep slashes in appropriations, it grew rapidly during the forties and fifties and to-

day offers a complete undergraduate program apart from teacher training.

Valuable as Professor Bird's volume is, it suffers from several shortcomings. Written from an administrator's point of view, it is replete with details on the growth of the physical plant, but has very little to say about the development of the curriculum, changes in educational policy, or the nature of the student body. Intramural controversies and rivalries often are swept under the rug as unfortunate occurrences which should be forgotten. The sometimes fierce competition in the political arena with other State schools for appropriations and upgrading of curriculum and degrees is treated very lightly. Biographies of the major figures connected with the college are sketched so lovingly that these men emerge as Socratic stereotypes rather than as flesh and blood human beings. In short, Professor Bird is so much in love with his subject that he has given us a book which often reads more like a romantic memoir than objective history. And more serious, as far as his own task is concerned, his sentimental approach, while often charming and continually testifying to the author's generous and sympathetic nature, makes it difficult to follow *The Progress of an Idea* as he promises in his title.

Elisha P. Douglass

The University of North Carolina  
at Chapel Hill

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Presbyterians in the South, Volume One: 1607-1861. By Ernest Trice Thompson. (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press. 1963. Notes and index. Pp. 629. \$9.75.)

Dr. Thompson is John Q. Dickinson Professor of Church History and Church Polity at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, where, as present Dean of the Faculty, he has taught since 1922. He is an astute scholar in the liberal tradition and is eminently qualified for the authorship of this volume. The son of a distinguished Presbyterian minister, he was born in Texas, and educated at Hampden-Sydney College, Union Theological Seminary, and Columbia University. Author of several previous books, he has written numerous monographs on the Presbyterian Church in the South and is a former Moderator of his denomination.

The eleven-page Bibliography in six-point type indicates compre-

hensive research. Original sources include many of the minutes of the sessions of local churches, minutes of numerous Presbyteries which have from time to time comprised the Presbyterian Church in the South, as well as minutes of synods and general assemblies. More than 30 religious periodicals of the ante-bellum period were examined. Many articles and books complete the bibliography.

The author does a masterful job of weaving together the whole story of the Presbyterian Church in the South so that one may readily and satisfactorily trace the history of the church in his own State (or synod).

The book gives an accurate picture of the pioneer "back country" and describes the influence of the church (of all denominations) on the society of the various periods. It points out the significant part played by Presbyterians in Virginia and elsewhere in the movement for religious freedom which led to the first application of separation of Church and State. It covers the migration movement westward and indicates both the strength and weakness of the Presbyterian Church. Its strength lay in its emphasis on education, and to Presbyterians more than any other denomination the South is indebted for laying the foundation for public education at all levels. The Church also exhibited missionary zeal, but unfortunately, because of its high educational requirements, there was ever a scarcity of ministers. Herein lay its great weakness, an inability to supply ministers equal to the demand. Because Baptist and Methodist denominations were able to cope with this demand, they rapidly outstripped Presbyterians, though the latter church by all odds had the greatest opportunity and advantage at the close of the Revolutionary War.

Another weakness of the Presbyterian Church was its proclivity for schism. Numerous divisions in the Church, due to differences on educational requirements, doctrine, evangelism, and psalm versus hymn singing, resulted in severe losses to the Church at the very time other denominations were increasing with great rapidity.

Many great southern leaders, including several North Carolinians, such as David and Joseph Caldwell, are effectively portrayed.

The latter part of the book deals with the great separation which first came in 1838 between the Old and New School parties, a division over doctrine and polity as well as slavery, and again in 1861 within the Old School, between North and South.

"So it happened," concludes Dr. Thompson, "that within less than twelve months time the ties which had bound Presbyterians of the North and South together for a period of a century and a half had

departed; the fellowship which had endured, despite growing sectional animosities, until the actual outbreak of hostilities, was no more. On December 4, 1861, representatives of 47 Southern presbyteries gathered in Augusta, Georgia, to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer preached the opening sermon and was elected Moderator (ill health prevented the election of Dr. Thornwell); permanent clerk, later stated clerk, was Dr. Joseph Wilson. His young son, Thomas Woodrow, seven years old at the time, would later lead the reunited states in a war designed to 'make the world safe for democracy'."

Harold J. Dudley

Presbyterian Synod Office  
Raleigh

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Negro Militia and Reconstruction. By Otis A. Singletary. (New York, Toronto, Canada, and London, England: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 181. \$2.25 [paperback]).

One welcomes this paperback edition of a recent reconsideration of one segment of the continuing enigma of Reconstruction. Effectively written and containing several pertinent illustrations, the volume was published initially in 1957, and its author has since become Chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

The creation of the Radical militia is depicted as a realistic protective device inspired by the withdrawal of Federal troops, with such forces being utilized to a varying degree in all but four of the reconstructed States. Such an armed Republican wing composed primarily (not entirely) of Negroes understandably provoked the opponents of Reconstruction, and there was sufficient militia misuse and misbehavior to both provide effective propaganda and heighten the bitterness. A test of power, and sometimes of brutal violence, followed, in which the Republican militia displayed inefficiency and failure more often than not. The Redeemers were more successful. As need or opportunity suggested, they utilized legal stratagems, social ostracism, bribes, economic sanctions, treachery, and violence to demolish an armed force, whose demise was a part of the general collapse of Reconstruction governments in the South. A naive and timid Republicanism toyed with force more than it dared utilize it and was overpowered with ease by a more confident, competent, and ruthless opposition.

This volume is an effective discussion of the Republican militia, which primarily provides one with a picture rather than an explanation of the Reconstruction rivalry. In his more general interpretations the author was necessarily forced to rely often upon traditional, suspect accounts, and several of his own conclusions regarding the militia debate. One might, for example, question the conclusion that Republicans erred in failing "to employ the militia forces to the full extent of their power," or one might doubt that "the racial affront" was the real core of white hatred and violence. But thoughtful history invariably stimulates such controversy, and Chancellor Singletary has succeeded in providing a vital and balanced portion of the final tale.

Otto H. Olsen

George Mason College

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Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy. By Albert Burton Moore. (New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd. [Reprint] 1963. Notes and index. Pp. ix, 367. \$7.50.)

This book, first published in 1924, portrays conscription in the Southern Confederacy. During the year after the Fort Sumter attack, April 12, 1861, the volunteer system was used, but slowness of enlistments by the twelve-month volunteers necessitated conscription.

The first conscription act adopted, April 16, 1862, provided for conscription for a period of three years of all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five and allowed the employment of substitutes. An exemption law was enacted on April 21, 1862. Conscription was extended in September to men of forty-five and in February, 1863, to men between seventeen and fifty.

Conflict between Confederate and State governments was inevitable. Exigencies of war demanded immediate establishment of a strong central government, a contradiction of secession. Conflicts arose immediately, particularly with respect to the substitute and exemption provisions of the conscription laws. The substitute system was based on financial standing rather than man power needs. Discontent with this system and need for additional troops caused its abolition in December, 1863. Likewise, the exemption system was a serious problem. Exemptions included Confederate, State, and local officials, local militia, and many other classifications, each classification being interpreted broadly. The number of exemptions became alarming, caus-

ing a near breakdown of conscription. Dual control of conscription by the Confederate and State governments added immensely to the confusion and dissatisfaction.

Bitter conflicts arose between Richmond and the State courts when conscription officials arrested accused draft-evaders and principals after their substitutes became subject to the draft. Some State judges released them under habeas corpus, causing its suspension, such suspension being ignored in some States. The Confederate Constitution provided for a Supreme Court, but it was never implemented.

On the results of conscription, the author observes: "A system of recruitment that enabled the Confederacy to maintain itself against tremendous odds for so long a time deserves a more sympathetic consideration than it has customarily had. . . . it saved the Confederacy in the summer of 1862 by keeping the seasoned twelve month's troops in the army and by stimulating extensive volunteering."

*Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* represents an immense amount of work. Its organization leads to some repetition. Clearness would have been enhanced by more year identifications. It is an important contribution to the knowledge of Confederate conscription and is a valuable background in the study of United States draft systems.

Clarence D. Douglas

Raleigh

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The Southern Frontier. By John Anthony Caruso; maps by Neil E. Bolyard. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1963. Maps, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, and index. Pp. 448. \$6.50.)

This is a very readable account of some of the more dramatic and romantic aspects of the history of the southern frontier, apparently directed toward a popular rather than a scholarly audience. A reader anticipating a history of the southern frontier will be disappointed. Ten of the 16 chapters deal with Florida from Ponce de Léon to the early American period. The others treat Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia in selected episodes, except Chapter 15, "Masters and Slaves," which is only incidentally frontier. The last is unfortunate because there is much to be written of the plantation and slavery as frontier institutions, particularly in Florida during the American Ter-

ritorial Period, when planters were opening up Middle Florida by clearing the forests in the manner commonly associated with pioneer farmers. Slaves ran away from these frontier plantations and produced some of the strongest demands for the removal of the Seminole Indians from the region. The balance is strongly in favor of such episodes as the wrangle between Governor Andrew Jackson and the departing Spanish governor José Callava over the papers in the Mercedes Vidal case, which takes up about two of the nearly 17 pages allotted to the years between 1821 and 1845 in Florida. John Law's Mississippi career also gets a disproportionate amount of space in Chapter 10.

Nor is anything new added to the knowledge of the southern frontier about which, incidentally, there is still much unknown. In the acknowledgments (p. 241) the author expresses his obligation to scholars who have done the spade work in the manuscript sources, as he also does in the footnotes. There can be no quarrel with this, but one wonders about his overlooking such a work on the frontier in the Second Spanish Period in Florida as Professor Rembert W. Patrick's, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1954). However useful such a book may be, the history of the southern frontier remains to be written.

Charlton W. Tebeau

University of Miami

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Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution. By North Callahan. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1963. Bibliography, notes and index. Pp. 288. \$5.00.)

North Callahan has again provided an informative, lively and anecdotal book for those who are interested in the American Revolution. Of the countless Tories who fill these pages, many will come alive to readers for the first time. In a dozen chapters, the author confidently guides his readers into the life of the American Tory. After awakening the reader's interest in an initial chapter detailing the events of the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, the author drops back to examine the English reaction to the Colonial position. Following this introduction, Callahan describes the nature and development of the Tories in America and the main areas of their action. Considerable attention is directed toward their military activity both in organized battle and

as less formal guerilla fighting. Quick informal raids appear to have been more characteristic of Tory tactics, perhaps because many British commanders distrusted them and were reluctant to use them. The war, where Tory and Patriot came into conflict, was an especially bitter one. Brother fought brother, father sided against son, families were split, and closest friends became bitter foes. In dealing with this situation the author demonstrates the true tragedy of the conflict.

All too little has been written about the Loyalists in the Revolution since the works of Sabine and Van Tyne, and much of that has been all too partisan. Fortunately there is a resurgence of interest in this much maligned group. Certainly this book is an important step in that direction. Here is an abundance of material on the activities of the Tories and of the action of the Patriots against them, but there is too little effort, by comparison, to explain what caused them to make the choice they did. Why, between two similar men did one choose one side and one the other? Certainly we do get a clear idea that there were many different kinds of Tories, from the emotionally charged and vindictive extremist to the moderate, almost neutralist position. At times the abundance of anecdotes appears to get in the way of more important development. Why, for example, nearly two and a half pages of stories illustrating the humor of the Reverend Mather Byles of Boston in a chapter on the "Role of Religion"? In spite of such shortcomings, however, this is an important contribution to the understanding of the era of the Revolution. North Callahan writes well, and he knows the American Revolution. He has already demonstrated this in his able biographies of Knox and Morgan. All who are interested in this great movement should be gratified for his effort.

Carlos R. Allen, Jr.

Colorado State University

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Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782. By the Marquis de Chastellux. A revised translation with Introduction and Notes by Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Volume I, Pp. xxiv, 361; Volume II, Pp. ix, 365. \$15.00.)

When these volumes first appeared in the 1780's they attracted considerable interest on both sides of the Atlantic. The Baroness

d'Oberkirch decided in her memoirs that Chastellux "attaches great importance to what he eats, for the book consists mainly of a detailed description of the dishes served to him each day." She could not have been more wrong; for as another contemporary noted, Chastellux "possessed a great store of intelligence and brilliant flashes [which] would from time to time pierce the slight haziness that enveloped his ideas." A protégé of Voltaire and member of the French Academy, the Marquis de Chastellux was also one of three major generals who accompanied Rochambeau and the French expeditionary forces to America. As a soldier he admits that "camps, battlefields, and all that relates to war have been the principal objects of my curiosity, [and therefore] only military men can read me from beginning to end with some interest; but it is easy to skip these passages, which are recognizable from the first lines, or at least skim through them rapidly."

Chastellux was intrigued by the elusive problems of "public happiness" and national character. As a sophisticated product of the Enlightenment he sensitively distilled what seemed to him essential qualities of the American—"this new man." Although one may not always agree with him, his composite portrait sketches most of the important features with deft accuracy. He found our manners "pure and respectable," with vice "so foreign and so rare." He appeared humorless, however, and overly fond of discussing politics, particularly the origins of the American Revolution. So strongly did the liberated Colonials resent their erstwhile imperial ties that they refused to admit they spoke English. They preferred to call it American. Nevertheless the Frenchman felt "the Americans have not notably enriched their native language. Anything that had no English name has here been given only a simple designation."

American women—a special object of his concern—seemed serious, attractive, open to compliment, "or even [to] receiving a few caresses, provided it was without any appearance of familiarity or wantonness." Children in the Confederation he regarded as spoiled, perhaps because he believed—mistakenly, I think—that Americans had twice as much leisure as Europeans. Land in the New World appeared inferior in quality, the animals more easily tamed, and the citizens inclined to eat less at a sitting but more frequently than their brethren abroad. Chastellux did not commit the crime of creating an archetypal American, however. He recognized their heterogeneity and regional variations. The settled South and New England did not share the same temperament; and both differ radically in these pages from the frontier. To this nobleman the "mountain people" were handsomer and healthier than those on the seaboard.

Chastellux usually showed a sure sociological sense. He realized the practical necessity of religious toleration in a plural society, although he displayed considerable intolerance himself for the Quakers. He noted the slothful effect that slave-owning induced in the masters, as well as the fact that color raised serious barriers to successful emancipation. The white servant might eventually take his place in a free society; but assimilation of the Negro would be hindered by his badge of blackness. Unfortunately Chastellux fell into an error common then as later, namely that the slaves were insensitive to suffering.

This journal of a journey through eight of the thirteen newly independent States includes detailed descriptions of the Natural Bridge, opossum, and North American birds that should delight the naturalist. The antiquarian and historian will be pleased with Chastellux's narration of such stories as the Pocahontas legend and his occasional discussions of colonial development. He was very much interested in the geographical influences on urban growth, particularly at Richmond, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth. Political scientists should be attracted by his observations on the structure of the new State and county governments. He questioned what seemed a dangerous dabbling with democracy. Popular governments would inevitably be weak ones, he felt. Hence his support for the idea of an elite leadership similar to Jefferson's aristocracy of talent.

Chastellux was himself, as Benjamin Franklin noted in 1780, "a soldier, a gentleman, and a man of letters." He commanded the respect of his American contemporaries, so that one of the great values of his travelogue is the sequence of interviews with statesmen of the new nation. His friendships provide a plenary panorama of the greatest generation of political leadership in the history of the United States. Washington, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Robert Morris, Jonathan Trumbull, and Jeremiah Wadsworth are all featured performers in this story, along with Paine, Lafayette, and many other participants in the drama of independence.

Unfortunately for Tarheel enthusiasts Chastellux never went south of Virginia; and his primary comment on North Carolina alludes to its settlement by impoverished Scotsmen and subsequent difficulty with internal dissension. Happily there exist several valuable accounts by other contemporary pilgrims who did visit North Carolina extensively in the Confederation period: Johann Schoepf, the German; J. F. D. Smyth, an Englishman; and the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda.

Chastellux's account has for too long been inaccessible; all the more

reason why this definitive edition collating the previous ones ought to be acclaimed with a great tribute to the publishers and Howard C. Rice, Jr., chief of rare books at the Princeton University Library. He has personally retraced most of the Marquis' path. The resulting illustrations and excellent maps enable the reader almost to participate as a companion. The translation is smooth and graceful; the differentiation and dating of daily entries improves upon earlier texts. Mr. Rice's exhaustive notes correct Chastellux's orthography and geography when necessary and refer the reader to a mine of related information. In short, the scholarly apparatus is flawless.

Michael G. Kammen

Harvard University

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*The Jeffersonians in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809.* By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia [1963]. Illustrations, bibliographical note, and index. Pp. ix, 318. \$7.50.)

In the second of his studies of Jefferson's Republican Party, Professor Cunningham, through extensive investigation and use of contemporary sources, gives an informative, if not moving, account of the workings of that Party. He has also sought to throw more light on Jefferson's leadership, on lesser leaders, and on the formation of American political habits. He has accomplished his purpose.

The chapters on the patronage ably explain Jefferson's modified policy of moderation toward appointments and the pressures and problems he faced in implementing it. Party organization at congressional, nation-wide, State, and local levels is described. The Federalist potential threat continued to be an irritating stimulant to the party's development during the initial eight years of Republican administration. Finding and keeping competent and acceptable party leaders in House and Senate tried Jefferson's leadership. The Party's national organization was dominated by the congressional caucus and its committees. Professor Cunningham opens up paths to further study as he treats the subject of party operations by sections and States and finds considerable variety but a developing organization with trends toward more popular acceptance and participation. In New England organization was centralized but local activity was marked in Massachusetts. The

more advanced and less centralized organization in the Middle States was plagued by intra-party dissensions. Except in Virginia, party organization was less formal in the South and West. Everywhere party unity had to be maintained in the face of disputes over appointments, leadership, and candidacies. The maneuverings of the Burr and Clinton factions in New York, the Pennsylvania factional feuds, the association of John Randolph with the Quids, and Monroe's challenge to Madison's candidacy are clarified. Jeffersonian relations with the press are assessed in terms of the involvement of editors in party activities and the promotion and use of particular organs. Campaign methods reflect the Party's concern for public relations. Its tax-reduction policy proved to be one popular asset in its voter appeal.

Professor Cunningham concludes that Jefferson was personally effective as a political leader, that his party was successful in administering the government of the United States and that together they contributed direction to the developing American political system.

Lawrence F. Brewster

East Carolina College

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*The Leaven of Democracy: The Growth of the Democratic Spirit in the Time of Jackson.* Selected and edited with Introduction and Notes by Clement Eaton. (New York: George Braziller, Inc. 1963. Pp. xvi, 490. \$8.50.)

*The Leaven of Democracy*, one of the volumes in *The American Epoch Series*, is a compilation of travel accounts, letters, diaries, journals, and other contemporary works describing American politics and society during the period from the 1820's through the 1850's. The editor, Clement Eaton, Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, has divided his selections into nine categories dealing with such topics (to mention only a few) as "The Politicians in Washington," "The Old South: Land of Chivalry," "The Plain People," and "The American Character and Regional Differences."

The selections are varied in length: The longest (16 pages) is "A Virginian Likes New England," from the travel journal of Lucian Minor and the shortest is a two-line excerpt from a letter of Andrew Jackson to "Andrew Jackson Donaldson [*sic*]," in which the Old Hero declared in 1824 that "If I am elected to fill the Presidential chair it must be by the people; and I will be the President of the nation, and

not a party." Several items, including some gleaned from the manuscript collections at Duke University and the University of North Carolina, have not been previously published.

Mr. Eaton, a native of Winston-Salem, has not overlooked the State of his birth in choosing his selections. He has reprinted, for example, Thomas Hart Benton's moving tribute to Nathaniel Macon—"the pride and ornament of my native State," as the Missouri Senator hailed his political mentor. Also included are Henry Barnard's account of a visit to Chapel Hill in 1833, as recorded in letters to his brother; a description of the "Piny Woods" in 1857 by David Hunter Strother ("Porte Crayon"); and the impressions of Sarah Hicks Williams, "A Yankee Bride in North Carolina," taken from her letters written during the 1850's. These letters, incidentally, were originally edited by James C. Bonner and first appeared in the July and October, 1956, issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

These visitors all regarded the Old North State as an impoverished commonwealth whose citizens lolled in the lap of inactivity. "If you call Long Island behind the times," wrote Mrs. Williams, "I don't know what you would call North Carolina. It has been rightly termed Rip Van Winkle." Barnard declared that the residents of Chapel Hill "like most southerners are indolent." He particularly relished an anecdote told him by Professor Elisha Mitchell concerning the wife of a former governor from the western part of the State who declared "that she would not remove to Raleigh, because she would be obliged to wear stockings and shoes." "Porte Crayon" found the inhabitants of eastern North Carolina "lazy and listless" and described their dwellings as "but little better in appearance than the huts of our Western borders."

Somewhat debatable is Mr. Eaton's assertion in his general introduction that "today Jackson is perhaps more esteemed as a strong and useful president than at any time since his death." True, as he points out, Jackson ranked sixth among the notable presidents in the 1962 poll of historians conducted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., but in a similar poll 15 years earlier Old Hickory had been rated a "Great President," only to be demoted in the 1962 survey to the less exalted ranks of the "Near Great." The Introduction also contains a few errors of fact. This reviewer, having written a study of Mississippi politics during the Jackson era, was naturally sensitive to the misspelling of Seargent Prentiss' first name, to the erroneous statement that Robert J. Walker

in 1845 was "a former New Yorker," and to the mistaken identification of George Poindexter as a Senator from Alabama.

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

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*The Whirligig of Politics: The Democracy of Cleveland and Bryan.* By J. Rogers Hollingsworth. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. vii, 263. \$5.00.)

Professor Hollingsworth of the University of Illinois has written a history of the Democratic Party between the years 1892 and 1904, which he prefers to call a "whirligig" of politics. That this period is rightly labeled a "whirligig" is apparent to those who recall the historic struggle between the colorful William Jennings Bryan and the portly Grover Cleveland for control of the Democratic Party. Hollingsworth is concerned here with the failure of both Bryan and Cleveland to form a coalition capable of challenging the Republican Party's leadership. This failure resulted in the gradual deterioration of the Democratic Party until it was helpless to prevent the election of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft.

This book contains little that is new. Rather, it is a rehash of political events from 1892 to 1904. Yet this work will be valuable to both the historian and political scientist because the author goes into a detailed account of the Democratic Party's leadership.

Professor Hollingsworth has documented his book well. His large bibliography contains all the sources necessary to authenticate this political history. If the author can be criticized for any one thing here he can be accused of not using the complete papers of Eugene Debs and David Starr Jordan. The author's style is direct and clear. But few historians will wish to agree that "As we are not likely to discover any significant new sources of material for the study of American political history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the important thing is to make new use of old sources. . . ."

*The Whirligig of Politics* can be recommended, therefore, for those interested in a thoroughly detailed account of an "old chestnut."

Frank Grubbs

Meredith College

Fathers to Sons: Advice Without Consent. Edited and with an Introduction by Alan Valentine. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1963. Pp. xxxii, 237. Notes, bibliography, and index. \$4.95.)

At first glance this volume might appear to be just another anthology of letters for after-dinner browsing. In roughly chronological order, the extracts range from the time of Lorenzo de Medici to our own Franklin D., each with a thumbnail sketch of the writers and recipients in their social context to make good any defects in the reader's memory or education. But this is far more than a bedside book. The editor, a Rhodes Scholar, onetime president of the University of Rochester, and himself a father, writes with humor and insight on an enduring theme, the alienation of the generations, neatly mirrored in his subtitle and elaborated in a provocative Introduction.

The problem, of course, is to bridge the gap from father to son. Should advice-offering fathers "give precedence to indoctrination or self-development, to discipline or sympathy . . .? Should a son be tailored to fit society or to improve it, to adjust or assert?" Fathers have repeatedly grappled with these dilemmas, but editor Valentine questions whether or not the effort has ever really been worthwhile: "The fine art of paternity must be learned from experience that usually brings its wisdom too late." Younger sons, he observes, get off more easily because by their time father has achieved "either more wisdom or a clearer recognition of his own futility." That word futility is the dominant motif. Styles may change from the self-confident authoritarian of yesteryear to the baffled camaraderie of today's more permissive parent, but the problem remains, a persisting dimension of tragedy, the isolation of father from son. What a pity, Valentine laments, ". . . so many generations of experienced fathers have not left their successors a single dependable manual of the profession. . . ." In a sense, this anthology is just such a manual.

Still, for all the tragedy, there is delightful entertainment here. One example must suffice: Dr. Benjamin Rush admonishes his son to write "even a common note" as if one day it were to be "read in court," but to no avail. He soon complains "Your last was scarcely legible and point of composition . . . very improper for a junior . . . at Princeton. . . . From a sense of duty I shall continue my usual kindness to you. I have therefore enclosed you the money you have requested."

I. B. Holley, Jr.

Duke University

## OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A biography, *David Lowry Swain: Governor and University President*, has been written by Cordelia Camp and published by The Stephens Press, Inc., P. O. Box 5256, Asheville. Twelve chapters discuss Swain's life from boyhood days through his career as a leader in North Carolina's political and educational life. The 64-page illustrated booklet includes a bibliography and is indexed. Miss Camp's study will be particularly useful as a supplement to the texts used by children studying North Carolina history in the seventh or eighth grades. Paper-bound copies are \$1.00, and copies bound in library buchram are \$2.50; these may be ordered from the publisher or from the author at 3 Lorraine Avenue, Asheville.

*History of Tyrrell County*, by David E. Davis, is a 98-page booklet printed by offset. Recent statistical information adds to the value of the account of the County's history. Illustrations, a list of important dates in Tyrrell County history, statistical tables, maps, and bibliography are included in the publication. Orders may be sent to the author, Route 1, Box 143, Columbia, North Carolina.

The Department recently received *The Flight of the Clan* and "Some Historic Families of South Carolina," written by Frampton Erroll Ellis. The former is a small pamphlet which includes a diary of 1865 by Emily Caroline Ellis with an Introduction and notes by Frampton E. Ellis. The latter is a 92-page booklet, originally printed in 1905, and reprinted in 1962. Genealogical history of 15 families is given and interested persons may address inquiries to Mr. Ellis, 1109 Georgia Savings Bank Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

A copy of *Williford and Allied Families*, has been received by the State Department of Archives and History. The 284-page book is by William Bailey Williford, and copies may be obtained from him at 24 Collier Road, N. W., Atlanta 9, Georgia, for \$15 each. Genealogists will be interested in references to many North Carolinians, including Thomas, Nathan, Britain, and Samuel Williford; Judge William Williams; Philip Wilhite and family; Robert Weakley, Jr.; Cadwallader Jones IV; Willie Jones; and Judge John Sitgreaves. The book is indexed and there is a bibliography.

William Perry Johnson, Editor of *Journal of North Carolina Genealogy*, has issued Volume I of his *Index to North Carolina Wills*,

1663-1900. The *Index* includes a listing of wills from Alamance, Alexander, Alleghany, Anson, Ashe, and Beaufort counties. The name of the testator, date of probate, and volume and page of the appropriate record book are given for each will. Copies of the publication may be ordered from Mr. Johnson, P. O. Box 531, Raleigh, 27602, for \$4.00.

*Early American Hurricanes, 1492-1870*, by David M. Ludlum, is the first volume in a projected series entitled *The History of American Weather*. Information on the years 1501 through 1700 is all given in one chapter, but a geographical breakdown is used for the later years. Hurricanes in the Gulf Coast area, those from Hatteras north, and those from Hatteras south are discussed. Sections entitled "Bibliography to 1870," "Chronological Index: 1528-1870," and "Geographical Index by States: 1528-1870" add to the value of the data. Numerous journals and first-hand accounts were used in compiling material for the book. Clothbound copies are \$7.00; paper-bound copies are \$5.00. Orders may be sent to the American Meteorological Society, 45 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, 02108.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

## DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

### *The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission*

A twenty-five member Commission has been appointed by Governor Terry Sanford to serve during the remainder of the Civil War Centennial. Reappointed for a third term were the following: Colonel Hugh Dortch, Chairman, Goldsboro; Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn, Woodland; Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Raleigh; Mrs. G. W. Cover, Andrews; Dr. W. S. Jenkins, Chapel Hill; Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary, Brevard; Senator Hector MacLean, Lumberton; Judge R. Hunt Parker, Raleigh; Mr. John R. Peacock, High Point; Dr. Robert H. Woody, Durham; and Mrs. Charles U. Harris, Raleigh. Second term reappointments include Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Elon College; Mrs. R. O. Everett, Durham; Mr. Ernie Greup, Durham; Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, Hendersonville; Dr. Robert Long, Statesville; Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City; Mrs. Alvin Seippel, Winston-Salem; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker, Carolina Beach; Mr. R. F. Van Landingham, Thomasville; Mrs. Jessie Ruth Seagroves, Siler City; Mrs. Earl Teague, Statesville; and Mr. George Myrover, Fayetteville. The twenty-fifth and newest member is Mr. W. Cliff Elder of Burlington, Colonel of the North Carolina Sixth Regiment. Ex officio members of the Commission are Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, State Department of Archives and History; Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent, State Department of Public Instruction; and Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Director, Department of Conservation and Development.

The twelfth plenary meeting of The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held on January 17 in the Tartan Room of Balentine's Confederate House in Cameron Village, Raleigh. Following the welcome and introduction of new commissioners and staff members, the Executive Secretary, Mr. Norman C. Larson, reported on activities of the Commission during the year 1963. Commenting on a proposed schedule of Centennial events in 1964-1965, the Executive Secretary said that there would be an emphasis on commemorative activities, highlights being the anniversary of the Battle of Fort Fisher and the signing of the surrender and beginning of peace at the Bennett Place. A major order of business was the election of a board of directors for The North Carolina Confederate Corporation and an executive committee for the Commission. Elected to the former group were Mrs. Cover, Dr. Crittenden, Col. Dortch, Mr. Elder, Mr. Greup, Senator MacLean, Mrs. McCrary, Mr. Peacock, and Mr. Tucker. New members of the executive committee are Colonel Dortch, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Seippel, Dr. Woody, Mrs. Seagroves, Mrs. Everett, Mr. Salisbury, Dr. Cunningham, and Judge Parker.

The Council of State has allocated \$10,000 from the Contingency and Emergency Fund to the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to continue the Ram "Neuse" project and to make the Confederate gunboat a permanent memorial. Specifically, the money will be used to remove the vessel from the bank of the Neuse River near Kinston to the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial property where a permanent location has been assigned to it, to construct an access road to the site, to provide a concrete foundation for the vessel, and to preserve it. The action by the Council climaxes efforts begun two years ago by the Lenoir County Centennial Committee, the city of Kinston, the Board of County Commissioners, and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to raise the Civil War relic from the waters of the Neuse and place it on dry land.

The Mecklenburg Board of County Commissioners announced the appointment in December of Mr. Harry T. Orr as chairman of the newly-formed Mecklenburg County Centennial Committee. This action by the Board raises the number of local committees in the State to 73.

A resolution expressing support of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in its program during the last years of the Civil War Centennial was adopted by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association at its annual meeting in Raleigh, December 7. The resolution was presented by the Executive Secretary of the Commission, Mr. Larson.

During January Mr. Larson spoke to several groups about the activities of the Confederate Commission. On January 16 he met with the New Hanover County Centennial Committee and the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee to discuss plans for commemoration of the Battle of Fort Fisher. A tentative outline of events met with the approval of the group. Mr. Larson presented a slide program about diving explorations of sunken Civil War ships in North Carolina waters to the Hagerstown, Maryland, Civil War Round Table on January 23 and repeated the program on the following evening to members of the same organization in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

On January 30 an organizational meeting of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Commemoration Committee was held in Durham. The Committee, combining members of the Andrew Johnson Commission, the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, and the Confederate Centennial Commission, met to establish itself officially and elect officers and directors to plan a joint commemoration of the Bennett Place surrender and the anniversary of Andrew Johnson's succession to the office of President of the United States. Officers elected were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Chairman; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan and Mr. R. O. Everett, Vice-Chairmen; and Senator Hector MacLean, Secretary-Treasurer. Elected to the Board of Directors were: Mr. Greup, Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, Mr. A. H. Graham, and Mrs. Everett. Honorary members of the Board elected were Mrs. Taylor Cole, Dr. Woody, and Senator Claude Currie. Mr. Larson was elected to serve as Executive Director.

Mrs. Frances Ashford of the Hall of History staff and Mr. Larson addressed an assembly of junior and senior high school students in Bath on February 5. Mr. Larson spoke on "The Civil War."

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Committee was held in Durham on February 11 for the purpose of selecting committees to plan the commemoration.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission announces the resignation of Mrs. Edward Bizzell, Jr., Administrative Assistant, and the assumption of her duties by Mr. Robert Jones of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, who will be on temporary loan during the remainder of the Centennial. Also joining the Commission staff is Mrs. Paul V. Phillips, Jr., who will serve as secretary of the Commission.

### *Colonial Records Project*

The North Carolina Colonial Records Project was transferred to the State Department of Archives and History on January 1, upon dissolution of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. The Editor continues to be Mrs. Mattie Erma E. Parker. Other members of the Project staff are Mrs. Violet W. Quay, Editorial Assistant; Mrs. Audrey M. Piner and Mrs. Miriam B. Purvis, Stenographers; and Mrs. Rosemary C. Carmichael, Mrs. Florence T. Eubank, and Mrs. Ann S. Powe, Researchers.

The immediate objective of the Colonial Records Project is to locate, wherever they may be, all extant documents related to colonial North Carolina and to prepare a detailed inventory, describing each document and giving its location. Approximately 200,000 manuscript pages of colonial records in depositories in North Carolina have been examined and inventoried. The staff is now inventorying the colonial court records in the State Department of Archives and History.

A search for North Carolina colonial records outside the State is also under way. This search is being conducted in the archives of the thirteen original States, manuscript depositories in major cities and universities, and other depositories which are known or thought to have North Carolina records. It has been completed and the pertinent records have been inventoried in forty depositories outside North Carolina, in many of which significant discoveries were made. Discoveries of important papers, including correspondence of governors, legislative records, and papers of prominent residents of the colony, have been made in such widely separated places as Massachusetts, Texas, and Michigan. Plans for extending the search to foreign countries are now being formed. It is already known that important records of colonial North Carolina are in Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany, France, and other foreign countries.

After the necessary information has been obtained, photocopies of the records found outside North Carolina will be obtained for manuscript depositories in the State. The more important documents will be published in a new series of North Carolina colonial records.

*Director's Office*

Effective in January, Mr. Paul Kelly joined the staff of the Department as Consultant. Mr. Kelly for approximately 30 years was associated with the State Department of Conservation and Development in various capacities. He is assisting with the Department's public information program. On January 6 Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Historic Bath Commission; Mr. Dan Paul, Treasurer of the Commission; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Miss Mary B. Cornick, Budget Officer, met in Dr. Crittenden's office to discuss the program of Historic Bath.

On January 15 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission at which Mr. Hal W. Trentman, Chairman, presided. The group discussed possibilities of issuing a brochure; Mrs. Roy Wilder reported for a committee which had investigated various types of publications applicable to the project. At the February 19 meeting of the Commission a "Minute Man" committee—Mr. Banks Talley, Mr. Henry Haywood, and Mrs. Raymond Murray—was appointed to investigate the present status of houses and buildings in Raleigh designated for preservation. Serving on the criteria committee will be Mr. F. Carter Williams, Mr. Ben Williams, and Mr. Tarlton. The brochure to be published by the Commission will contain pictures of Raleigh houses, a list of local historic sites, and a statement of the purpose of the Commission. Dr. Crittenden, who serves as a consultant to the group, and Mr. Tarlton will study the phrasing of the text for the brochure. A number of related groups have expressed interest in working with the Commission. Four additional committees were appointed—publicity, liaison, research, and a committee to provide speakers to publicize the objectives and work of the Commission. Mr. Trentman and Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Secretary, will serve as *ex officio* members of the six committees.

On January 23 the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association met to plan the meetings of the various Culture Week societies. Present were President James W. Patton, Vice-Presidents Mr. Ovid Pierce and Mrs. Ina W. Van Noppen, Secretary-Treasurer Dr. Crittenden, Executive Committee members Mr. Henry W. Lewis, Mr. John F. Blair, and Dr. Herbert Paschal, Jr., and Administrative Assistant Mrs. W. L. Burts. An invitation was considered to hold Culture Week in Winston-Salem in 1966 as a part of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Salem. Following a brief recess the Executive Committee reconvened with representatives of other societies joining the group. Present were Mr. Dan Paul and Mrs. E. A. Branch, North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities; Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan, North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs; Dr. Holger Nygard, Mr. Philip Kennedy, and Dr. J. D. Clark, North Carolina Folklore Society; Mrs. Van Noppen, North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians; Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, North Carolina State Art Society; Mr. John W. Fox, Roanoke Island Historical Association; Mr. James Gray, Old Salem, Inc.; and Mr. William Fields, Associated Artists.

The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met on January 29 in the Assembly Room of the Department. Present were the following appointed members: Chairman James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, Mr. James McClure Clarke of Asheville, and Mrs. P. P. McCain of Wilson; and the following ex officio members: Mr. Hiram Casebolt of Raleigh representing the Director of the Department of Conservation and Development; Dr. C. O. Cathey of Chapel Hill representing the Chairman of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and Mr. G. Andrew Jones of Raleigh, State Budget Officer. Also present were Dr. Crittenden, who serves ex officio as Secretary of the Committee; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator; Miss Mary B. Cornick, Budget Officer of the Department; Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Walter Wooten, Staff Historian, Division of Historic Sites. Those present discussed appropriations made by the 1963 General Assembly and Dr. Crittenden summarized certain correspondence with the Attorney General's office relating to museums. Representative Alden Baker of Pasquotank County, who introduced the special bill which appropriated funds for the Museum of the Albemarle, joined the Committee for a discussion of the proposed Museum project; no action was taken and the matter was left open.

Following a discussion of two projects located in Edenton, the Committee passed resolutions that the Cupola House and the Barker House were approved and endorsed to receive funds appropriated by the 1963 General Assembly.

Discussion of a long-range Historic Sites program was postponed until the next meeting.

Dr. Rubio Mañe, Mexican archivist, and Mr. Gregorió Ramirez, Mexican architect, visited the Department on February 7. They consulted with Dr. Crittenden, Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Mr. F. Carter Williams, architect for the new Archives and History-State Library Building. They were shown rough drawings of the new building and inspected the Archives and Records Center. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History is one of several visited by Dr. Mañe and Mr. Ramirez.

#### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia, December 28-30, and participated in a council meeting of the Society of American Archivists held in conjunction with the Association. On January 13 Mr. Jones spoke to the Burlington Rotary Club and on January 28 to the American Business Club of Raleigh on the subject of North Carolina's historical programs.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, filming of the *Caucasian*, published in Clinton, Goldsboro, and Raleigh from 1884 to 1913, was completed, as were titles not heretofore filmed from the towns of Greensboro, Pittsboro, and Salisbury, up to 1900.

For the quarter ending December 31, the Microfilm Processing Laboratory produced 1,244 reels (123,550 linear feet) of microfilm, of which

532 reels were 35 mm. negatives, 195 reels 16 mm. negatives, 505 reels 35 mm. positives, and 12 reels of 16 mm. positives. During the same period the Document Restoration Laboratory's production was 23,572 pages of laminated records, most of which were county records. In addition, 3,235 pages were laminated for the Southern Historical Collection and other institutions and individuals.

In the Archives, accessions included a microfilm copy of the account book of William Hooper for 1780-1783; six manuscript Civil War military maps; and a variety of private collections, genealogical materials, and microfilm copies of county records and church records.

The Search Room served 1,343 persons during the quarter, 720 by mail and 623 in person. Copies furnished totaled 980. The experiment of keeping the Search Room open from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. on Saturdays has proven successful, and plans are to continue the Saturday hours indefinitely if the public continues to take advantage of them. The purchase of an ultraviolet (black) lamp has made possible the examination of faded documents. A badly faded manuscript map of Wilmington, heretofore dated by experts as 1755, can now be dated with certainty as 1735.

Staff changes in the Archives include the promotions of Mrs. Frances T. Council and Mr. Roger C. Jones from Archivist I to Archivist II, and of Miss Betsy Fleshman from Clerk III to Archivist I.

The security microfilming of permanently valuable records has been completed in Burke and Caswell counties by Local Records Section camera operators and in Gaston by the county operator. This brings to 35 the number of counties which have been completed. Work is in progress in Nash and Wilkes counties by Section camera operators, and in Alamance, Guilford, and Mecklenburg, by county operators.

Original county records recently received from counties for permanent preservation in the State Archives include:

*Burke County*: Criminal action papers (1829-1901).

*Caswell County*: County Court Minutes (1831-1835, 1843-1862, 1866-1868); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1777-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1826); Equity minutes (1807-1868); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1823-1868); civil action papers of Superior and County Courts (1777-1878); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1876-1918); apprentice bonds (1880-1921); bastardy bonds (1877-1878); guardians' accounts (books and papers) (1794-1868); record of officials' bonds (1868-1907); records of elections (1872-1912); estates papers (1777-1888).

*Davie County*: Trial and state dockets of the County Court (1847-1868); Superior Court minutes (rough) (1837-1844, 1856, 1857, 1872-1875, 1877, 1880, 1881, 1883); civil and criminal action papers of Superior and County Court (1825-1900); administrators' and guardians' bonds and returns (1850-1870); estates papers (1845-1875); election records and returns (1850-1904); and ledgers (merchants') (1836-1838, 1846-1848).

*Nash County*: Miscellaneous County Court dockets (1782-1868); civil and criminal action papers of the Superior and County Courts (1780-1880); Superior Court minutes (1813-1868); Equity dockets and papers

(1811-1824); inventories and accounts of sales (1818-1868); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1857-1915); guardian accounts (1820-1867); bastardy bonds (1871-1880); marriage record book (1851-1867); wills (originals) (1790-1906); index to wills (1779-1926); estates papers (1780-1880); record of elections (1878-1924); deeds, not called for (1800-1915); land entries (1838-1902); records of official bonds (1823-1888); division of slaves (1829-1861); minutes of superintendents of common schools (1843-1864); minutes of Wardens' Court (1844-1860); mercantile journal (Algood and Bunn) (1836-1837); and a tax list (1875).

The following positive microfilm copies of county records have been processed and placed in the Search Room:

*Brunswick County*: Deeds and land grants and indexes thereto (1764-1952); registration of land titles and records of survey (1905-1940); marriage register (1850-1961); index to vital statistics (1914-1963); County Court minutes (1805-1868); Superior Court minutes (1882-1944); records of administrators, executors, and guardians (1929-1963); record of accounts (1868-1963); appointment of administrators, executors, and guardians (1868-1929); record of settlements (1868-1963); record of resale of land (1920-1963); inheritance tax record (1923-1963); wills and indexes thereto (1764-1963); special proceedings (1908-1963); armed forces discharges (1927-1963); records of partnership and corporations (1889-1963); minutes, county commissioners (1869-1928); minutes, board of education (1872-1935); record of elections (1934-1962); and tax scrolls (1873-1925).

The Document Restoration Laboratory restored by lamination 20,792 pages of county records. A total of 36 volumes were rebound at State expense.

In the State Records Section, the schedule for the Laboratory of Hygiene, State Board of Health, has been approved, and schedules for the Board of Refrigeration Engineers, Board of Examiners for Engineers and Land Surveyors, Insurance Department, Merit System Council, and Rural Electrification Authority have been submitted to the respective agencies for approval. A revision of the State Auditor's schedule is in progress, as is an amendment to the Department of Conservation and Development schedule relating to the Division of Community Planning. The State Department of Archives and History schedule has been amended.

The workshops have continued, with the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop being given three times to 57 persons representing two agencies and the Files and Filing workshop being given two times to 33 persons representing one agency.

A central file has been developed for the Department of Mental Health and, after approval, was installed. The Equivalency Index of the Testing and Pupil Classification Section of the Department of Public Instruction was reorganized and alphabetized. The filing system developed late in 1962 for the State Department of Archives and History has been reviewed and is generally found to be operating satisfactorily. A special study of duplicate accident report files of the Department of Motor Vehicles has also been made.

In the State Records Center, 1,244 cubic feet of records were accessioned during the quarter ending December 31, and 897 cubic feet were disposed of, for a net gain of 347 cubic feet. The total holdings of the Records Center at the end of December were 28,726 cubic feet. The Records Center staff performed 11,788 reference services during the quarter, including 5,131 services in which documents or information were furnished and 6,657 items were refiled or interfiled. Ninety visitors for 17 State agencies visited the Records Center to consult records.

The Records Center has sold 11.54 tons of waste paper during the quarter for \$35.

In the Microfilm Project, 82 reels of microfilm containing 183,750 images were filmed during the quarter. In addition, 81 reels of paid checks were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Leland T. Jones, Clerk II, was promoted to Clerk III effective December 1. Mr. Alexander R. Tuten, Records Management Consultant I, resigned effective December 31 to take a position in private business; he was replaced by Mr. John F. Dunning, who was appointed Records Management Consultant I effective January 1. Mr. Robert L. Fry was appointed Clerk II (Microfilmer) effective January 1.

### *Division of Historic Sites*

There are many indications of growth in restoration activity throughout the State at the local level. Several county historical societies and special organizations have undertaken restoration or historic site projects and are working with commendable success. The staff of the Division of Historic Sites is frequently asked to assist these local or special projects. Thus the Department extends its work without the problems of finance and administration; the local projects benefit from the experience and professional skills of the full-time specialists of the Department. This cooperation results in a higher standard of accomplishment in local restorations all over the State.

During recent months the Division has assisted the following projects: McDowell County Historical Society. Restoration of the Carson House, which has already been acquired by the Society, and planning the reconstruction of Davidson's Fort at Old Fort. Davidson's Fort was a pre-Revolutionary outpost in the settlement of the upper Catawba Valley and also was used during Major Griffith Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokee in 1775.

Bladen County Historical Society. Restoration of "Harmony Hall," pre-Revolutionary home of Colonel James Richardson. Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Restoration Specialist, has been working with Mr. Chatham Clark and other members of the Society in planning the restoration.

Catawba County Historical Association. More adequate marking of the Bunker Hill Covered Bridge near Claremont, one of three surviving covered bridges in North Carolina and the only one being preserved. The bridge is located at Connor Roadside Park on US 70, east of Claremont.

James Iredell Association, Edenton. Restoration and improvement of the period furnishings, improvement in the administration of the project

and its presentation to the public. The Iredell House was the home of one of North Carolina's two members of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Iredell was appointed by President George Washington.

Beaufort Historical Society. Planning a town-wide preservation program, including the acquisition and restoration of two historic buildings and other property for future use. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Superintendent, and Mr. James H. Craig, Curator of Arts and Crafts, recently spoke to the Society on over-all planning and on the furnishing of historic houses, respectively.

Hezekiah Alexander House Restoration Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Charlotte. Additional restoration of buildings (including kitchen and spring house) and improvement of furnishings of the pre-Revolutionary stone house, home of one of Mecklenburg's prominent early citizens. Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Craig recently met with the Committee and recommended a plan to be followed.

Western North Carolina. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Site Specialist for the area, has investigated and made recommendations to local organizations concerning the old Judson College Building at Hendersonville, the Keyhole House at Lenoir (resulting from a letter sent by two schoolgirls to Governor Terry Sanford asking for aid in preserving the House), and the Toxaway Indian burial mound in Transylvania County.

Pantego Historical Society, Beaufort County. This group is planning to acquire and preserve the old Pantego Academy building and use it as a local historical museum.

Confederate fortification on Roanoke River. Mr. Tarlton, Mr. Honeycutt, and Mr. Walter Wootten, Staff Historian, have inspected and investigated the remains of a large Confederate fortification near Halifax and recommendations have been forwarded to a local group of citizens for their consideration.

Hillsborough Historical Society. Mr. Honeycutt has been working with this organization on the restoration of an early house which was acquired last year by the Society.

Within the regular program of the Division the following events and developments have occurred:

At Fort Fisher State Historic Site the newly acquired 12-acre tract on the ocean side has been cleared to a large extent so that visitors may now tour another portion of the Fort earthworks. The beach on this front is, however, undergoing a serious erosion and the earthworks are being destroyed at an alarming rate. A recent survey by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, shows extensive destruction in the last four or five years. The New Hanover Board of County Commissioners and the Department have appealed to the Water Resources Commission and the State Highway Department for repair and stabilization of the beach to protect the Historic Site property and the road. The New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee has made plans to commemorate the Battle of Fort Fisher early in 1965. An amphibious landing by armed forces and a display of fireworks are among the features tentatively planned. Plans for the restoration of the palisade and sally port on the land face of the Fort have been made and work is ready to begin. The visitor center-

museum is in the final planning stage and bids will be let by mid-April. The building will be located outside the sally port, on the north side of the Fort works.

At Brunswick Town State Historic Site the area for the visitor center-museum, also in the final planning stage, has been cleared and recently excavated colonial house foundations have been cleaned up and landscaped for exhibit. Mr. South, Site Specialist, has written a series of radio programs on the history of Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher, which are being presented three days a week over Radio Station WMFD, Wilmington.

Mr. South, at the request of the Bethabara Historical Society and Old Salem, Inc., has conducted preliminary investigation of the Moravian village site at Bethabara, the first Moravian town in North Carolina, and has recommended a program for further archaeological work and development as a historical attraction. He will continue to work on the program, which is being financed with funds contributed by Mr. Charles H. Babcock, Sr., of Winston-Salem.

Mr. James Ivey, Historic Site Assistant at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, has been in charge of clearing the site at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial property, Kinston, for the relocation of the Confederate Ram "Neuse," which is soon to be moved from downriver where it was raised from the bottom of the Neuse River in 1963.

The landscaping contracts for the Caswell Memorial have been completed with the recent planting of trees along the walks and drives. The Frosty Morn Meat Packing Company, with a plant adjacent to the site on the east, has generously co-operated with the Caswell project by planting screening trees and shrubs, making it possible at the same time for the Company's lake, next to the Caswell graveyard, to be an integral part of the landscape plan.

At Bentonville Battleground construction of the visitor center-museum was begun in early January. It is expected that the building will be ready for occupancy by midsummer. Mr. Roy S. Dickens, Archaeologist at Town Creek Indian Mound, recently headed an artifact-finding expedition to Bentonville Battleground, which resulted in the recovery of a number of bullets and other battle relics for the Bentonville museum and careful archaeological notes for the record.

At Town Creek the backlog of laboratory work of last summer's archaeological excavations is being done during the slack winter season. The Archaeologist has also carried on a good deal of field survey work in the area.

At Historic Bath a ceiling in the Bonner House fell, which caused considerable damage to the furnishings and resulted in the temporary closing in November of the two historic houses for inspection and repairs. The houses are now repaired and open for visitors. The kitchen at the Bonner House has been furnished and added to the list of attractions. Mr. Willie Grey Moore of Bath has been appointed to the permanent staff as Maintenance Mechanic. Mr. Craig compiled an inventory of all furnishings in the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses for the Department's permanent records. Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer, has made plans for

remodeling the reception center and historical exhibits and this work is now in progress. Plans are being drawn for the Ruth Smith Memorial Garden at the Bonner House.

Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Operations Manager, has co-operated with the staff of the Confederate Centennial Commission in making plans for the Centennial program for the Bennett Place, Durham. He is a member of the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place Centennial Committee, designed to plan and promote a joint commemorative program in 1965.

At Historic Halifax the Constitution House has been donated to the State by the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution. The Department will assume responsibility for the house, in co-operation with the Historic Halifax Restoration Association as part of the over-all program. Mr. Honeycutt is supervising the final stages of restoration of the Dutch Colonial House. The Historic Halifax Restoration Association is acquiring additional property to enlarge the historic area.

### *Division of Museums*

A highlight for the Tarheel Junior Historian Association occurred December 6, at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, when Secretary of State Thad Eure presented Junior Historian Awards to the first winning chapters. The 1962-1963 president and vice-president and the 1963-1964 president and vice-president of the Stephen Cabarrus Chapter, Harrisburg School, Harrisburg, accepted the Literary Award which was presented to their club for their narrative history of Cabarrus County, "The Gold Nugget." Mrs. Mable Blume serves as the club's adviser. The Arts Award was won by the Roanoke Junior Historian Club, Washington Street Elementary School, Plymouth, for a series of oil paintings depicting the history of North Carolina. The five contributing artists accepted the award on behalf of their club. Mrs. Ruth Thomas Pharr is the club's adviser.

For the first time since the establishment of the Junior Historian Association, more than 100 Junior Historian Clubs have been organized.

Mrs. Frances Ashford made a talk on "Culpeper's Rebellion" on November 21 to the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century in Raleigh.

A talk was made to the State's Mates Club on November 11, on "Accessories from 1790 to 1920" by Mrs. Sue R. Todd.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend made a trip to the Preservation Laboratory on November 15-16, to check on progress and to make specific plans with Mr. John Miller for the preservation of cannon and other artifacts and to outline specifications for additions and improvements to the laboratory building. Many changes have already been made, including the addition of 600 square feet of storage space. A large stainless steel tank has been constructed which makes it possible to have 200 cubic feet of distilled water for use in the treatment process. A sandblasting shed has been added, also. Two of the cannon recovered from the "Peterhoff" in the summer of 1963 have been placed in huge steel vats and are undergoing constant fresh water washing.

Mrs. Jordan attended the ceremonies of the sixtieth anniversary of powered flight at Kitty Hawk on December 15-17. Most of the staff members of the Division attended the organizational meeting of the North Carolina Museums Council in Raleigh on December 4. Mrs. Jordan was elected to serve as a member of the Steering Committee of the newly formed Council. The women staff members of the Division were present at a luncheon at the Velvet Cloak Inn in Raleigh honoring the Women's Allied Auxillary of the North Carolina Motor Carriers Association. Mrs. Sue R. Todd gave a talk at the meeting on "Accessories from 1663 to 1963."

Governor Terry Sanford formally opened the Transportation Gallery in the Hall of History on January 24. The exhibit was sponsored by the North Carolina Motor Carriers Association. A reception was held for the honor guests attending the ceremonies. Other persons participating were Dr. Crittenden and Mr. R. L. Brinson and Mr. J. T. Outlaw, President and Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. Charles W. Loftin resigned on December 31; he had been in charge of the Mobile Museum of History. Since January 27 Mr. John Amari has been filling this position until a permanent employee can be obtained. Mr. James Alfred White joined the staff of the Division on December 12 as Museums Preparator. Mrs. Betty Tyson began work on January 16 as a Typist-Receptionist (Temporary) and Mrs. Marge Hamilton, who recently finished the course in museum work with this Division as a Meredith College internee, reported to work January 30. She will work as a Typist (Part-Time) during the remainder of the college semester.

#### *Division of Publications*

During the fourth quarter of 1963, sales in the Division of Publications totaled \$7,855, with \$5,130 being retained by the Division and \$2,725 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 222 documentary volumes; 6 letter books of governors; 201 small books; 13,753 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 48,235 leaflets and brochures; and 8,994 copies of the list of publications. Not included in the total of 71,411 are 1,992 copies of the Winter, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, and 1,773 copies of the November issue of *Carolina Comments*. There were 205 new subscriptions and 538 renewals to *The Review*.

*Indians in North Carolina*, *Civil War Pictures*, and *The Old North State Fact Book* were reprinted. *North Carolina's Role in World War II*, *North Carolina Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution*, and *The North Carolina Historical Review: Subject-Title-Author-Index, 1924-1963* were all issued for the first time. The first two new titles are pamphlets, each available for 25¢; the *Index* is \$5.00. All publications may be ordered from the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, 27602.

Plans are being made to revise the list of publications available from the Department. Publications should be ordered from the new list after

April 1. Copies of this list are available free of charge from the Division of Publications.

Manuscript copy for Volume III of *The Papers of John Gray Blount*, edited by Dr. W. H. Masterson, was received late in 1963 and will be sent to the printer in the early spring. Copy for the first volume of the Jarvis Papers, edited by Dr. W. B. Yearns, was received in January; it, too, will be sent to the printer in the spring.

Mrs. Brenda C. Whicker, Stenographer II, resigned and was replaced by Mrs. Marion T. James on February 4.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, spoke to the Samuel Johnston Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Raleigh on January 8. She spoke to the staff of the Department on the publications program on January 16. Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, spoke to the Clio Book Club in Raleigh on January 28.

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. George Pasti, Jr., of the Department of History at East Carolina College, spoke at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Regional Conference of the Association for Asia Studies held at Sweetbriar College, Virginia, on February 14. His topic was "The Comparative Study of East Asian and Western History: Some Topics and Problems." Dr. Pasti has received, from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a post-doctoral award for a year of study of the Chinese language and Asian history at the University of Southern California. Dr. George Baker had an article, "The Wilson Administration and Cuba, 1913-1921," in *Mid-America*, Volume 46, Number 1, 1963. Dr. Betty C. Congleton had an article, "Prentice's Biography of Henry Clay, and John Greenleaf Whittier," in *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, for October. Dr. Joseph Steelman was a discussant at a session on Progressivism at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia in December and Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke to the Chatham Book Club in Greenville on February 4 on "Nathanael Greene: His Life and Times." Dr. Joseph S. Bachman spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society on January 30 and Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director of the Department, was elected to the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association on December 6.

On December 5 Dr. John H. Gilbert, Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, moderated the *Time* Round Table program on "Prospects for the Johnson Administration" on Radio Station WKNC. Dr. Burton F. Beers had an article, "The Common Market, the United States, and American Textiles," in the *Textile Forum*, Winter, 1964, and Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., had an article, "France in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchie," in the *French Historical Studies*, Fall, 1963. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw is serving as general editor of the series, *Problems in European Civilization*, published by the D. C. Heath Company.

Dean A. K. Hinds of Western Carolina College died on February 11 and Dr. D. C. Sossoman, Assistant Dean and Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, became Acting Dean on the same day. Dr. Sossoman will continue his duties as Chairman.

Dr. Norris W. Preyer, Chairman of the Department of History of Queens College, will be a discussant at a session on "Textiles and Southern Economic Development" at the May 1 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Cleveland, Ohio. The session will be sponsored jointly by the Textile History Association and the Historical Association. Dr. Cary Henderson received the Ph.D. degree in history from Duke University in January.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, appeared as a panelist on WRAL-TV on January 8. The topic discussed was "The Little Federal Plan." The Department is co-operating with Tulane University in a pilot project for early identification of students interested in and capable of a professorial career. The study is sponsored by a Ford Foundation grant. Dr. Richard D. Goff has been promoted from Instructor to Assistant Professor of History.

Dr. Robert Crane of the Department of History of Duke University spent the academic year 1962-1963 in India on a fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies. In addition to his work in the West Bengal Government Archives and the National Archives of India in New Delhi, he served as Visiting Professor of Indian History at the University of Calcutta. He also read papers at three conferences which will be published in the proceedings of each group. Recently Dr. Crane was elected Fellow of the Institute of Historical Studies in Calcutta; he has also accepted the editorship of the *Journal of Asian Studies*.

At the Philadelphia meeting in December of the American Historical Association, Dr. Joel Colton appraised "The Blum 'New Deal'" in a session on Left and Right in France in the Thirties. At the same meeting Dr. Robert Durden spoke on "The Populist Ticket of 1896," and Dr. John Tate Lanning, chairman of the nominating committee of the Association, addressed the Luncheon Conference on Latin American History on "The Hispanist in the American Historical Association." Dr. Theodore Ropp was a commentator at a session on Far Eastern Diplomacy and Dr. Anne Firor Scott described "The Southern Lady: Image and Reality" at a joint session with the Southern Historical Association. Dr. John Alden had a college textbook on American history published in late 1963 and Dr. Robert Durden's article, "The 'Cow Bird' Grounded: The Populist Nomination of Bryan and Tom Watson in 1896," was published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December. In the September issue of the same periodical Dr. Richard Watson's article, "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics," was published.

## STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association opened the sessions of Culture Week on December 3 with its annual business meeting of membership at a luncheon. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Washington, D. C., Chairman, presided at the meeting. Mr. John W. Fox of Manteo, General Manager of "The Lost Colony," gave a report on the work of 1963. Officers of the Association for the coming year are Mrs. Morrison (third term), Chairman; Mrs. J. E. Winslow, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Burwell Evans and Mr. Chauncey S. Meekins both of Manteo, Secretary and Treasurer, respectively. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill was elected Historian.

Directors re-elected were Mr. J. Sibley Dorton of Chapel Hill, Mr. C. Alden Baker and Mr. Albert W. Card of Elizabeth City, Representatives Herbert C. Bonner of Washington and Mr. M. K. Fearing of Manteo, Mrs. Luther H. Hodges and Mrs. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of Washington, D. C., Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, and Dr. Frank P. Graham of New York City.

New directors are Dr. Deryl Hart of Durham, Mr. Huntington Cairns and Mr. James Morton of Washington, Mr. M. L. Daniels, Jr., of Manteo, Mr. Walter R. Davis of Midland, Texas, Mrs. Haywood Duke of Greensboro, and Mr. Sam Ragan of Raleigh.

The seventh annual Music Day, sponsored by the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs, was held on December 3 in Raleigh. Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan, President, of High Point presided at the two sessions. Presentation of the winners of the Junior Federation Scholarships included Mr. Henry Adams, Greensboro, Transylvania Music Camp Scholarship by Mrs. Mahlon O. Board, State Junior Counselor; Miss Anna Rose Marino, Elon College, Federation Piano and P.J.C. Scholarships; and Mr. Chris Tew, Greensboro, State Junior Composition winner. Mrs. Paul Mulenburg of Charlotte spoke on "The North Carolina Governor's School." Winning compositions of the 1963 Senior Composers' Contest, Amateur Division, and a tape recording of the Hunter Johnson work, commissioned by the Carolina Tercentenary Commission, were presented.

At the dinner meeting Mrs. David B. Sutton, Chairman, recognized the winners of the 1963 Senior Composers' Contest and the State and District winners of the Student Division, 1963, Auditions, were presented by Miss Louise Epperson, State Student Adviser, of Catawba College. A musical program, in which the following participated, concluded the evening: Miss Joyce Gift, soprano, Greensboro, and Miss Marcia Fountain, cellist, Raleigh; Mr. Paul Hickfang, baritone, Greensboro (1963 winner in State and District); and Miss Nora Snornieks, pianist, New Bern.

On December 4 the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh. Plans for the 1964 Art Society Cultural Arts Tour of Europe were discussed and officers and the following Board members were elected: Dr. Joseph C. Sloane, Chapel Hill, President; Mrs. George W. Paschal, Raleigh, Vice-President; Mr. Charles

Lee Smith, Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. W. Frank Taylor, Mr. Harry Dalton, Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Mrs. Richardson Preyer, Mr. Gregory Ivey, Mr. H. Henry Ramm, Mr. Joe Cox, Mr. George P. Geoghegan, and Mrs. Agnew H. Bahnson. At the luncheon meeting citations for outstanding contributions to the cause of visual arts were made and a demonstration and presentation of the first "Art Kit," assembled for use in schools, were held. At the evening meeting awards were made to the winners of the 1963 North Carolina Artists Exhibition and gifts from the Exhibition to the Museum were announced. Following the meeting a reception and a preview of the Exhibition for artists, members, and guests were held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a subscription dinner in Raleigh on December 4. Officers are Mr. William C. Fields of Fayetteville, President; Mr. Edward N. Wilson of Durham, Vice-President; Mrs. Mackey Jeffries of Raleigh, Secretary; and Mrs. Peter W. Hairston of Advance, Treasurer.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its twenty-third annual meeting in Raleigh on December 5. The Board of Directors of the Society had met on the preceding evening. Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, President, presided at the meetings. Reports on preservation and restoration projects were presented as follows: Historic Bath Commission, Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington; Historic Hillsborough, Mrs. A. G. Engstrom of Hillsboro; Swansboro, Rev. Tucker R. Littleton of Swansboro; Old Salem, Mr. Ralph P. Hanes of Winston-Salem; Tryon Palace, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro; Old Brunswick Town, Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of the Citadel; Edenton, Mrs. Carrie Earnhardt of Edenton; and "Kyle House," Mrs. Julian Hutaff of Fayetteville. Other reports were given by Dr. John Costlow, Mr. Chatham Clark, and Mr. Henry Jay MacMillan. Officers elected were Mr. Dan Paul of Raleigh, President; Mrs. Horace Robinson of Littleton, Vice-President; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Ivor Noël Hume, Chief Archaeologist at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, spoke at the luncheon meeting on "Archaeology: Handmaiden to History."

The Charles A. Cannon Awards, presented annually by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, were given at the evening meeting to the following persons for their contributions in the historical field: Dr. Lenox D. Baker of Durham, preservation of the Bennett House; Rev. Tucker R. Littleton of Swansboro, historic research and authorship and work at Swansboro; Mr. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem, for work at Old Salem, Inc.; Hon. Francis E. Winslow, service as Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. The Department of Dramatic Art, St. Andrews College, Laurinburg, with Mr. Arthur McDonald as Director, presented a drama, "Old Temperance Hall and the Literary Society." Excerpts from the Tercentenary production, "The Sojourner and Mollie Sinclair," were also presented at the evening meeting.

The sixty-third annual meetings of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association were held on December 6 in Raleigh. Miss Mary M. Greenlee of Old Fort, Vice-President, presided at the morning session. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary-Treasurer, gave his report and Mr. A. B. Combs, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, suggested resolutions that were adopted. Officers elected for the coming year are Dr. James W. Patton of Chapel Hill, President; Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen of Boone, Mr. Winston Broadfoot of Durham, and Mr. Ovid W. Pierce of Greenville, Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., of Greenville, and Mr. John F. Blair of Winston-Salem, Executive Committee members. Dr. Mattie Russell of Duke University read a paper, "Thomas' Legion of Indians and Highlanders," after which Dr. E. Lawrence Lee of the Citadel read a paper, "North Carolina and the Spanish Danger." Dr. Arlin Turner of Duke University gave a review of North Carolina fiction of 1962-1963. Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Carolina College presented the R. D. W. Connor Award, given annually by the Historical Society of North Carolina for the best article dealing with North Carolina which is published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, to Mr. John L. Bell, Jr., of Western Carolina College for "The Presbyterian Church and the Negro During Reconstruction." Mr. W. S. Tarlton, area representative, presented three American Association for State and Local History Awards to the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, and the State Department of Archives and History and television station WBTV in Charlotte for their joint production of the film, "Profile of Greatness." Special awards were made by the Department to the Honorable Francis E. Winslow and General John D. F. Phillips, and to 68 members of the Charter Commission for their contribution to the successful year-long celebration of the Charter Tercentenary.

Dr. Crittenden presided at the luncheon in the absence of Mr. William D. Snider of Greensboro. Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro gave his presidential address, read by Mrs. Belk, which noted the progress made in the field of history in North Carolina in 1963. Mr. Henry W. Lewis of Chapel Hill presented the 1963 Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award, given annually by the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Society, to Mr. Herman Salinger of Duke University for his volume of poems, *A Sigh Is the Sword*. Mrs. C. L. Gilliatt of Shelby presented the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award for 1963 to Mrs. Julia Montgomery Street of Winston-Salem for her book, *Dulcie's Whale*. Mrs. Street previously won the Award in 1956 for *Fiddler's Fancy*. Secretary of State Thad Eure presented awards to the winners of the Junior Historian Competition (see *Division of Museum news*).

At the dinner meeting, presided over by Mr. William J. Cocke of Asheville, the Salem College Choral Ensemble gave a program of Charter Tercentenary commemorative music, directed by Mr. Paul Peterson. Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Board Member and Director of Tryon Palace, presented Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, an award recognizing his work, especially as Chairman of the Board. Mr. Lewis, presenting vol-

umes by John Locke, acknowledged Mr. Winslow and General Phillips as leaders in the celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary.

Mr. Belk presided at the evening meeting at which Dr. Louis B. Wright, Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C., made the address. His topic was "In Search of a Colonial Utopia." Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, presented the awards for the literary competition sponsored by the Commission. Winners were Mr. Sam Ragan, Executive Editor of *The News and Observer-Raleigh Times*, and Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., Oxford poet, who shared the \$500 poetry award for their "In the Beginning. . . ." Mr. Manly Wade Wellman won the \$1,000 award for fiction for his novel, *Settlement on the Shocco*.

Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro won the Mayflower Award, given by the Mayflower Society for her *William Swaim: Fighting Editor*, a biography of O. Henry's grandfather. Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill made the presentation. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Cup to Mr. Richard McKenna of Chapel Hill for his novel, *The Sand Pebbles*. This award is made annually by the Historical Book Club of Greensboro for the best book of fiction published during the year.

A reception followed the evening session for members and guests of the Association.

The fifty-second annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held in Raleigh on December 6 with Dr. Joseph D. Clark as principal speaker. Dr. Clark's topic was "Fifty Years of North Carolina Folklore Society." He cited particularly the work of Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson of Chapel Hill. Dr. Earl H. Hartsell, President, of Chapel Hill presided at the meeting and introduced Mr. Philip H. Kennedy of Chapel Hill, who gave a brief program of music from the period from 1663 to 1763. Dr. W. Amos Abrams presented a talk, via tape recorder, of nostalgic reminiscences, "I knew Frank C. Brown." Officers elected for 1964 are Dr. Holger O. Nygard of Durham, President; Mr. Kennedy, First Vice-President; Mr. John Moser of Brevard, Second Vice-President; and Mrs. S. R. Prince of Reidsville, Third Vice-President. The Society was invited by Dr. Nygard to attend a celebration at Duke University in honor of Frank C. Brown on April 14-16.

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual dinner meeting at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on December 6. Mr. Victor S. Bryant of Durham is President, Mrs. Carl T. Durham of Chapel Hill is Executive Vice-President, Mr. William R. Cherry of Chapel Hill is Secretary-Treasurer, and Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin of Chapel Hill is Director.

On December 7 the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast in honor of the Society's officers and the winner of the Mayflower Award, Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett.

Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill is Governor and Mrs. William T. Powell of High Point is Deputy Governor.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians was held in Raleigh on December 7 with Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro presiding. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill announced that there were no entries submitted for the Hodges High School Award, given yearly for the best published historical work by high school students. Mr. Charles Dunn of Durham presented the Smithwick Newspaper Awards to Mr. T. H. Pearce of Franklinton for a Civil War article published in *The Franklin Times*, winner of first place; Mrs. Margaret McMahan of Fayetteville, winner of second place; and Mr. Lewis Philip Hall of Wilmington, third place. Honorable mention citations went to Mr. Herbert O'Keef of Raleigh, Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City, Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of Enfield, and Mr. C. A. Paul of Greensboro. Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro was awarded the Peace History Award for her volume, *William Swaim: Fighting Editor*, which also won the Mayflower Cup. Mr. A. Earl Weatherly of the Greensboro Historical Museum spoke on "Historical Greensboro." Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone was elected President to succeed Dr. Robinson. Other officers are Mr. John H. McPhaul of Fayetteville, First Vice-President; Miss Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro, Second Vice-President; Miss Lena Mae Williams of Chapel Hill, Third Vice-President; and Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen, Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. H. Glen Lanier of High Point presided at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Poetry Society held in Raleigh on December 7. Readings from the winning poems in the 1963 Society contest were heard; Mr. Howard Gordon Hanson of Erwin spoke on "Poetry: Whither and Whence." Mrs. Robert Councilman of Burlington gave a report on the work of the Poetry Council of North Carolina and read from winning poems in contests sponsored by the Council. Mr. Herman Salinger of Duke University, winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Cup, was introduced; Miss Charlotte Young of Asheville then presented the Oscar A. Young Memorial Award. A joint luncheon of the Society and the Society of County and Local Historians followed with the Hon. Francis E. Winslow addressing those present on the year-long celebration of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary.

Mr. Jesse F. Pugh, Camden County author and educator, spoke to the Pasquotank County Historical Society on December 2. The Rev. George F. Hill also spoke briefly on the work of the late General John E. Wood, one of founders of the Society. Mr. L. S. Blades III gave a progress report. New officers are Mr. Reid Overman, President; Mr. W. C. Morse, Vice-President; Mr. Gordon Trueblood, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. E. Pratt Fearing, Historian. Outgoing President Fred Markham III presided. The Society adopted a resolution suggesting that the names of the streets in Elizabeth City be changed to those of historical or other significance.

Names of States, the eight Lord Proprietors, distinguished citizens, governors of the State born in the vicinity, and Indian names of the area are to be considered.

The Onslow Historical Museum opened on December 4 on the first floor of the Ringware House in Swansboro. A regular schedule will be announced at a future date but the Museum is open now only on week ends. Groups wishing to visit the Museum should write Box 21, Swansboro, to make advance arrangements for a guided tour. The building was a gift to the Swansboro Historical Society from Mr. Lee Jones, Mrs. Kathleen Jones Bell, Mr. John L. Bell, Mrs. Robert M. Garey, and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Garey as a memorial to the late J. M. Jones and his wife, Minnie Ward Jones. The Society has received grants totaling \$1,200 since restoration work began in 1961.

Mr. Tommy McNeill of Raleigh, Mr. Ted Matthews of Campbell College, and Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington spoke at the December 12 meeting of the Upper Cape Fear Chapter of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. The meeting was held at Campbell College. Mr. Matthews and Mr. McNeill are joint owners of a large collection of Indian artifacts, found in the immediate area of Harnett County. These were displayed at the College two weeks prior to the meeting.

The New Bern Historical Society held open house at the Attmore-Oliver House on December 15. A colonial motif was used for the holiday event and hostesses wore colonial dress. The House, free of indebtedness, was shown to visitors by members of the Daughters of the Revolution and local garden clubs and friends of the Society.

The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* for February carried the president's message by Mr. N. Winfield Sapp, Jr., and an article, "Development of Libraries in the Lower Cape Fear," by Mrs. Barbara Beeland Rehder. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher State Historic Sites and Vice-President of the Society, wrote a brief report on recent developments at the two sites. At the February 21 meeting of the Society Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro spoke on "Renaissance in North Carolina." The most significant accomplishment of the Society to date occurred on December 20 when the purchase of the Latimer House for the Society's headquarters was completed. On February 3 necessary structural repairs and painting of the exterior of the house were begun.

The State Legislative Council announced January 11 the names of members of the committee for the study of preservation of historic sites. Senator Cicero P. Yow of New Hanover County will serve as chairman. Members are Senator Clarence Stone, Speaker of the House H. Clifton Blue, Council Chairman Hugh S. Johnson, Sr., Senators Irwin Belk and Thomas J. White, and Representatives Gordon Greenwood, L. Sneed

High, and Sam L. Whitehurst. Included also are Senator Perry Martin, Representatives Thomas D. Bunn, Hoyle T. Eford, Claude M. Hamrick, Arthur W. Williamson, and Mrs. Grace T. Rodenbough.

The Wake County Historical Society met on Tuesday, January 7, with Mrs. J. Bourke Bilisoly, President, presiding. The program featured the first public showing of the color film, "The Road to Carolina," produced for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission by the Coordinating Film Board.

The James Iredell Association has elected Mrs. Wood Privott as President; she succeeds Mr. Grayson Harding, who has held the post for more than 10 years. Other new officers are Mrs. John Kramer, First Vice-President; Mrs. George Hoskins, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Third Vice-President; Mrs. P. S. McMullan, Recording Secretary; Mrs. George Mack, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. J. N. Pruden, Jr., Treasurer. The purpose of the Association is to preserve and restore the house of James Iredell, built in 1759 and now owned by the State.

An elaborate fireworks display is being planned by the Tryon Palace Commission for the evening of April 2 as a climax for programs honoring Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. The Kellenberger Gardens on the Palace grounds will be dedicated on that date. The fireworks display will feature the entire history of Tryon Palace. Narration is being written by Mr. Robert Jones and the narrator will be Mr. Norman C. Larson.

Fire destroyed the Museum of the American Indian at Cherokee on January 4. The Museum, located on the Qualla (Cherokee) Indian Reservation, contained hundreds of relics, according to Mr. Richard McLean, owner of the building, and Mr. Walter Jackson, vice-chief of the tribe and head of the Cherokee Fire and Police Department.

The Hillsborough Historical Society announces the publication of *Ladies in the Making*, by Ann Strudwick (Mrs. Frank) Nash. Mrs. Nash, an honorary member, has written the story of the famous old Nash and Kollock School, which operated from 1859 to 1890. A program and exhibit was presented on January 24 at the new Courthouse in Hillsboro. Those participating were Dr. George B. Daniel, program chairman, Mr. Harry Waldo, Mrs. Robert J. Murphy, Mrs. E. M. Lockhart, Mrs. William Hope-well, and the Rev. E. F. Smith.

The Society has adapted an educational program, used successfully by Old Salem, to teach Orange County history to approximately 400 seventh and eighth grade students during April and May. Slide-lectures, guided walking tours, and museum visits have been planned. A special leaflet for the educational program is being prepared. Society membership totaled 460 on January 15.

A committee headed by Mr. L. S. Blades III plans to catalog and store items donated for the Museum of the Albemarle. Mr. George Attix, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, states that items are now being accepted for the proposed museum. Mr. Frank Hollowell recently selected and contributed a number of items from the Hollowell collection.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on January 20 in the Howell Room of the Charlotte Public Library. Mr. Linn D. Garibaldi spoke on "General Stonewall Jackson." Members and other citizens of Mecklenburg County have been asked to volunteer to serve on the Civil War Committee by Mr. Harry T. Orr, recently appointed to head the commemoration for the next two years. He may be contacted at his home, 2411 Randolph Road, Charlotte.

A new history of Person County is scheduled for release in late spring. Written by the Reverend Harry R. Mathis, pastor of the United Church of Virgilina, Virginia, and the Hebron United Church of Nelson, Virginia, the book will contain chapters on the settlement, schools, and churches of the county.

The Beaufort Historical Association met on January 20 and heard Mr. W. H. Potter of Beaufort describe the proposed expansion of the historical area of Beaufort. Eighteen students from the School of Design of North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh are engaged in a study of the oldest buildings in Beaufort. A long-range program of restoration was explained by Dr. John Costlow, President of the Association. Three weekly meetings to continue discussion of the program were scheduled by Dr. Costlow. The Association received a grant of \$200 from the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities to be used with other funds to purchase and restore an old Beaufort home.

Officials of "Horn in the West," the outdoor drama, announced an essay contest on the subject, "Daniel Boone—Empire Builder." Mr. Herman W. Wilcox, Executive Vice-President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, states there will be three divisions—elementary school, junior high school, and high school. The first prize in each division will be \$35, second prize will be \$10. The deadline for entries is April 15; winners will be announced June 1 and will be guests at a special performance of the drama on July 31.

Dr. J. C. Yoder, Professor of History at Appalachian State Teachers College, was elected President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association on January 25 in Asheville. Miss Mary M. Greenlee made a report on the Carson House and the Old Fort restoration projects. The Association voted to endorse the projects and to contribute \$50 to each. Mr. J. C. Hall, Assistant Police Chief of Asheville, was the principal speaker; he read excerpts from the Civil War diary of his grandfather. Admiral Ligon B. Ard reported on the Toxaway Indian burial ground investigation. Other officers elected include Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat

Rock as Vice-President and Chairman of the program committee. Miss Cordelia Camp was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer.

Dr. John R. Gibson, President, presided at the January 25 meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society. Mr. F. C. Salisbury was named Treasurer to succeed Mrs. E. G. Phillips. Dr. John Costlow, President of the Beaufort Historical Association, spoke on the plans for the proposed restoration of Beaufort. A committee composed of Mr. Thomas Respass, Mr. Clark Cole, and Mr. Salisbury are investigating the cost of publishing a series of historical papers for use by schools and libraries in the County.

The Pitt County Historical Society held a dinner meeting on January 30 in Greenville. Dr. Joseph Bachman of the Department of History at East Carolina College spoke on "William Pitt, the Elder," for whom Pitt County was named. Miss Elizabeth Copeland, President of the Society, led a discussion on the need for a county history. She appointed a committee to study the possibilities of sponsoring such a project. The next meeting of the group is set for April 23.

The *Newsletter* of the Brunswick County Historical Society for November has an article by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site. Entitled "Buttons from the Ruins at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher," the article is one of several by the author dealing with artifacts uncovered during site excavations. Part II of an account of the Cape Fear area is also given in the issue as well as a notice of the November meeting of the Society.

*The Gaston County Historical Bulletin* for Fall, 1963, contains a reproduction of the Gaston College seal recently adopted by the trustees of the College. Much of the issue is devoted to articles relating to the proposed community college which will be a drive-in college without dormitory facilities. Scheduled to open for the 1964-1965 session, the two-year school will be located near Dallas. Mr. W. T. Robinson of Cherryville is President of the Gaston County Historical Society and Mrs. William N. Craig of Gastonia is editor of the *Bulletin*.

The Moore County Historical Association met on January 28 with President Colin Spencer of Carthage presiding. "Shall This Pass?," a program dealing with the Old Temperance Hall near Wagram, was presented by the Highland Players of the Division of Music, Art, and Drama of St. Andrews College, Laurinburg. In addition to songs from the nineteenth century, the poetry of John Charles McNeill, a native of the Laurinburg-Wagram area, was read.

The Beaufort County Historical Society re-elected Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington as President at its February 6 meeting. Other officers are Mr. Henry Rumley, Vice-President; Mrs. Louise S. Satterwaite, Secretary; and Mr. Fred Mallison, Historian. Mr. Harding plans

to call a special meeting of township vice-presidents to co-ordinate new areas to be included in the preservation program. The Society heard a report from Mrs. John A. Tankard on visitation to Historic Bath sites, now under the supervision of the State Department of Archives and History.

The Board of County Commissioners of Northampton County voted on February 3 to relinquish the use of a building on the Courthouse Square for a historical repository and county museum, to be supervised by the County Historical Society. Society President Eric Norfleet headed a delegation requesting the use of the one-time clerk of court and register of deeds office. The decision of the Board will further plans for a historical museum to house artifacts and exhibits relating to the history of Northampton County.

The Murfree Historical Association, Inc., on December 4, filed papers with Secretary of State Thad Eure for a charter to operate as a nonprofit organization. The group proposes to raise funds to acquire "Melrose," the Murfree House, to restore the structure, and to make it available as a place of historic interest. Mr. Edwin P. Brown of Murfreesboro was elected President of the Association. Other officers elected to serve with him are Mr. Richard T. Vann, Vice-President; Mr. Henry K. Burgwyn, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Ethleen V. Underwood, Recording Secretary.

Mrs. Edwin P. Brown of Murfreesboro, chairman of the heritage committee of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, has arranged a "Heritage Walking Tour of the State Capital City." The dates of Heritage Week were from March 3 to March 7 with additional tours set for April 2 and May 1. More than 600 persons attended the tour in 1963.

At the February 5 meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association plans for a membership drive were made. Special emphasis will be placed on enrolling all history teachers in the County schools and those at Lenoir-Rhyne College. Announcement of recent donations to the Museum was a highlight of the meeting. Donors include members of the McConnell, Haupt, Yount, and O'Berry families. Mrs. Marguerite May reported on other recent acquisitions of the Museum.

The Caldwell County Historical Society on February 7 voted \$700 to be used in the restoration of the Keyhole House (George Powell) located on the Seehorn place in Lenoir. Arrangements have been made by Mr. Eric Miller, chairman of the project, to purchase the House from Mr. Thad Mullis. It is thought that the dwelling is the second brick house to be built in Caldwell County. Two high school students, Misses Ginny Ann Bush and Deidre Smith, spoke at the meeting on the history of the House and the need for restoration. Miss Mary Maynard is President of the Caldwell Society.

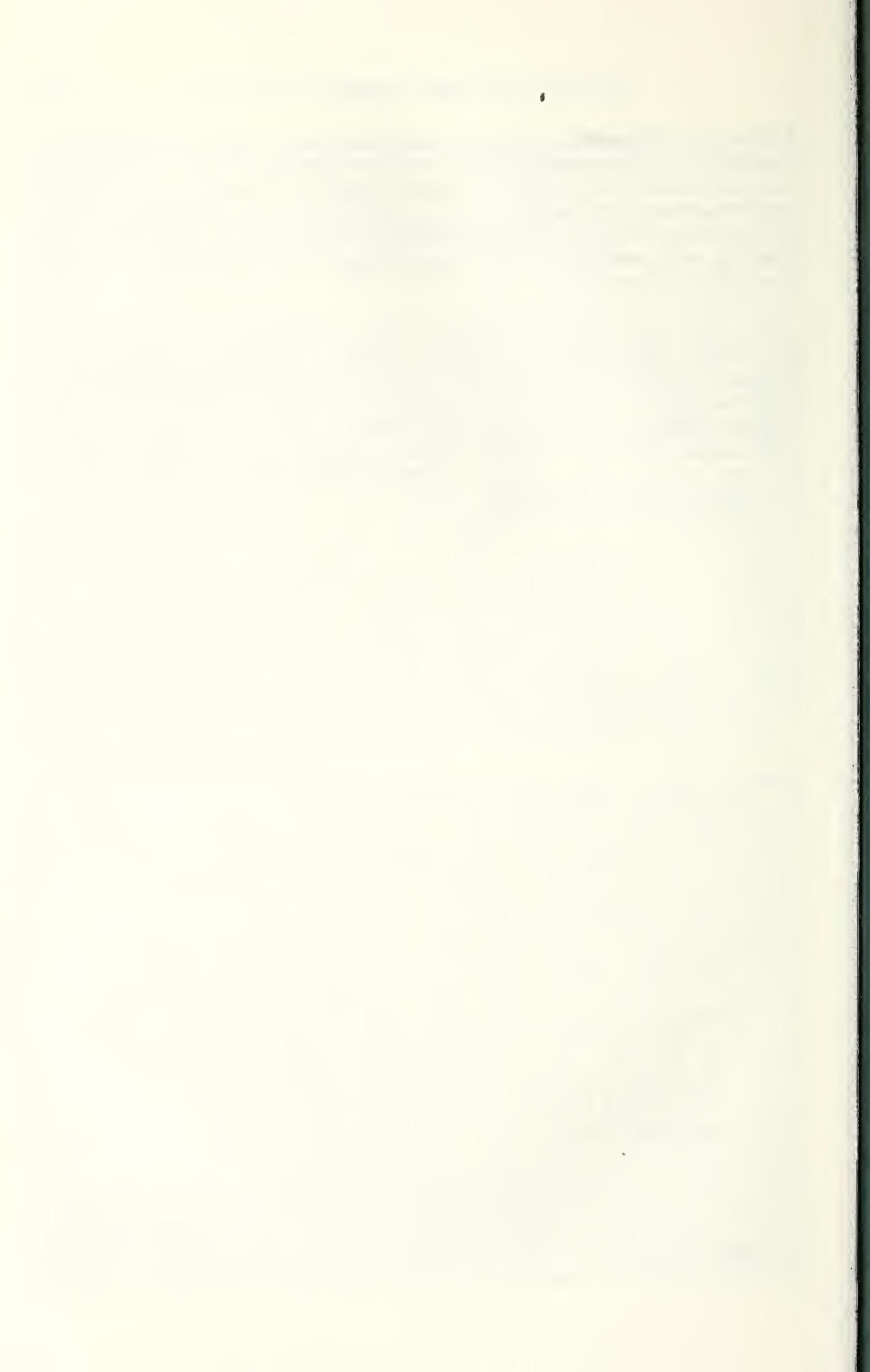
The Friends of Old Salem fund has reached \$13,000, received from 228 donors. This will serve as an operating budget, if an additional \$2,000 is received before April 30. President James A. Gray of Old Salem, Inc., announces plans for the construction of a reception center, post office, and restaurant at an estimated cost of \$200,000. They will be located at the corner of Old Salem Road and Academy Street, with an exit into Salt Street, if permission can be obtained to close the latter street. The old Winkler Bakery Building on South Main Street has been purchased from Mrs. Alice Lee Gooze Bauer of Morgantown, West Virginia. This building and the old Butner Hat Shop, adjacent to it, have been slated for restoration by 1966. The Fourth House at 450 South Main Street, restored as far as practicable, has been leased from the Forsyth County Colonial Dames. Purchased by that group in 1936 the house will be used as a residence. Many experts believe it to be the only usable dwelling, of half-timber structure, in the United States.

Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, musicologist and founding Director of the Moravian Music Foundation, has been appointed Professor of Music at the University of Maryland. He will assume his new position at the College Park school at the beginning of the 1964 summer school session, at which time his resignation from the Foundation will become effective. He began a research project in 1954, which later was expanded into the Foundation. The discovery of music manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and their later publication and recording, has attracted international recognition. Since the Foundation began in 1956, Dr. McCorkle has collected and catalogued thousands of compositions for the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

On February 18 more than 200 members of the North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met in New Bern with Mr. Gordon Gray of Winston-Salem and Washington, D. C., as principal speaker. Mr. Gray is presently Chairman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. State Senator P. D. Midgett, Jr., of Engelhard presided at the business session held at Tryon Palace. Committee chairmen who made reports were Mr. Dan Paul, Raleigh, historic resources; Mr. Louis Howard, New Bern, attractions and accommodations; Mr. Robert T. Ellett, Jr., Winston-Salem, planning and projects; Mr. William Shires, Raleigh, promotion; Mr. T. Carl Brown, Raleigh, education; Mr. Glenn M. Tucker of Carolina Beach, constitution and bylaws; and Mr. Ted Davis, Raleigh, membership. Officers re-elected were Mr. Midgett, President; Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Washington, and Mr. Tucker, Vice-Presidents; Mr. Alonzo C. Edwards, Hookerton, Treasurer; and Dr. Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Secretary. Miss Evelyn Covington of Raleigh was elected Assistant Secretary and Mr. L. S. Blades III, Elizabeth City, was elected Vice-President to succeed Mrs. Lucille Winslow of Hertford. The group adopted a resolution recommending that ferry service be instituted between (1) the Outer Banks and Hyde County, (2) Topsail Island and Hampstead, (3) Pamlico and Craven counties, and (4) from Fort Fisher to Brunswick County. Also adopted was a resolution that the State Board of Education institute training courses for distributive service employees to enable them to

deal more satisfactorily with the traveling public and that the history teachers at all levels familiarize themselves with United States, State, and local history as it relates to the coastal area being developed. A memorial resolution was read praising the late Charles J. Parker of the Department of Conservation and Development for his many efforts to advertise North Carolina and particularly for the work he did for the year-old Coastal Historyland Association.

The American Folklore Society will hold its spring meeting with Duke University Press, the North Carolina Folklore Society, and the Graduate English Club of Duke University on April 23-25 at Duke University. The final volume, VII, of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* will be released by the Duke Press on April 24 with appropriate ceremonies. Professor Holger Nygard, President of the North Carolina Folklore Society and a member of the English Department at Duke, is serving as program chairman.



## 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.

