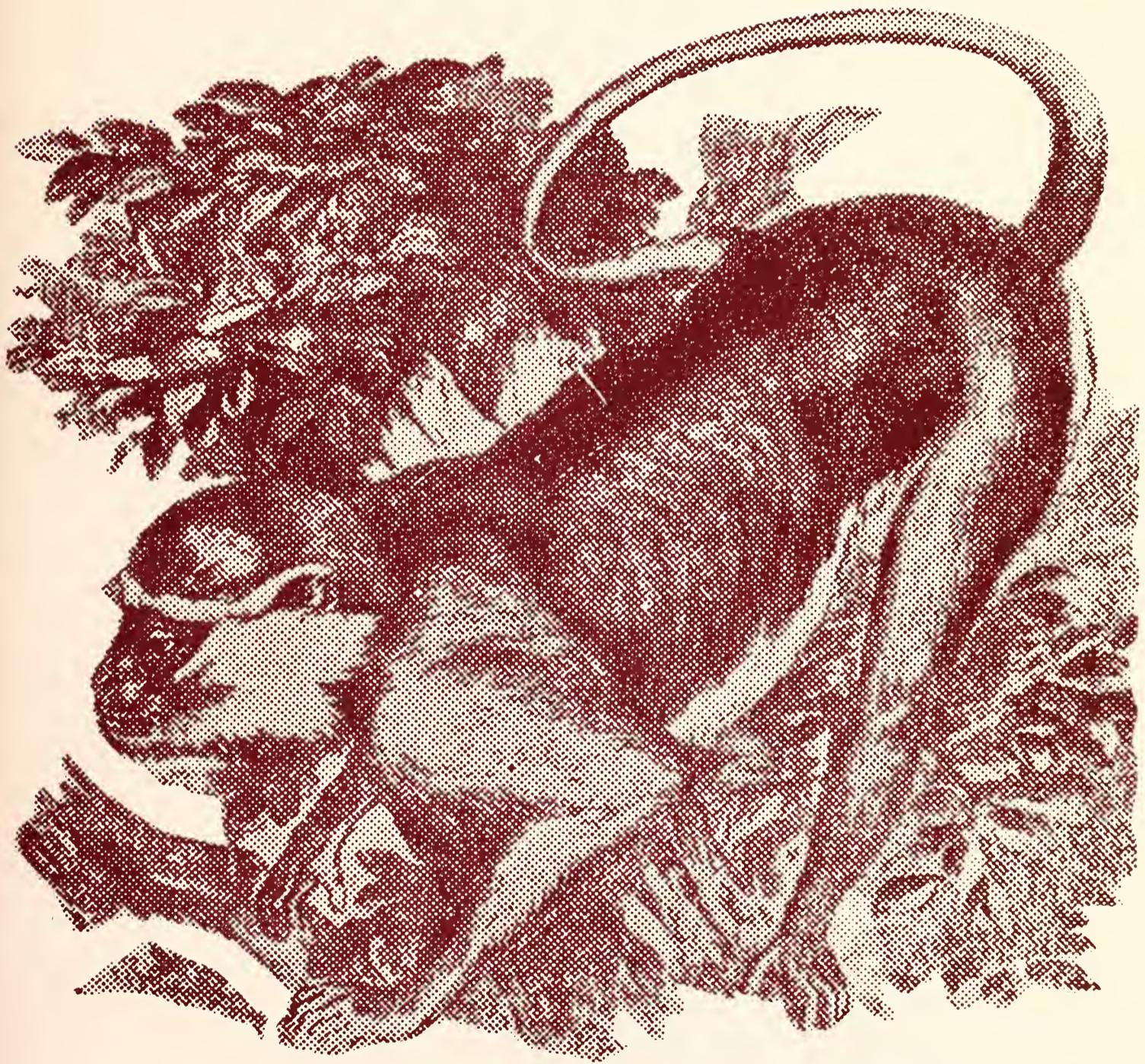


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The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1963

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Detail from a campaign advertisement used in Wake County in 1926, during the height of the evolution controversy. The complete advertisement is pictured on page 153. For an article on William Louis Poteat and the evolution question, see pages 135-157.

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WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT AND THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY

BY SUZANNE CAMERON LINDER*

From the time Charles Darwin first promulgated his theory, the concept of biological evolution created controversy in theological and educational circles. The period of the 1920's was an especially trying time for educators, for during this period the fundamentalist movement changed from a loosely organized, passive influence to a powerful force pledged to purge educational institutions of all "heretics." In the fight to maintain freedom of teaching, William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College in North Carolina was an outstanding leader. As a teacher of biology and President of Wake Forest from 1905 to 1927, he was able to maintain his position as a leader in the Baptist denomination in the South. At the same time he led the southern liberals in the controversy over evolution which swept the nation.

A native of North Carolina, Poteat studied principally at his home in Caswell County until he entered Wake Forest College in 1872 at the age of sixteen. Having received from Wake Forest the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1877, he began teaching there in 1878. The following year he received the Master of Arts degree. He later studied biology at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and at the Zoological Institute at the University of Berlin.

When he returned from Germany in 1888, Poteat found that exciting opportunities awaited him in America. Only twelve years earlier, Daniel Coit Gilman had adopted the German method of teaching at The Johns Hopkins University. American scholars with German training were greatly in demand. Young Poteat received an offer of a position on the faculty of Yale, and he probably received other promising offers. As a professor in a large university he would have a chance for fame, intellectual companionship, and an opportunity to extend the boundaries of knowledge by working in the best equipped laboratories. He, however, decided to return to Wake Forest College, a small school which had scarcely recovered from the ravages of the Civil

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William Louis Poteat in 1920. From the Wake Forest College annual for 1920.

War. No one knew its need better than he. The offer from Yale was tempting, but Poteat could not accept it because he was the kind of man to whom the greatest need had the most powerful appeal.¹

The young scholar just back from Europe could not have recognized the importance of his decision, for in later years the need for a William Louis Poteat proved to be greater in the South than in any other part of the nation. For the people of the South, reconciling the new ideas of science with their religious beliefs proved to be most difficult. To southerners, as to Americans in general, the existence of a supreme law which ruled the cosmos was of great significance. The considered view of Americans was theistic creationism. Darwin shared this assumption, but he attacked the current terminology in which it was expressed. The problem was twofold. It involved an attempt to find stability in a changing world, and on the other hand, the attempt to apply the theory of evolution to the development of society. There was a conflict between the older thought patterns of the western

¹ Albert Nelson Marquis and Others (eds.), *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women in the United States* (Chicago, Illinois: A. N. Marquis Company, 1899—[annually]), XIX, 1,971; Gerald W. Johnson, "Billy With the Red Necktie," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXX (Autumn, 1943), 554.

world and newer experimental evidence with which those patterns collided. The force of the collision was magnified because Darwinism was the antithesis of permanence. In recent history, few scientific theories have gone beyond the internal development of a science; fewer still have gone on to revolutionize fundamental patterns of thought. By establishing a new approach to nature, Darwinism gave fresh impetus to the conception of development. Men were impelled to exploit its findings and to try to ascertain methods for the understanding of society through schemes of evolutionary development.²

For the majority of people in the South, the implications of evolution were difficult to understand. In this predominantly rural area, educational facilities were poor, and opportunities for exchange of intellectual ideas were severely limited. The educational situation in the South was due in part to the damage of the Civil War, and there was still some resentment of the North. During Reconstruction, the white South had unified in self-defense. When northern intellectuals began to ridicule southern backwardness in theological and scientific thinking, southerners again sought unity by attempting to make conservatism the rule in religion. Thus the fundamentalists gained strength. Although they did not attempt in 1900 to censor teachers, by the 1920's some attempted to purge college faculties of both liberal professors and administrators.³

Until 1920, however, the fundamentalist movement lacked the strength to become a major issue in American life. Just after World War I, several fresh elements prepared the way for the conflict. When it was first discussed, evolution had fostered the conviction that nothing could prevent the human race from creating, slowly or rapidly, a good society free of evils, but the catastrophe of the War contradicted the theory that society was continually improving. Many people rejected the optimism which evolution had once inspired and turned instead to one of the five major points of the fundamentalist creed, the second coming of Christ. The propaganda of hatred, useful in inspiring the nation to greater wartime efforts, produced during the ensuing years an unanticipated harvest of bitterness and insecurity which prepared people for an ideological crusade upon unacceptable beliefs at home.

² Bert James Lowenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (December, 1941), 339-368, *passim*.

³ For examples see Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1954), 122, hereinafter cited as Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy*; and Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926), 145-147.

Although these psychological implications paved the way, it is probable that William Louis Poteat was the precipitating factor in the evolution controversy of the 1920's. In his biology classes at Wake Forest College, Poteat taught that the theory of evolution could be interpreted in harmony with Biblical teachings. Poteat made no secret of the fact that he taught evolution,⁴ but his teaching did not excite criticism until 1920, when certain fundamentalists launched an attack against him. George N. Coad, who traveled over the South gathering information for the *New York World* about attempts to bar evolution from the schools by law, found that most ministers and editors of the Southeast believed that the movement was actually caused by the agitation of certain Baptist evangelists and editors against Poteat.⁵

The first attack came from Thomas Theodore Martin, an evangelist from Blue Mountain, Tennessee. Martin severely criticized Poteat's belief in evolution in several articles for the *Western Recorder*. According to the evangelist, evolution was the cause of World War I. He said that the Germans believed in the survival of the fittest, and since they considered Germany the fittest, they thought they ought to conquer the weaker nations. He asked, "How can President Poteat reconcile such a doctrine with his teachings, of God being the Father of the human race? Would a father fasten such a law on His children whom he loved?" Martin declared that if evolution could be proved as a fact then Genesis could not be the inspired word of God. He went on to quote statements of twenty-one scientists who denied the theory of evolution. Although the works quoted were outdated,⁶ Martin proclaimed "overwhelming evidence from these twenty-one great scientists of the world" against evolution. He said, "The Baptists of North Carolina through the president they have for their great Baptist College are partners with Chicago University in fastening this German-ruining, world-crushing, soul-destroying doctrine on the South. . . ." ⁷

⁴ W. L. Poteat, "The Effect on the College Curriculum of the Introduction of the Natural Sciences," *Science*, XXI (March 31, 1893), 170-172; W. L. Poteat, "Lucretius and the Evolution Idea," *Popular Science Monthly*, LX (December, 1901), 166-172, *passim*.

⁵ *New York World*, September 24, 1925; see also *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun* (Georgia), July 3, 1927.

⁶ In the *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), April 19, 1922, Poteat stated, "Of a well-used list of twenty-one such 'really great scientists' adduced to show the present adverse state of scientific opinion, two do not appear in the biographical dictionaries, five are misrepresented, seven won reputation in other than biological fields, and six have been in their graves more than forty years, two of these having died before Darwin's great book was published." This reference is hereinafter cited as *Biblical Recorder*.

⁷ *Western Recorder* (Louisville, Kentucky), February 5, 1920. Martin also criticized Poteat in the *Baptist Advance* (Little Rock, Arkansas), March 25, 1920.

The *Biblical Recorder*, the Baptist denominational paper of North Carolina, refused to print Martin's articles and defended Poteat. The *Biblical Recorder's* support reassured Baptist readers, and no opposition materialized at that time within the State. In the early 1920's, however, Baptists all over the South were becoming vividly conscious of their ownership and control of denominational colleges through publicity for the "Seventy-Five Million Campaign."⁸ This interest in education provided fertile ground for heresy hunts among science professors. Sentiment in favor of direct attacks on professors began to take form in North Carolina in 1922.

Poteat was the chief object of such criticism. He decided to define his position in an article for the *Biblical Recorder*. Poteat indicated surprise that a debate had arisen over a question that was settled in professional circles some thirty years previously—to the advantage of Christianity. Of the critics, Poteat said, "One wonders where these excited gentlemen have been? Were they asleep when the procession passed?" Poteat defined evolution as "the doctrine that the animals and plants at any moment on the earth are the offspring of earlier animals and plants . . . in short, the doctrine of descent with modification." The biologist remarked that the evolution of the individual from a single cell was just as wonderful and hard to explain as the evolution of the race.⁹ After defining evolution, Poteat wrote a second article on the topic, "May a Christian Be an Evolutionist?" He declared that evolution did not touch the fundamentals of faith, much less antagonize them. He stated, "The inspiration of the Scriptures sanely interpreted, the Deity of Christ, His incarnation, atonement, and resurrection are ours, evolution or no evolution." Poteat felt that it was unjust for men with no training in the biological sciences to seek to discredit Christian men who held evolution as God's method of creation. He asserted, "It is not fair. It is not Christian. It ought to stop."¹⁰

The attacks did not stop. In fact, after Poteat restated his position, the debating in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* increased. Livingston Johnson, the Editor, was a trustee of Wake Forest College. He gave Poteat every opportunity to defend his position. On at least one occasion, Johnson sent the biologist a copy of an article before it reached the press, with a suggestion that Poteat prepare a summary of his teachings comparing evolution and the account of creation in

⁸ The objective of the Southern Baptist Convention was to raise seventy-five million dollars for the support of Baptist colleges in the South. *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 2 volumes, 1958), II, 1,196-1,197.

⁹ *Biblical Recorder*, April 19, 1922.

¹⁰ *Biblical Recorder*, April 26, 1922.

the book of Genesis.¹¹ In all fairness, however, Johnson could not refuse the antievolutionists a place in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder*. Articles which he printed ranged from scholarly discussions of theological minutiae to simply worded letters to the Editor from alumni in support of "Dr. Billy."

Robert H. Spiro, a Baptist minister from Asheville, and J. J. Taylor, a Leaksville clergyman, wrote two of the more scholarly articles. Spiro said that evolution could not be acceptable to the Christian because evolution taught an upward journey for man while the Bible taught the fall of man from a higher state to a lower one. Also, to Spiro, the resurrection of Christ contradicted evolution which indicated that life only arose from life. Taylor analyzed Poteat's articles in detail. He said, "President Poteat has cited the Britannica as an authority on his pet theme; it says: 'The doctrine of evolution is directly antagonistic to that of creation.' Certainly the Bible, sanely interpreted, teaches the doctrine of creation as an immediate act of God." Taylor warned that the North Carolina Baptists were responsible for what was taught at Wake Forest College. He said, "The case is before them. God is the judge, and to Him they must all report after a while."¹²

Some North Carolinians, however, were satisfied with the situation at Wake Forest. One supporter of Poteat protested that it seemed fashionable for the clergy, when digestion was bad or when they had nothing better to do, to hurl verbal brickbats at him and to lament the corruption of innocent youth by the teaching of evolution. "As imaginary portraits of imaginary perils, many of these effusions are not without merit. As valid arguments against the theory of evolution they leave something to be desired."¹³ Certainly, many people were not convinced by the accusations hurled at Poteat by critics.¹⁴

The discussion of evolution filled to overflowing the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* in the spring of 1922. To many subscribers the debates were confusing and, eventually, tiresome. Livingston Johnson realized that the continual debate would never solve the controversy. He said, "We have reason to believe that this agitation has shaken the faith of many who have read it, and if the faith of any has been strengthened, we have not heard of it." He therefore decided to ban further discussion of evolution in the *Biblical Recorder* after May 31,

¹¹ See undated galley proof of J. W. Porter's article, "Can an Evolutionist Be a Christian," where comments penciled in the margin are signed "Livingston Johnson." Poteat Papers, Wake Forest College Library, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Poteat Papers.

¹² *Biblical Recorder*, May 10, 1922.

¹³ *Biblical Recorder*, May 3, 1922.

¹⁴ See *Biblical Recorder*, May 10, 24, 1922.

1922. The last word on the question came from Johnson himself on behalf of the Wake Forest trustees. He reported that the trustees had appointed a committee to interview Poteat. The committee reported that they found him "in hearty accord with the great Baptist brotherhood" in regard to God as the creator, Jesus as His Son, redemption through His atoning death, His resurrection, regeneration through the Holy Spirit, and the divine inspiration of the Bible in matters of faith and practice. After carefully surveying the facts, the trustees by unanimous vote expressed confidence in President Poteat. Livingston Johnson felt that this action was an additional reason for discontinuing discussion of the evolution question.¹⁵

The discussion of Poteat and evolution continued elsewhere. James Larkin Pearson criticized Poteat in his paper, *The Fool Killer*,¹⁶ and Thomas Theodore Martin continued his argument in *The Searchlight*, a Baptist periodical published in Texas.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the students of Wake Forest heartily supported "Dr. Billy." The campus newspaper, *Old Gold and Black*, contained articles in staunch defense of the College President. An editorial writer for *The Raleigh Times* remarked, "The stand of the Wake Forest Old Gold and Black against the bigots in the denomination . . . is not a defense of President William Louis Poteat alone; it is a stand for the spiritual and intellectual freedom of every sentient person in North Carolina." The editorialist further stated that Poteat could take care of himself. "He isn't going to join this excursion back into the Dark Ages, nor are we." According to *The Times*, making a martyr of Poteat would only move him on to a field of larger endeavor at an increase in salary; but the damage done to the spirit of the people of North Carolina would be incalculable. The Raleigh editorialist saw the fight against Poteat as but a part of a general campaign of intolerance in the South. He warned that this intolerance had been felt in the legislatures of South Carolina and Kentucky and that it would eventually break out in North Carolina.¹⁸

For the time being, though, the controversy was confined to the churches. Poteat's stand on evolution was the major issue at the Baptist State Convention of 1922, but the Wake Forest President's deeply moving speech, "Christianity and Enlightenment," reassured concerned churchmen as to his catholicity. Rather than censoring Poteat,

¹⁵ *Biblical Recorder*, May 31, 1922.

¹⁶ *The Fool Killer* (Boomer), June, 1922.

¹⁷ *The Searchlight* (Fort Worth, Texas), November 10, 1922.

¹⁸ *The Raleigh Times*, April 25, 1922.

the convention adopted a resolution commending him.¹⁹ Poteat's strong affirmation of faith at the 1922 Convention evidently satisfied the majority of North Carolina Baptists who heard him, but his speech fell far short of stopping all opposition to his ideas. Criticism from out-of-state increased after 1922.

The deep-rooted concern of people all over the country was evident in the fact that between 1921 and 1929, thirty-seven antievolution bills were introduced into twenty state legislatures.²⁰ These attempts to secure antievolution laws were only one example of the many efforts to secure legislation against new forms of thought or against practices considered undesirable by conservatives. The passage of the Eighteenth Amendment was the outstanding example, but other such actions included attempts to curtail academic freedom on the grounds of patriotism or moral law. Shortly after World War I, the legislatures of New York, Wisconsin, Oregon, Texas, and Mississippi enacted laws to prohibit the use in public schools of textbooks found to be seditious, critical of the Founding Fathers, or in any other way disloyal to the nation and to its heritage. Americans of the 1920's had great faith in the powers of legislation. They believed that correct ideas and good morals could be imposed upon mankind by law. The fact that such legislation was more frequently enacted in the South²¹ was probably due to the system of legislative apportionment in that section. The southern States were more heavily gerrymandered in favor of the rural districts than States in any other section of the United States. As late as 1940, Mississippi and Kentucky had not reapportioned since 1890 and 1893; Alabama and Tennessee had not done so since 1901. Even in States with more recent reapportionment the cities had only a fraction of the representation they deserved on the basis of population.

The rural South which thus held control of the State legislatures was predominantly fundamentalist in religious belief. In the 1920's the Baptists formed the largest denomination in North Carolina. Any statement, therefore, by Poteat as a leading Southern Baptist as well as a leader of the evolutionists would be of particular interest to

¹⁹ *Annual of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, 1922*, 33, hereinafter cited as *Annual of the Baptist State Convention* with the appropriate year.

²⁰ Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints Upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [1936]), 227, hereinafter cited as Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* The book, a Report of the Commission on Social Studies, is Part XII of a series of the American Historical Association.

²¹ Arkansas, Oklahoma, Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana all had some type of restriction on the teaching of evolution. See Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy*, 95.

people in North Carolina and the South. Poteat's ideas were widely discussed in the North Carolina press. This discussion produced an awareness of the evolution controversy which reached a climax in the State legislature.

In 1924 a subcommittee of the Text Book Commission of the State Board of Education drew up a list of about seven hundred books for use in North Carolina schools. Governor Cameron Morrison objected to two of the suggested biology texts on the grounds that, "I don't want my daughter or anybody's daughter to have to study a book that prints pictures of a monkey and a man on the same page." Morrison declared that he believed in evolution as progress from a lower form of human life to a higher, but he stated further, "One of those books teaches that man is descended from a monkey and the other that he is a cousin to the monkey. I don't believe either one of them."²² Morrison's strong stand against evolution, as well as Poteat's stand for it, were contributing factors which led to the interest in anti-evolution legislation in 1925.

In February of that year, D. Scott Poole, publisher of the *Hoke County Journal* and a former mayor of Raeford, introduced a bill in the North Carolina House of Representatives to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the public schools. The House referred the bill to the Education Committee, which held an open hearing on the matter. It was necessary to hold the hearing in the House chamber because of the large crowd which had assembled to listen to the proceedings. Girl students from Raleigh colleges, State College men, representatives of practically all the State institutions of higher learning, and numerous other citizens of prominence in the State crowded into the Capitol. The committee limited debate to one hour for each side.

Poole told the audience that their religion was on trial. As no one had asked the State to teach theology, he did not think that state-supported schools should teach that the Bible was a myth. When the floor was opened for discussion, President Harry W. Chase of the University of North Carolina declared, "I am not here to discuss evolution, but to speak in behalf of human liberty." In his appeal for freedom of speech, Chase demanded eternal vigilance for liberty and truth, and ended his speech by stating, "Mr. Chairman: If that be treason and if it be treason to oppose the bill offered in the name of tyranny over mind for the purpose of abridging the liberty of one class of our people, I wish to stand here in the name of progress and make my protest."

²² *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 24, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

Julia Alexander, a representative from Mecklenburg County, was in favor of the bill. She said that the Bible was a supernatural book, and that she believed it from cover to cover. Miss Alexander declared that she would be afraid to return to Mecklenburg if she voted against the Poole Bill. H. R. Pentuff, a Concord clergyman, also favored the bill. Pentuff said that evolution was based on imagination. According to the Concord minister, publishers and teachers who were not willing to "dig up and to keep up with the newer sciences" were the chief expositors of the theory of evolution. Pentuff called Darwin an agnostic and insisted that his theory had been exploded. A State College professor had ready answers for this bold statement. Zeno P. Metcalf, a professor of zoology and entomology, replied to Pentuff that the evolution theory was definitely accepted in scientific circles. After Metcalf had spoken, Robert L. Madison, a professor of foreign languages at Cullowhee State Normal School, queried, "May I ask the gentleman from State College at what stage of transformation of man from an amoeba that he parted with his tail and acquired a conscience?"²³ Tradition has it that Poteat, who was sitting in the audience, turned to a friend and quipped, "Biologically he has never lost his tail and here is some evidence that he has never acquired a conscience."²⁴

Twice the audience called on Poteat to speak. Each time that his name was mentioned it was greeted by much cheering and clapping, but the biologist declined to speak. Perhaps he felt that he had made his position clear. Since Chase had ably stated the liberal position, anything he could say would add little and would probably stir up trouble for Wake Forest. On the other hand, perhaps Poteat had confidence that the Wake Forest men who sat in the legislature would vote according to what they had learned under his tutelage.

The outcome of the Education Committee's voting was a tie, seventeen to seventeen. Henry Groves Connor, the chairman, broke the tie by voting against the Bill. The majority report was thus unfavorable, but the minority also drafted a report.

Before these reports reached the floor of the House, the North Carolina press exhibited a marked interest in the progress of the Bill. The *Greensboro Daily News* printed a searing invective against Poole and his followers which declared that politics and bigotry gave impetus to their movement. According to the *Daily News*, the same thing was happening to university men of breadth that had been happening to the Baptist liberals. All over the State there had been an outcry

²³ *The News and Observer*, February 11, 1925.

²⁴ *Greensboro Daily News*, February 5, 1926.

against Poteat because he believed "in the amoeba." Many Baptists declared that the Seventy-Five Million Campaign for the support of Baptist colleges had dragged because of Poteat. "The Wake Forest President knows he is constantly in jeopardy. His mastership over Wake Forest imperils the denominational appropriation. But he is one of those idealists, such as Chase and Ed Graham, who foolishly declare that colleges are more than millions set into equipment and lecture rooms."²⁵

Josephus Daniels, the Editor of *The News and Observer*, was also against the Poole Bill, but he took a more moderate stand than that of the *Greensboro Daily News*. He said that evolution should not be taught to children, and it should not be taught dogmatically anywhere, but teachers and students in colleges should be able to examine the arguments both for and against the theory.²⁶ Nell Battle Lewis, another editorialist, expressed confidence in the outcome of the voting. She stated, "It's an old, old show that the anti-evolutionists are putting on now on the legislative stage at the Capitol Theater. . . . We now have a return engagement of Bigotry and Ignorance, the Great Barn Stormers, in the World-Famous Morality Play Entitled, 'Thou Shalt Not Think.'" According to Miss Lewis, this play was as old as ancient Greece, but all ages had found it impossible to legislate morality.²⁷

On the evening of February 17, 1925, the House of Representatives met to consider the Poole Bill. The huge crowd which had gathered made debate very difficult. Connor remarked, "If we continue, we shall be compelled to call on the mayor of Raleigh for police protection, so long as the people of North Carolina insist on overrunning the hall of the House."²⁸ Then resolving to discuss the Bill at a later date the House adjourned.

On February 19 the Poole Bill again came before the House. Harrison Yelverton, a young attorney from Wayne County, and Henry Groves Connor, chairman of the Education Committee, led the opposition to the Bill; D. Scott Poole, Robert L. Madison, and Julia Alexander supported the Bill. The discussion proceeded without bitterness even though there was strong feeling on both sides. Many North Carolina lawmakers felt a hesitancy to legislate what could and could not be taught; others understood the theory of evolution and had no objection to it. According to tradition, North Carolina liberals were

²⁵ *Greensboro Daily News*, February 16, 1925.

²⁶ *The News and Observer*, February 12, 1925.

²⁷ *The News and Observer*, February 15, 1925.

²⁸ *The News and Observer*, February 18, 1925.

confident of the outcome of the voting. "Just wait until Billy Poteat's boys get a chance to vote!"²⁹ The outcome of the voting was indeed satisfactory to the liberal element. The House voted sixty-seven to forty-six against the Poole Bill.³⁰

Freedom of teaching had triumphed in North Carolina, for underlying the evolution dispute was the question of whether a teacher's higher loyalty was to the will of the taxpayer or to the truth as his training led him to see it. The legislators decided in favor of the latter. What were the influences which led to this decision? Several historians have given credit for the defeat of antievolution legislation in North Carolina to Harry W. Chase and William Louis Poteat.³¹ Throughout the years Poteat's open testimony that science and religion were not contradictory, as well as the fact that the biologist could believe in evolution and still live an exemplary Christian life, could not have failed to make a significant impression in North Carolina. Within the State his greatest influence was at Wake Forest College. As its graduates sat in the legislature and listened to the debates on evolution, perhaps they recalled their biology classes under Poteat. If they had not studied biology, they undoubtedly at some time during their college careers had come in contact with the liberal ideas of the Wake Forest President. Of the twenty-one representatives who had attended Wake Forest at some time, only three voted in favor of the Poole Bill.³²

Although Poteat did not seek publicity for his ideas on evolution and education during the agitation for the Poole Bill, they were well known because of the many years he had fought for the cause of academic and intellectual freedom. The *Greensboro Daily News* gave Poteat the credit for such leadership: "So staunchly has he stood by truth when truth had few to tell her teachings that his career has been one long triumph over bigotry and falseness and honest ignorance." According to the same article, North Carolina had never appreciated the courage of William Louis Poteat, who could lead without driving and fight without leaving poisoned wounds. "So closely do we live to the routine of our daily lives that we cannot always perceive the

²⁹ Conje B. Earp, personal interview with the author, Winston-Salem, February 4, 1962. Dr. Earp knew President Poteat personally.

³⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1925*, 290-291, hereinafter cited as *House Journal, 1925*. This reference erroneously gives the negative vote as 64.

³¹ Simkins, *The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 317, 319; Furniss, *Fundamentalist Controversy*, 85; Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?*, 241-242.

³² R. B. House (comp. and ed.), *North Carolina Manual, 1925*. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1925), 544-583, *passim*; *House Journal, 1925*, 290-291.

greatest movements that are astir about us. But someday the state will come to itself and when it does it will trace much of its intellectual freedom from Dr. Poteat.”³³

In the spring of 1925 Poteat continued his fight for intellectual freedom in a series of lectures at Chapel Hill. The Reverend Mr. John Calvin McNair, a University of North Carolina alumnus of 1849, bequeathed a sum of money to the University to be used to “employ some able scientific gentleman to deliver . . . a course of lectures, the object of which lectures shall be to show the mutual bearing of science and theology upon each other, and to prove the existence of attributes (as far as may be) of God from nature.” McNair further provided that the lectures should be published.³⁴ Although the bequest became available to the University in 1906, William Louis Poteat was the first native North Carolinian to present the lectures. He spoke on the subject, “Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?” In introducing Poteat, Harry W. Chase asserted that Poteat offered living proof that science and religion could be reconciled. Chase stated, “We are in no position to debate the philosophical subtleties involved in the current dispute . . . but a character that stands the test of half a century in a hard position is founded on something more solid than shifting scientific hypotheses.”³⁵

Always a popular speaker, Poteat drew increasingly larger crowds each of the three nights he spoke. *The Chapel Hill Weekly* remarked, “Probably no visitor to Chapel Hill—and many distinguished men have appeared on the platform here—has ever made a more profound impression upon his hearers.”³⁶ Poteat called upon his long experience at Wake Forest as he discussed the intellectual and spiritual problems of students. He expressed concern that what they learned in their “poor proud Christian homes” of a “simple sturdy democracy,” might seem inconsistent with their university training. Poteat asked, “This adventure of the growing day,—it is likely to intoxicate a spirited youth and absorb his enthusiasm. Will it dim and then put out the candle of the spiritual life?” Poteat questioned the general situation outside university life and the atmosphere of the time. “Is it favorable and friendly,” he asked, “or chilling and hostile to the faith of our fathers? Is religion still possible? Can a man be a Christian

³³ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 3, 1925.

³⁴ Excerpt from the will of the late John Calvin McNair on the frontispiece of William Louis Poteat, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1925), hereinafter cited as Poteat, *Can a Man Be A Christian To-day?*

³⁵ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 26, 1925.

³⁶ *The Chapel Hill Weekly*, May 7, 1925.

to-day?"³⁷ The Wake Forest President proceeded to answer this question by first discussing the main features of the society of that day, disentangling the essential substance of Christianity from its accumulations through the centuries, and finally, considering what serious-minded, intelligent young people should do in order to secure and maintain peace between their education and their religion. Poteat realized that evolution was a principal stumbling block. He explained that the Bible was not intended to be interpreted literally, and when interpreted in the light it was intended, it in no way contradicted true science. Launching a vigorous counteroffensive against extreme fundamentalists because he believed that they were doing all they could to make it impossible for intelligent, educated men to be Christians, Poteat said that religious teachers should recognize the authority of science in its proper sphere, just as scientific teachers ought to recognize the authority of religion in its proper sphere. He explained that men could reconcile education and religion if they would discriminate between Christ and some of his interpreters, between the apparatus of science and the spiritual realities of faith.

Here was an answer to all those sincerely troubled by the age-old differences in science and religion. The experienced educator understood the problems of the sophisticated youth of Chapel Hill. He offered them the fundamentals of Christianity, expressed in modern terms and applied to the problems of modern life. Because he dealt in basic truths, Poteat offered to the youth of 1925 and to posterity an answer to the question "Can a man be a Christian today?" The lectures were a summary of Poteat's theology and philosophy of education. The statement of faith made his contribution complete, for had he merely criticized bigotry, he would have been no different from many others. He was different because he offered to his fellow man an answer to the conflict of science and religion, and in his own life, he proved that his suggestions were applicable.

The McNair Lectures of 1925 evoked widespread interest. Published in book form, the lectures received favorable comment from both the religious and the secular press all over the nation. Papers in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Sacramento were among those which reviewed Poteat's book. The *Greensboro Daily News* called it "the most significant volume that has come out of North Carolina in years," and commented, "There has been no moment in this decade . . . when the interest of the state was so centered on the expression of any North Carolinian upon a scientific,

³⁷ Poteat, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?*, 1-2.

philosophical, or religious subject. The moment and the man had met, and this message was the answer."³⁸ *The Christian Leader* declared, "What he says rings true, as something which has been wrought out of personal experience,"³⁹ and a Missouri publication echoed, "It is emphatically a book for such a time as this if religion and science are to learn how to work together in such a world as this."⁴⁰

Further praise came from W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University, who said, "That such an utterance should come out of the Southland must fill all thoughtful New England people with gladness, and that the utterance should be so calm and yet so fearless, so broad and yet so pungent, gives me personally very great satisfaction."⁴¹ Poteat replied that the impression that the South was backward was largely due to the fact that ultraconservatives had held the center of the stage and men with different attitudes had not cared to compete for publicity. Poteat illustrated, "I have heard of a farmer who had engaged to deliver a wagon load of bullfrogs to the cafe steward . . . actually presenting only two frogs, with the explanation that he did not know two bullfrogs could make so much noise."⁴²

In the fall of 1925, the criticism by the ultraconservatives increased as North Carolina Baptists prepared for the State convention to be held in November. One critic sent Poteat an advertisement of *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* with the inscription, "It is hard to be one in Wake Forest under present conditions. I am surprised that a man who has lost faith in the Bible as God's inspired word has the brazen effrontery to try to stay at the head of a Christian college and undermine the faith of Christian students. I have no earthly use for your book."⁴³ S. J. Betts, a minister of Raleigh, wrote a twelve-page pamphlet of criticism and refutation. Lawrence Stallings, playwright and son-in-law of Poteat, warned, "There hasn't been a theological or denominational paper in the South that hasn't been afire with this book. It will be the rock upon which the fires will be lighted when the legislatures and convocations rally in the fall hunts and the open season on intelligence begins."⁴⁴ Poteat recognized the criticism but had no objection to it. He commented to his publisher, "While I have never been hopeful of pleasing everybody and accordingly am not greatly disappointed that some criticisms are antagonistic, criticisms

³⁸ *Greensboro Daily News*, July 12, 1925.

³⁹ *The Christian Leader* (Boston, Massachusetts, and Chicago, Illinois), April 23, 1927.

⁴⁰ *The Christian-Evangelist* (St. Louis, Missouri), August 12, 1925.

⁴¹ W. H. P. Faunce to W. L. Poteat, December 30, 1925. Poteat Papers.

⁴² W. L. Poteat to W. H. P. Faunce, January 6, 1926, Poteat Papers.

⁴³ R. P. Rixey to W. L. Poteat (n.d.), Poteat Papers.

⁴⁴ *New York World*, September 25, 1925.

favorable and unfavorable alike will probably help the book to get abroad."⁴⁵

More than literary criticism developed against Poteat. Some stanch Baptists were determined to oust the "evolutionist" from the presidency of Wake Forest. Poteat expected that fundamentalists would present an antievolution resolution at the Baptist State Convention in November.⁴⁶ He wrote to a friend, "That pressure is, as I understand, likely to come to a head at the Baptist State Convention in Charlotte, where your humble servant will likely be asked to step down and out in one form or another. My present feeling is that, while I may be beaten, I am not disposed to surrender."⁴⁷ In late October Poteat addressed the Mecklenburg Wake Forest College Alumni Association. He said, "I am willing to serve in any place, but I will wear no chain except such as He puts on me. Eliminate me, stand by the college." The Mecklenburg alumni highly endorsed Poteat, the administration, and faculty.⁴⁸

The lines had been drawn by convention time. Poteat had boldly stated his ideas on the teaching of evolution in his controversial book, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* Surely the fundamentalists now had the best opportunity to oust Poteat from the presidency of Wake Forest. They would undoubtedly seize this opportunity at the November meeting of the Baptist State Convention. The Gaston and Buncombe Baptist Associations⁴⁹ had already directed their representatives to attempt to get convention action on the evolution question. These representatives, along with other fundamentalists, went to Charlotte eager to seize the opportunity to act against evolution and Poteat while interest was high. The fundamentalists felt strongly about the subject of heresy, and on the first day of the Convention they had a powerful majority. That night Wake Forest alumni from all over the State converged on Charlotte. Poteat had said, "I decline to be whipped out on an issue that involves the respectability and opportunity of my *alma mater*."⁵⁰ Other alumni of Wake Forest came to the rescue of their alma mater. A thousand new delegates appeared at the Convention in an ugly mood.

⁴⁵ W. L. Poteat to W. T. Couch, August 20, 1925, Poteat Papers.

⁴⁶ W. L. Poteat to V. P. Harris, October 12, 1925, Poteat Papers.

⁴⁷ W. L. Poteat to W. W. Barnes, April 26, 1925, Poteat Papers.

⁴⁸ *The Charlotte Observer*, October 31, 1925. Earlier the alumni association as a whole had issued a statement affirming to the public that Wake Forest was true to the fundamentals of the Baptist faith. See *Biblical Recorder*, September 23, 1925.

⁴⁹ Associations are groups of Baptist churches in particular areas, sometimes ascertained on the basis of counties; but not necessarily so. At that time, the association sent delegates to the North Carolina Baptist State Convention.

⁵⁰ *The Ledger-Dispatch* (Norfolk, Virginia), November 19, 1925.

After a hasty consultation among the fundamentalists, they revised their position. When R. J. Bateman, representative from the Buncombe Association, introduced his resolution, it stated a belief in the divine nature of Jesus Christ and belief in creation by God as a fact. The last part of the resolution declared opposition to worldly philosophies which "seek to revolutionize the interpretation and undermine the character of God and Christ."⁵¹ The Bateman resolution was so mild that even Poteat voted for it.⁵²

Some ardent fundamentalists regarded Bateman's resolution as innocuous because it contained no direct attack on the theory of evolution and no demands for the resignation of teachers who taught the theory. Still, trustees sympathetic to the fundamentalist cause could easily accomplish this with individual schools. At that time boards of trustees of Baptist institutions were self-perpetuating; that is, they elected persons to fill any vacancies which might occur, and these elections were subject only to the approval of the State Convention. Under this system trustees of Wake Forest who favored Poteat were likely to elect men of similar feelings to fill vacancies on the board. At the Charlotte meeting W. C. Barrett, representative from the Gaston Association, moved that the trustees of all Baptist institutions be elected directly by the State Convention. Surely many members of the group must have been surprised when a friend of Poteat, Bernard W. Spilman, rose to second the motion. They understood Spilman's motive when he further moved that the resolution be referred to a committee, and that under the new system, the trustees be allowed to nominate persons to fill vacancies in their ranks. Thus the only real change was that rather than merely approving a slate of trustees, the Convention would have the possibility of nominations from the floor. In seconding Barrett's resolution, Spilman took the sting out of it. Consideration by the committee would take at least a year, and in two years Poteat would probably retire.

This Charlotte Convention put Wake Forest in a new light. A Baptist college dared to acknowledge the teaching of evolution, and the alumni were willing to fight to protect this right. Faced with such strong alumni support, the fundamentalists revised their position. Through the entire meeting of the Convention there was no official mention of the word "evolution" and the only reference to Poteat was when the chairman called on him to read a letter from Benjamin N. Duke of Durham and New York donating \$100,000 to Wake Forest

⁵¹ *Annual of Baptist State Convention, 1925*, 28-30.

⁵² *The News and Observer*, November 19, 1925.

College. Fundamentalists in the South were usually able to intimidate college presidents, especially when endowments were low, but Poteat had stood his ground and when his position was in danger, the alumni had appeared to support him. One alumnus said, "He merely stood his ground and whistled, and instantly around him sprang up a thousand alumni, grim alumni, with red eyes and no scruples about flying at a fundamentalist throat." Why did they go to Charlotte, those "thousand men who whetted their knives as they came and fervently hoped that somebody would start something?"⁵³ Few of those men cared much about the theory of evolution. Some did not even understand it thoroughly, and certainly most of them were devout churchmen. But they remembered that Wake Forest had opened for them the wonderful door to the world of the mind, and they did not intend to have that door closed in the faces of their sons. They saved Wake Forest for freedom of teaching and for their beloved "Dr. Billy." Gerald W. Johnson, an alumnus of Wake Forest, paraphrased Daniel Webster as he said of his alma mater, "She is small, but there are those who hate her, and her enemies have made her great."⁵⁴

The Charlotte Convention marked the final battle against Poteat. There were other small skirmishes from time to time, but there was no organized movement against him personally. In 1926 and 1927 North Carolina fundamentalists made one last attempt to secure anti-evolution legislation through the "Committee of One Hundred," but leaders of the organization declared that they were not against Poteat. When V. T. Jeffreys of New Jersey, a representative of the Anti-Evolution League, and J. T. Maples, an evangelist known as the "Texas Cyclone," came to the State and verbally attacked Poteat and evolution, many North Carolinians objected.⁵⁵

By 1927 the evolution controversy was beginning to decline in the South. The very persecution of the evolutionists had stimulated interest in their ideas with the result that the fear of evolution gradually abated. The radio played an increasingly important part, for when

⁵³ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 1926.

⁵⁴ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 1926. Gerald W. Johnson gave this "behind the scenes" account of the convention. The truth of Johnson's statements is supported by the fact that the minutes of the Gaston and Buncombe Associations give a very different picture of the aims of Barrett and Bateman than the final resolutions exhibit. See *Minutes of the Forty-fourth Annual Session of the Buncombe County Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 15; *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Sessoin of the Gaston County Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 10; for other examples of fundamentalist sentiment see *Minutes of the Sixty-fifth Annual Session of the Tennessee River Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 4; *Minutes of the Fortieth Annual Session of the Mecklenburg-Cabarrus Baptist Association, 1925*, 18-19.

⁵⁵ *Greensboro Daily News*, May 4, 1926.



I Did Not Come From HIM
NEITHER DID YOU!

I May Look Like Him, But
I Refuse to Claim Kin

On This I Stand!

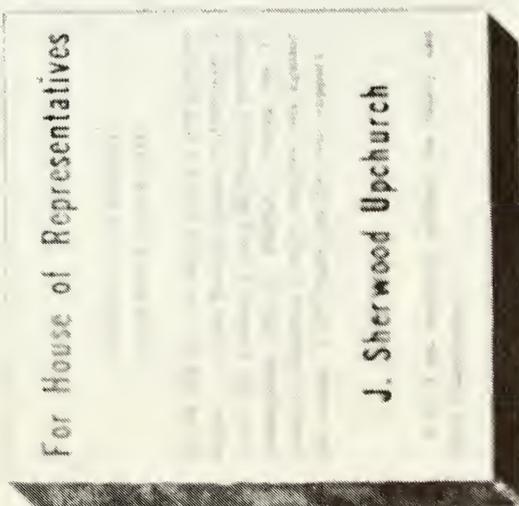
J. Sherwood Upchurch

They are Going to Talk About Him in the Next

LEGISLATURE

So They Say

I WANT TO BE THERE!



Campaign advertisement used by J. Sherwood Upchurch, unsuccessful candidate for the House of Representatives from Wake County, in 1926. From the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

the people could hear evolutionists, they were better able to formulate their own independent opinions as to whether or not they were "heretics." A broadening of educational opportunities in the 1920's increased public receptiveness to new ideas. Even the Tennessee legislature that passed the antievolution bill provided a longer school term and the largest appropriation ever made to the State university. Laws to bar evolution did little good, for people discussed it in spite of the law. As more people learned to understand evolution, they lost interest in fundamentalist agitation. As the fundamentalists found themselves on the defensive, they lost confidence in their ability to convince others to repudiate the evolution theory.

By 1926 several fundamentalist societies had lost effectiveness as a result of the growing public coolness toward their work. The widespread endeavor of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association revealed this noticeable loss of enthusiasm in the disappointing attendance at the Toronto convention of 1926. The Bible Crusaders, founded by George F. Washburn and then under the leadership of Thomas Theodore Martin, declined rapidly. Representative E. K. Wyndham of Louisiana was irritated by the lobbying of the organization. He suggested that some Crusaders were motivated less by religious convictions than by a desire for financial betterment.⁵⁶ After 1926 no representative of the Crusaders appeared where antievolution bills were under discussion.

Following several years of charges and resolutions, the Southern Baptist Convention was free of the evolution dispute. After 1926 Southern Baptists exhibited little interest in antievolution agitation. Financial difficulty, especially for foreign missions, forced churchmen to turn their energies elsewhere.⁵⁷ The prohibition issue loomed large on the national scene and demanded the attention of churchmen. In North Carolina the Bible League, which replaced the Committee of One Hundred, conducted an unsuccessful movement in 1927 for anti-evolution legislation. North Carolinians were no longer interested in the subject. Poteat had proved that fundamentalist pressure could not force him to resign or to compromise his position on either science or religion. For years he had refused to resign under pressure, but in the summer of 1926 he felt that the pressure had subsided sufficiently to enable him to carry out his intention to resign. Nearing his seventieth birthday, Poteat announced in August of 1926 that he would

⁵⁶ *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), February 13, 1926, as cited in Furniss, *Fundamentalist Controversy*, 62.

⁵⁷ See *Biblical Recorder*, May 26, 1926.

retire the following June. Immediately after the 1927 commencement, he resigned as President of Wake Forest College.

As William Louis Poteat left the presidency of Wake Forest, he retained his position as the outstanding figure in the evolution controversy in the South. William Jennings Bryan had been more famous, but he had won recognition mainly in other fields. Poteat's unique position as a college president, a scientist, and a leader in the Baptist denomination had given him the opportunity to lead the people of the South to understand that the truths of science and religion were in no way contradictory. In spite of concentrated fundamentalist efforts, the North Carolina legislature had refused to pass an anti-evolution bill. As long as Poteat maintained his stand, agitators could not force any teacher of science in the State to resign. At his retirement Poteat could see the fruit of his work, not only in the material growth of Wake Forest, but in the existing freedom of thought in North Carolina. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported, "Because the Poteat of another day stood with a faith no man might question and demanded all that the searchers after truth might find, the Poteat of this day can enunciate his doctrine of freedom under the benediction of a people who themselves have seen the light."⁵⁸

There have been several attempts to explain the leadership of William Louis Poteat. The *New York World* said, "Your Fundamentalist would rather be burned at the stake than approach creative evolution from any laboratory angle giving him understanding of the matter, but he will read Dr. Poteat. He reads him either to heckle or dismay."⁵⁹ The fundamentalists had read Poteat's book, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?*, and in reply had determined to oust him from the presidency of Wake Forest College. But they had been unable to defeat or refute him. They disputed his Christianity, but he reaffirmed it with his words and with his exemplary life. Henry L. Mencken interpreted Poteat as "a sort of liaison officer between the Baptist revelation and human progress in his native State of North Carolina." Mencken expressed the paradox of Dr. Poteat in the following way: "On the one hand he has stuck valiantly to such curiosities of the Baptist sorcery as total immersion and Prohibition; on the other hand he has served his State magnificently as a public critic of the Bryan bibliolatry." Mencken believed that because of Poteat North Carolina was "the most intelligent" of all southern States.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Greensboro Daily News*, June 3, 1927.

⁵⁹ *New York World*, September 25, 1925.

⁶⁰ *Charlotte News and Evening Chronicle*, November 8, 1925.

Poteat was the only man in history to serve as President of both the North Carolina Baptist State Convention and the North Carolina Academy of Science. It was certainly unusual for one man to be called a heretic and an evolutionist and at the same time, "an old-fashioned, Bible-reading, family-altar, Sunday-school, mid-week prayer meeting Christian."⁶¹ But these words fit.

To Poteat his stand was not at all paradoxical. It was an integral part of all that he thought and did, and it found excellent expression in the field of education. His view of education was idealistic as opposed to the strictly materialistic view. He made education seem not the number of students at a college, not the wealth of its buildings, and not the enthusiasm of its alumni, but the development of an attitude of mind that regarded the search for truth as the holiest duty and the highest adventure.⁶² To Poteat the most serious danger to students was "the peril of being content in our own little cabbage garden, while the illimitable universe challenges us in vain."⁶³ Poteat presented the challenge, and in his own life, gave an excellent example of how it might be met. He brought to Wake Forest material growth, enterprise, exalted ideals of scholarship and of Christian service, but his most important contribution was the vision to look beyond textbooks, buildings, and athletic events in a search for and devotion to truth, not only scientific truth, but the basic truths of everyday living. At his retirement, the *Richmond News-Leader* declared, "The high faith that has marked the life of Dr. Poteat, the courage of his devotion to the principle of soul-liberty, and his influence upon the youth of the South have made him more than the president of a college; he has been the preceptor of a generation."⁶⁴

Poteat's influence did indeed reach beyond the Wake Forest College campus. As a leading Baptist in favor of the teaching of evolution, Poteat provided the focal point for the start of the antievolution controversy of the 1920's. Thomas Theodore Martin's articles criticizing Poteat stimulated interest in the possible conflicts between evolution and religion. The entire controversy reached mammoth proportions, filling the columns of both the religious and the secular press, and even invading the State legislatures. Throughout the controversy, Poteat remained the principal religious leader for the liberal side. Because of his educational background and his moderate stand, he became a significant factor in the controversy not only in the South,

⁶¹ *Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), August 19, 1926.

⁶² *The News and Observer*, May 18, 1924.

⁶³ *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1925.

⁶⁴ *Richmond News-Leader* (Virginia), June 10, 1927.

but in the nation as a whole. He was the outstanding person among many well-informed southerners who wished to assure freedom of teaching within the strongholds of fundamentalism. Poteat led the people of the South to a more enlightened religion and in so doing, he helped to insure freedom of teaching and a reverence for truth which would last far beyond his lifetime.

THE CONFEDERATE REFUGEES IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY*

Two weeks after his participation in the First Battle of Manassas the young North Carolina Lieutenant John Avery Benbury wrote his wife a prediction of things to come. It was probably his intention to prepare her for what she might soon encounter on their plantation near Edenton and to impress upon her the seriousness of the War, for he realized that Harriet Benbury, like most southerners, had no comprehension of what the Civil War would do to the South's way of life. But whatever his reasons for writing as he did, his were words of wisdom from which thousands of overconfident, idealistic civilians might have benefited had they but heard and heeded them. However, his opinions were those of an unknown lieutenant whose name meant nothing to the majority of the people, and they were directed only to his wife who gave no indication that she took them seriously at the time. Within a year Mrs. Benbury would have reason to recall them when she and her six-weeks-old daughter were driven from their home to become refugees and when her husband was killed at Malvern Hill. As he wrote, Lieutenant Benbury described the first great battle of the Civil War, emphasizing not only the carnage of the battlefield but also the destruction of private property, and he prophesied that the time had now arrived when women must be men "in spirit." He then predicted that which the next four years would prove to be true, that "people never realize the horrors of war till it is brought to their own doorsteps."¹ As the Federal armies penetrated the Confederacy hundreds of thousands of citizens were to learn through experience that such was the case, and no group would be in a better position to confirm Benbury's statement than the tens of thousands who became refugees when the War came "to their own doorsteps."

Every State in the Confederacy experienced the displacement of a part of its citizenry and all absorbed to some extent refugees from other States. North Carolinians living in the coastal areas were among the first to flee from the enemy early in the War, but except for this

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¹ John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, August 5, 1861, Benbury-Haywood Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Benbury-Haywood Papers.

group there was no large or continuing displacement of people as there was in many other southern States. North Carolina was one of the safest areas in the Confederacy despite the sporadic Unionist and guerrilla activities in the mountains and Sherman's invasion in 1865. Provisions were also more plentiful than in the war-torn regions and because the refugees sought both safety and sufficient food it would seem that North Carolina would have attracted a much larger proportion of homeless southerners than did her neighbors, but such was not the case. While records indicate that many towns in the State were crowded with refugees, the majority of these seem to have been North Carolinians except during two relatively brief periods when a great many Virginians and South Carolinians sought refuge here. In the late spring and summer of 1862 large numbers of Richmond residents, most of whom were the families of Confederate officials, came to North Carolina when McClellan's forces threatened the city during the Peninsular Campaign. Most of these remained in the State for only a few months and returned to Virginia as soon as the danger had passed. The second great refugee invasion of North Carolina occurred in February, 1865, when thousands fled from Sherman's armies, but many of these returned to their homes before either General Lee's or General Johnston's surrender. It should not be concluded, however, that North Carolina had no out-of-state refugees but these. There was a gradual infiltration throughout the War, but most of those who were displaced for any length of time were North Carolinians from the coast. A Raleigh editor seemed aware of this when he editorialized on the refugees, and appealing to citizens in the interior to receive the homeless graciously he reminded his readers, "We are *all* North Carolinians."²

There are several explanations as to why there were proportionately fewer out-of-state refugees in North Carolina than in some of the other southern States. The first is so obvious that it might easily be ignored. No one could predict with certainty the course of the War and because the coastal areas were invaded very early there was always the possibility that the enemy would penetrate deep into the interior. While it is easy a century later to say that North Carolina would have afforded an ideal haven for the displaced people, at the time the War was being fought no one knew what its pattern would be. The people did not know what to do or where to go and the movements of the refugees give proof of this as they settled them-

² *Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), June 12, 1863. This paper was also published as the *Weekly Standard* during this period.

selves in areas which they believed would be safe from invasion for the duration of the struggle, but often within a few months they were compelled to uproot themselves and find another wartime home if they were to remain within Confederate lines. After once leaving their homes most refugees moved many times before the end of the War as a Georgia lady noted when she told of friends who had lived in twelve different communities as they tried to evade the enemy.³ Those who moved once and spent the turbulent years in their first place of refuge were the lucky ones.

The way in which most of these people moved also explains North Carolina's receiving fewer out-of-state refugees than other areas, for they tended to inch away from home and then move by installments as the enemy again approached. This was especially true of those who became refugees early in the War, when most people believed their displacement would be temporary. They were confident the Federals would be repelled and they could soon return to their homes. Therefore they reasoned that it would be easier to go back if they did not wander too far away, and the North Carolinians were like others in this regard. When Mrs. Benbury eventually realized that she would have to leave her plantation if she were to avoid direct contact with the enemy, she went first to Windsor thinking that she could live out the War in her mother's home, but no sooner had she arrived than her husband wrote that she must move away from the coast. She then went to Warrenton as her husband suggested, and when he heard she had taken his advice he wrote, "Dear wife, you have done wright [*sic*] in going higher up the country."⁴ Thousands of other displaced people sidled away from home as had Mrs. Benbury and for this reason very few of those who lived a great distance from North Carolina reached the State before the end of the War. It must also be noted that some refugees, after making several moves, decided it was to their best interests to remain where they were when the Federals overtook them, and others eventually questioned the wisdom of their earlier flight and returned home to live within Federal lines rather than continue their nomadic existence.

Nor can the devotion of southerners for their States be ignored as a reason for so few out-of-state refugees coming to North Carolina. The majority of refugees not only preferred to remain within its confines but some adamantly refused to leave it until such a time

³ Mrs. Lenora Clayton to Mrs. Howell Cobb, February 3, 1865, Cobb Papers, Department of Special Collections, University of Georgia, Athens.

⁴ John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, February 21, 1862, Benbury-Haywood Papers.



Southern women applying to the Federal Commissary for food. From a contemporary periodical, the photograph is now in the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

as they had no choice in the matter. They generally preferred to move a half-dozen times within the home State rather than take one broad leap into a neighboring one, and some southerners left the Confederacy for foreign countries more easily than others crossed the State lines. While this provincialism was evidenced everywhere in the South, nowhere was it as widespread and deep-seated as in Virginia and South Carolina. Virginians were displaced by the thousands throughout the War but rarely did they seek permanent refuge outside the State, and when they fled into North Carolina, as they did in 1862, they only camped out until they could return to Virginia. Matthew Page Andrews indicated this attitude of Virginians when he wrote his fiancée about the possible communities to which she might go when driven from her home. All of the places he suggested were in Virginia, and this he told her was "a very important consideration. I have a perfect dread of your going out of the State."⁵ South Carolina was in much the same position as North Carolina in that only her coastal areas fell to the enemy early in the War, but when the dis-

⁵ Matthew Page Andrews to Anna Robinson, May 7, 1861, Charles Wesley Andrews Papers, Manuscript Division, Duke University Library, Durham.

placed planters sought wartime homes they were usually in the central or western parts of the State. As they moved into the Piedmont they often met with a cool reception and there was constant friction between the refugees and the residents. Various newspapers editorialized on this problem and the Charleston papers frequently pleaded with the Up Country people to understand the problems of the Low Country refugees. In one such appeal the *Mercury* asked if the Piedmont citizens expected the planters from the coast to go into neighboring States to avoid the enemy. He reminded them that "the heart of an exile . . . revolts at seeking home however temporary outside the parental territory," and for this reason the Low Country refugees preferred to remain "in their own Carolina."⁶ North Carolina therefore attracted very few of the displaced citizens from the States to the north and south except at specific times when desperation and the Yankees combined to push them over the State line.

The mountains of western North Carolina were a barrier to most of the displaced people from Kentucky and Tennessee who tended, therefore, to move into the Deep South or into southwestern Virginia. Some of these eventually swung into both Carolinas and a few were brave enough to slip through the mountains, but this was a dangerous route for anyone to follow, especially for those of strong Confederate sympathies. To the east were also obstacles which prevented great numbers of out-of-state refugees from coming into the State. The Outer Banks and the presence of the enemy blocked their entry along most of the coast, and although some did come to Wilmington this city was more often used by the refugees as a port of exit rather than of entry. Wilmington was different from the other major port cities in the Confederacy in that she did not have thousands of homeless dumped on her docks as did Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile, all of which were required to absorb hundreds of people who were banished by Federal authorities from some nearby area. Therefore North Carolina had fewer refugees coming into the State because of many factors, but there were exceptions to all of these and the North Carolinians, who happened to live in the overcrowded communities where they congregated, gave every indication that they believed a sufficient number had arrived to create grave problems for all.

Many of the out-of-state refugees were families of prominent Confederate military and political officials, and although most of these were temporary residents some came early in the War and remained until the end. Both groups followed the same pattern in settling as

⁶ *Charleston Mercury* (South Carolina), November 8, 1862.

did those elsewhere in the South, for they tended to congregate in urban areas where there were other refugees. As they did so they jammed the transportation facilities, crowded together in limited housing accommodations, and consumed the provisions. This in turn created scarcities which raised prices and encouraged speculation and hoarding. When these conditions developed the residents reached the point where they dreaded to see refugees come and they were exasperated by the influx which created economic problems for the community. The relations between the refugees and residents in North Carolina were typical of those elsewhere in the Confederacy; and while some of the newcomers reported gracious, hospitable receptions others thought the citizens cool, selfish, and rude, but in either case much depended on the individuals involved.

Some of the troubles which developed between the refugees and the residents were the fault of the displaced people, many of whom were prejudiced against North Carolinians before they arrived and nearly all of whom were inclined to be clannish. Some manifested a superior attitude which did nothing to endear them to the native population who did not understand that this was often done to save face, for a great many refugees were proud but poor, and those who had lost most of their worldly possessions often assumed a haughty exterior in an effort to hide their true situation. There were displaced people, however, who felt themselves superior and who did not hesitate to let it be known, but whatever their reasons for acting as they did, in the long run they were the ones most likely to be hurt. They were the strangers in the community and the ones who sought favors, nonetheless, many of them made no attempt to be diplomatic or to adjust to the communities in which they went. The first refugees in an area created the image and not only did the first impression eventually damage their chances for harmonious relationships, but those who came later found it more difficult to win acceptance. All conflicts between the residents and their temporary visitors were not the fault of the latter, however, for there were North Carolinians who did not want them in the community and who were sometimes as rude and selfish as the homeless accused them of being. When the Columbians fled from Sherman by the hundreds, many of them came to Charlotte which was already so congested that the town could not accommodate the influx. The refugees made a house-to-house canvass as they tried to find living quarters, and the Charlotteans, often irritated by the frequent interruptions, were sometimes rude to them and indifferent to their plight. One woman wrote her son that she had

rooms she might have rented but she already had more work than she could do. However, a younger son who was an invalid in the home had even stronger feelings about those who rang the bell and begged for shelter. As his mother said, "When he is . . . [too] weak and sick to speak on other subjects if you say 'refugee' or South Carolina he rouses up & holds forth."⁷ Whatever sympathy might have been shown for the displaced people early in the War had evaporated late in the conflict as the citizens blamed the homeless for most of the economic hardships they had endured.

The infiltration of refugees into urban areas disturbed and confused those who watched them congregate in the communities. Newspaper editors in every southern State at some time commented on the problems which this tendency created for all civilians, and one in Georgia thought it "regrettable" that the homeless people were so "fascinated by brick and mortar."⁸ Yet the towns offered many attractions to them which rural areas did not afford, and this was true in North Carolina as in other States. All refugees were in search of safety, and the cities had more effective law enforcement agencies than did the country. This was especially appealing to women who were without male protection. The refugees also wanted companionship, not only for social reasons but to be assured of assistance should the need arise. They naturally sought others who had experienced displacement as they believed that their common problem would promote mutual understanding, and they proved by their movements that "misery loves company." Those who traveled in public conveyances were first taken into towns served by the transportation facilities and those who had made no plans to go elsewhere remained at the terminus. But a great many refugees deliberately chose as their haven a community situated on a railroad, and although they were warned throughout the War that the battles were being fought along the rail lines they reasoned that should it be necessary to flee again they could more easily get out of town on a train. When a mass evacuation took place, however, thousands of people were unable to get the accommodations they had expected, and those who did get seats on the outgoing trains discovered that they often had to leave their baggage behind. One reason for the congestion in Greensboro in 1862 was that it had rail connections with Richmond and other Virginia towns, and the explanation for thousands of South Carolinians being dumped in Charlotte in February, 1865, was a direct rail line running

⁷ Mrs. R. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, February 16, 1865, Burwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Burwell Papers.

⁸ *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), June 7, 1864.

from Columbia to that city. Despite the warnings given them, the refugees were attracted to towns which were situated on the railroads.

It was also in the urban areas that one expected to find more regular mail service and this was a very important consideration for most refugees who wanted to be in a position to receive and transmit communications to loved ones in the service. The diaries and letters of those searching for an asylum frequently mention that their one requirement was that the community be on "a mail line," and although postal service was uncertain at best there was a greater possibility of one's receiving letters in the towns. When hotels and real estate dealers advertised property for rent or sale and hoped to attract the attention of refugees, they often assured prospective patrons that the community afforded excellent mail service.

The towns also offered greater opportunities for employment and many of the homeless were in desperate need of work. Some who sought jobs had never before worked for wages and this was especially true of the women who were now compelled to earn the family's livelihood or supplement its income. The North Carolina towns appealed to those in need of jobs, for Fayetteville, Greensboro, Salisbury, Charlotte, Asheville, and other communities had both private and Confederate industries. Wilmington attracted men who were interested in the profits to be derived from trade through the blockade, and although they were usually looked upon as parasites and vultures by both the citizens and the local newspapers, they often tried to attain respectability and arouse sympathy by referring to themselves as refugees, which they sometimes were.

These unsettled people also reasoned that the urban areas afforded more abundant and varied types of housing facilities than could be found elsewhere, for in the towns were hotels, boardinghouses, and private homes which might be available to them. There were also public buildings which could be converted into living quarters and any community boasting an academy or college was almost certain to attract the homeless who hoped to find accommodations in the dormitories or in the boardinghouses which normally catered to students. Men's colleges usually closed or enrolled so few students that their buildings were often thrown open to others who needed lodging, and the owners of boarding establishments as well as the merchants in the college towns welcomed the refugees as patrons. This reasoning that towns and cities afforded a greater number of structures which might be used as shelter was logical in the early months of the War, but as hundreds and even thousands flocked into a community all

available space was soon taken and a housing shortage then developed. In the spring of 1862 Greensboro, Raleigh, and other cities experiencing the influx of Virginians were soon overcrowded and those refugees who had not contracted in advance for rooms discovered upon arrival that they would either have to live in makeshift quarters or move elsewhere. The same situation existed in Charlotte and other communities which received those displaced late in the War. Until the homeless people learned through trial and error they presumed that any town could offer them some type of accommodations.

Therefore the refugees went into urban areas hoping to find one, two, or perhaps all of these things, and the North Carolina towns affording these attractions were likely to experience an invasion of displaced people at some time during the War. The newcomers were both from within and from outside the State, but those who came from out-of-state were often the ones who left the most interesting impressions of their wartime homes. They recorded their reactions to the State, the community, and the citizens in their letters, diaries, and reminiscences, but whether or not they expressed their opinions as candidly in conversations is not positively known. If they did, this would explain the hostility which many residents felt for them, for some refugees were tactless to the point of brutality.

There were several refugee centers in North Carolina but the only city on the coast receiving appreciable numbers from outside the State was Wilmington. Although some of the natives left the community at various times, either because of the precarious military situation or because of yellow fever, refugees came into the city for commercial reasons or to await passage on a ship which would take them out of the Confederacy. In the latter group were many of the more affluent New Orleans exiles who were banished from their homes. In the fall of 1863 James Ryder Randall was in Wilmington when many Louisianians were in town and he wrote his fiancée that the boardinghouse in which he was staying was "crowded with New Orleans people; most of them birds of passage." He emphasized, however, that they usually moved out as soon as they could get accommodations aboard ship and he noted that one family in the boardinghouse was packing to leave the following day.⁹ However, the largest mass influx of refugees into Wilmington came in the early months of 1865 when many people from eastern South Carolina dashed into the city as they fled from the Federals. A lady who had lived in Wilmington

⁹ James Ryder Randall to Kate Hammond, October 6, 1863, Randall Letters, Southern Historical Collection.

throughout the War commented that the community had suffered very little during the conflict, but "the most serious difficulty" which the residents had encountered was the arrival of "thousands of refugees, men, women & children of all classes & grades, both black and white, rendered homeless & breadless & many clotheless by Sherman's armies." She said that these people seemed to descend on the city "from *all* directions," and so many had come into Wilmington that they had to be "put in every nook & corner or vacant room . . . to be found in the place." Despite this reference to the congestion in the city, the writer mentioned that she had been spared having to take any of the refugees into her home, and although she was sympathetic she felt no obligation to rent rooms to them.¹⁰ This attitude was in evidence everywhere in the Confederacy but many displaced people found many North Carolinians especially reluctant to open their homes to strangers.

Other towns in eastern North Carolina which remained within Confederate lines for any length of time had large numbers of homeless wanderers, but these were mostly natives of the coastal areas of the State who were edging away from their homes. The village of Warrenton had several families of Virginians living there early in the War, mostly from the southeastern part of that State, but during the spring and summer of 1862 they were joined by others from Richmond. Warrenton was especially attractive to the Virginia people because of its location just over the North Carolina State line from which point they could easily and speedily return to their homes when the "all clear" was sounded. The community also had a large, comfortable hotel and several boardinghouses all of which were soon filled with refugees from both Virginia and North Carolina. One of the ladies living in Brownlow's Hotel told of the establishment being crowded with displaced people in May, 1862, and all were apparently women and children. She mentioned that it was quite a sociable group whose favorite pastime seems to have been talking, and because of the "babel of tongues" she was unable to write her son, for the incessant chatter "confounde[d] the motion of the pen." She was happy to report, however, that this "heterogenous [*sic*] assemblage of . . . refugees" was composed entirely of Episcopalians who agreed that this situation produced a most congenial atmosphere.¹¹ She wrote her son that she could not understand why anyone would want to go else-

¹⁰ Minnie Pipkin to her mother, March 30, 1865, P. D. Gold Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

¹¹ Mrs. P. C. Calder to William Calder, May 26, June 3, 1862, William Calder Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Calder Papers.

where but there were two guests at the hôtel who were planning to leave because they thought the town too near the battle area, and what perturbed her even more, they were going all the way to Greenville, South Carolina.¹²

In central North Carolina a number of communities proved attractive to out-of-state refugees and among these were Hillsboro and Chapel Hill. By the second year of the War the inn in Hillsboro was crowded with homeless people, and attics, basements, and parlors in many private homes afforded shelter to others. The schoolhouse and bank building had been converted into temporary living quarters and the Masonic Lodge was being eyed as a possibility. In the fall of 1862 a Wilmington woman wanted to move to Hillsboro and she asked her son, who taught in the local academy, to assist her in obtaining accommodations. Although she was willing to live anywhere as long as it was in Hillsboro, the search for rooms was carried on for nearly eight months before a boarding place was found and even then the son was successful only because he persuaded a resident to convert her parlor into a bedroom for his mother.¹³ In the summer of 1862 General William D. Pender wrote to his wife, who was living in Hillsboro, that he wanted her to find living quarters for the family of his friend, Major E. H. Palfrey. The Major wanted to move his family out of Richmond for reasons of safety and economy, and Pender thought that Hillsboro would be the perfect retreat for them. He told Mrs. Pender that Palfrey specified only one requirement, that the family must board in a private home for they did not have any housekeeping equipment. As Mrs. Pender read this letter she would have had every reason to recall the many times her husband had accused her of being unrealistic about the War, for now it was the General who seemed unaware of the true situation. Hillsboro was so crowded that everyone was having difficulty finding accommodations and it appeared unlikely that the Palfreys would ever find room and board, for the Major's brood consisted of his wife, nine children, and a servant.¹⁴

In nearby Chapel Hill refugees came early and stayed late as they filled the boardinghouses and private homes in the village. They were made welcome by the residents whose income had heretofore depended on the University students. The number of students decreased during the War. Mrs. John Kimberly, whose husband was on the faculty, mentioned the great numbers of refugees who were living

¹² Mrs. P. C. Calder to William Calder, May 23, 1862, Calder Papers.

¹³ Mrs. P. C. Calder to Robert Calder, February 16, 27, March 30, April 24, 29, and May 14, 1863, Calder Papers.

¹⁴ William Dorsey Pender to Mrs. Pender, July 28, 1862, William Dorsey Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

in the community as she tried to convince her mother and married sister, refugees from Nashville, that they should make their wartime home in Chapel Hill. It was her opinion that the village was "the safest place in the Confederate States," and one of the greatest attractions it had to offer was the comparative abundance and cheapness of provisions. Her mother and sister were in Atlanta at the time and both complained of the high cost of living there. Whenever they quoted Atlanta prices, Mrs. Kimberly answered by citing the lower costs of the same commodities in Chapel Hill, and when steak was seventy-five cents a pound in Atlanta, it could be bought for ten cents in Chapel Hill. Fruit, eggs, chickens, and other produce could be had for a fraction of the price her sister was paying, but Mrs. Kimberly explained that the Chapel Hillians were so poor that if they had to pay as much as the Atlantans, "nothing hardly would be bought here."¹⁵ Although her mother and sister came for a brief visit they did not remain, but the arguments offered by Mrs. Kimberly in an effort to convince them were those which were usually irresistible to most refugees.

Greensboro was a popular refugee center throughout the War, but the first great influx of out-of-state people came during the spring and summer of 1862. At this time many of the newcomers were the families of prominent Confederate officials who sought a temporary home until they could return to the Confederate Capital. Among those who were in Greensboro at this time were Mrs. Josiah Gorgas and five of her six children, the oldest being with friends in South Carolina. They left Richmond in May and returned in the fall, but during the intervening period they lived in the college in Greensboro. When Gorgas visited his family there in July he reported that forty or fifty other refugees had rooms in the same institution and he thought his brood very comfortably situated in "the Methodist College." He was charmed with Greensboro, with its citizens and he reported that he found the "North Carolina air very salubrious," but "Mama," as he called Mrs. Gorgas, was not as enchanted with the arrangement as was her husband. This was not so much the fault of Greensboro, however, as that she was never happy away from Gorgas and she was eagerly anticipating the day when she could return to Richmond "not to leave again . . . until the capital is moved . . . farther south," as her husband thought it eventually would be.¹⁶

¹⁵ Mrs. John Kimberly to Mrs. John Schon, November 18, 1861, June 8, 1862, John Kimberly Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

¹⁶ Josiah Gorgas Journal, June 22, July 27, September 7, 1862, Southern Historical Collection.

At the same time that Mrs. Gorgas was in Greensboro there were a great many other evacuees from Richmond in town, among them Louise and Frances Wigfall, the teenaged daughters of Confederate Senator Louis Trezevant Wigfall of Texas. The inimitable Louise was the older of the two, fifteen at the time, and her comments were typical of those one might expect from a girl her age. She wrote her mother regularly and her letters did anything but put Mrs. Wigfall's mind at ease about her unpredictable daughter. In Louise's first letter she told Mrs. Wigfall what she undoubtedly already knew, "The College in town is a *Female* not a *Male College*," and the young lady made it quite clear that she was disgusted with this situation, for she was very interested in young men and she judged Greensboro, as she would her later places of refuge, by the number of eligible men in the community. This discovery prejudiced her against the city and her first impression was decidedly unfavorable. She wrote her mother, "I am convinced that a *great many* people in North Carolina are traitors, they not only refuse in this one horse town to take Virginia notes, but *Confederate* notes. . . . I have always thought North Carolina was not good for much, and I am more convinced of it now than ever. . . ." Her reaction to the citizens' manners and clothing was also that of disgust as she reported to her mother that the first Sunday they were in Greensboro she and Frances had worn their "best store clothes" to church and had "made quite a sensation among the natives." The congregation gave no indication of ever having seen shoes like those worn by the girls, and Louise thought this understandable since "shoes are not to be had in the classic precincts of Greensboro." Another very real complaint she had against the community was the dearth of young men and although she had been there a week when she wrote, she reported that she had not found a single boy who interested her. She made it clear that she had not given up hope, and by the time she wrote Mrs. Wigfall a week later the situation looked considerably brighter. Suddenly, within seven days, Greensboro had become "quite a sociable little place," and the reason for this changed opinion was that during the period between letters she had received ten callers "3 of whom were young gentlemen, one a Lieutenant, the other a Major and the third a Lt. Colonel." Not only had she found eligible men but she was moving up in rank, and this was a source of great satisfaction to her, but the future held even greater promise now that the Ordnance Department had come to town.¹⁷

¹⁷ Louise Wigfall to Mrs. Louis Trezevant Wigfall, May 6, 12, 19, 1862, Louis Trezevant Wigfall Papers (microfilm copy), Eugene C. Barker Collection, University of Texas, Austin, hereinafter cited as Wigfall Papers.

When Mrs. Wigfall received these communications from her daughter she responded, "I do wish very much your head was not quite so full of beaux & your own personal appearance. I was in hopes that getting you out of Richmond would have abated that nuisance." She reminded Louise that she had been sent to Greensboro with the understanding that she would continue her studies and as yet Mrs. Wigfall had heard nothing to the effect that she was doing so. "I can't bear to have you grow up a vain, uncultivated girl," she wrote, and she urged her daughter to study French, read and "not idle away the summer."¹⁸ Upon the receipt of this letter Louise hastened to assure her mother that she was taking French lessons from an instructor at the college, that she was spending a part of each day reading, and she added, "I have quite enough to employ my time on these hot days."¹⁹ From this exchange until her return to Richmond in the fall Louise wrote at length of her intellectual pursuits and de-emphasized those of a social nature, but there was sufficient mention of gaiety, frivolity, and young men to give Mrs. Wigfall cause for concern, and she determined to bring her daughters back to Richmond just as soon as she could.

The refugees from Virginia were not the only ones in Greensboro in May, 1862, as a North Carolina editor indicated when he told of a number of families from Charleston being scattered through the central portions of the State, some as far away from South Carolina as Greensboro. They had been urged to leave their homes by the military authorities, but the majority were just what the editor said they were, "temporary" residents,²⁰ for many of those who left Charleston at this time returned to their homes as soon as the immediate threat to the city had passed. This they had also done in the late fall of 1861 and this they would do later, for the Charlestonians were more reluctant to leave and more determined to return to their homes than were many other southern civilians, and the military authorities in Charleston failed dismally at trying to settle them elsewhere for the duration of the War. Greensboro was host to hundreds of South Carolinians in the last months of the War and most of these traveled by train into the city. During this same period it was absorbing additional numbers of Virginians who were fleeing from the forces of Grant and Sheridan. Although many of the refugees came in waves to Greensboro, the city was a major point of concentration for displaced people throughout the War.

¹⁸ Mrs. Wigfall to Louise Wigfall, May 20, 1862, Wigfall Papers.

¹⁹ Louise Wigfall to Mrs. Wigfall, June 2, 1862, Wigfall Papers.

²⁰ *The Wilmington Journal*, May 29, 1862.

Among those who paused in Greensboro⁴ during the last month of the conflict was J. G. M. Ramsey, president of the Knoxville branch of the Bank of Tennessee which was also a Confederate Depository. Ramsey had spent most of the War years moving the Bank's assets to safer areas and for most of the period he had maintained headquarters in Atlanta, but when that city was endangered he moved to Augusta. When he feared a Federal attack there he fled to Charlotte with his "Bank on Wheels," as he referred to the peripatetic institution. He had no sooner established himself in Charlotte than rumors were circulated that Sherman was headed in that direction, and taking his cue from the local bankers who were leaving the city, he boarded the northbound train for Greensboro. As soon as he arrived he began his search for two things, a vault in which he might deposit his valuables and a room in which he might deposit himself. The vault he found but the room he did not, for Greensboro was "filled with refugees from everywhere," and just as he was about to despair of locating accommodations for himself he met an old friend who suggested that he share his bed. Ramsey's stay in Greensboro was destined to be brief, for he had been there only a few hours when the citizens became panic-stricken at the rumors that Stoneman would soon be in town. The banker hastily gathered his valuables and retreated in the direction of Charlotte. The first night found him in Salisbury, and it was with a sense of relief that he arrived in the town, for he felt sure that he would be able to obtain a comfortable room in the Mansion House. But he soon discovered that not only were all rooms taken at the hotel but "every public and private house . . . was full of people driven in" either by the enemy or the rain. After canvassing the town for possible shelter, he returned to the Mansion House where he spent the night curled up between the "feet of a small table" in the lobby. He later recalled that the "entire floor of the room was covered with men—some snoring—some drunk—some sober," nor could he forget that he "slept little and rested none" that night. When morning came he was as weary as he had been when he crawled under the table the night before and he was so sore and stiff from lying on the floor that he concluded "the planks of Rowan County were sawed out of very hard wood."²¹

Raleigh was also another of the State's refugee centers and while many of those living in the city were natives from the coastal areas, others were temporary residents who drifted into town from threat-

²¹ J. G. M. Ramsey, *Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes*, James Gettys McGready Ramsey Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Ramsey, *Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes*.

ened areas and drifted out again when the danger to their homes had passed. The Peninsular Campaign was responsible for many Virginians coming to Raleigh and in this group was the most prominent refugee North Carolina received during the War, Mrs. Jefferson Davis, whose husband compelled her to leave Richmond despite her protests. According to her good friend, Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., Mrs. Davis was "delightfully situated" in Raleigh where she received a gracious reception from the citizens who were "so loyal, and so hospitable" that she did not have to "eat a meal at the hotel."²² When Mrs. Davis was in the city in May, 1862, Raleigh was crowded but comparatively calm; only two months before, however, the residents had been in a turmoil as many expected the Federals to march into the heart of the State after taking New Bern. In March a young refugee who had returned to her parents' home in Raleigh wrote her brother-in-law that many families were then packing to leave the city and the possibility of an immediate attack was "the sole topic of conversation."²³ On the same day in March that she wrote this letter Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson of Alabama, en route to camp in Virginia, reported that Raleigh was crowded with refugees from both New Bern and Richmond.²⁴ By the time Mrs. Davis arrived the fear of attack had abated but Raleigh had absorbed additional numbers of the homeless as Lieutenant Benbury noted when he wrote his wife about the congestion. Benbury could not understand why these people insisted on crowding into cities where provisions were scarce and all necessities were more expensive than in rural areas or smaller communities. He told of a friend of his who was in Raleigh at the time but who was making plans to move into the country, for she was not in a financial position to pay seventy-five dollars a month board for herself and half that amount for her baby, whom the Lieutenant said was "a little thing to pay board."²⁵

Charlotte was always fascinating to refugees, first those from the coast and at various times those from both Virginia and South Carolina. In September, 1861, the city was already making room for the homeless, and on the tenth of the month the *Western Democrat* noted that a number of people were there from the eastern part of the State.

²² Ben Ames Williams (ed.), *A Diary from Dixie*, by Mary Boykin Chesnut (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company [1949]), 229, hereinafter cited as Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*.

²³ Mrs. George L'Engle to Edward L. L'Engle, March 18, 1862, Edward L. L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

²⁴ Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson to Elodie Todd, March 18, 1862, Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

²⁵ John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, May 7, 1862, Benbury-Haywood Papers.

The following summer a correspondent for the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* wrote, "Charlotte is filled with refugees," and he concluded that one of the greatest attractions in the city was the rapidly developing industry which offered employment to many displaced people. He also noted that many Virginians were in town and he mentioned that in the group was Mrs. "Stonewall" Jackson who was visiting in the home of her sister, Mrs. D. H. Hill, and it was here that the Jackson's only child was born.²⁶ A great many private homes in Charlotte were opened but even those who commercialized on their temporary boarders were not always kindly disposed toward them. One man who catered to the displaced people wrote that there were forty-three women living in his home and space was reserved for nine more who were expected to arrive shortly, and even as he derived an income from the lodgers he commented that the house was "crowded with the ugliest set of girls" he had ever seen.²⁷ The chances are, however, that he did not voice this opinion in the presence of his patrons.

It was in February, 1865, that Charlotte was called on to endure its greatest invasion of refugees as thousands flocked into the city from South Carolina. One of these was Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, who by this time was an authority on refugeeing, for she had managed to stay with her husband through most of his campaigns and she had been uprooted in Dalton, Atlanta, and Macon. But never had she been in the middle of such congestion as she was when she rode the train from Columbia to Charlotte. However, on most of her previous flights she had not been required to use public conveyances for she was always assigned government vehicles, but the train that brought her to Charlotte was crowded with humanity, the like of which she had never seen. She wrote friends that three hundred of the women who were dumped in Charlotte could not find shelter of any kind and the situation was "lamentable: women hunting in every direction for shelter—and people . . . beginning to move off. . . ." ²⁸ Many of the residents would have confirmed Mrs. Johnston's statement that there were hundreds who arrived without reservations and who went from house to house begging to be taken in and fed. One woman grew weary of hearing her doorbell ring day and night, and although she might have accommodated some, she refused because provisions were "not to be had" and prices were "going up every day." While this was

²⁶ *Western Democrat* (Charlotte), September 10, 1861; *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), July 14, 1862.

²⁷ D. S. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, October 6, 1863, Burwell Papers.

²⁸ Mrs. D. Giraud Wright (Louise), *A Southern Girl in '61: The War-Time Memories of A Confederate Senator's Daughter* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1905), 229.

probably a major consideration there was also another—she was not very fond of South Carolinians and she was disgusted with them for abandoning their homes when danger threatened for the first time. As she wrote her son, those who “first made all the fuss are now the *swiftest* on foot.”²⁹ Many of the refugees who had planned to remain in Charlotte until they could return to their homes could not get accommodations there and either had to move on to other communities or return home to face the Federals. Before the city had completely recovered from this onslaught the families of high-ranking Confederate officials drifted into town, among these Mrs. Jefferson Davis. This group was spearheading the cavalcade of notables which would begin leaving Richmond after the adjournment of Congress on March 25 and would be climaxed by the flight of President Davis and his party on April 2.

Communities to the west of Charlotte absorbed hundreds of those displaced by Sherman during the last weeks of the War. Some of these had been moving about for nearly four years, having moved by stages into South Carolina only to be uprooted again, but for others, who were natives of that State, this was their first experience. They converged on Flat Rock, Asheville, Morganton, Lenoir, Shelby, and other towns, but it was to Lincolnton that a great many went, among these Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., and various members of the Middleton, Rutledge, Preston, and Ravenel families. Mrs. Chesnut referred to Lincolnton as an “out-of-all-routes place” but she admitted that it was nevertheless “in the regular line of strategic retreat” from Sherman. Mrs. Chesnut was like most other refugees in that she was not happy in her role nor was she at first enthusiastic about her place of refuge or the people whom she met for the first time. However, she and her South Carolina friends did not socialize with the residents, thus erecting a barrier between themselves and the natives. When Mrs. Chesnut arrived in Lincolnton she was dejected as she moaned, “Here in Lincolnton I am broken-hearted, an exile,” but this was the first and last experience of this kind she was to have. Her room in the local hotel was not satisfactory and she complained especially about the bare floors, featherbed, pine table, and the price, which was thirty dollars a day. She thought the owner boorish and she was irritated by him as he no doubt was by her, but Mrs. Chesnut was more fortunate than some in that she very soon moved into more comfortable quarters. Her landlady suited her taste for she was related to Mrs. “Stonewall” Jackson, Mrs. D. H. Hill,

²⁹ Mrs. R. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, February 16, 1865, Burwell Papers.

"the Brevards, Hugers," and other prominent families, and after settling herself here the future looked a bit brighter. Also in town was one of her dearest friends, the jolly, amusing, unpredictable Isabella Martin from Columbia, and the two became almost inseparable during their weeks as refugees. It was in Lincolnton that Isabella Martin saw for the first time Mrs. Chesnut's diary, and it was Miss Martin who convinced her that she should not destroy it. Later the diary was bequeathed to her and she was its first editor.

The primary reason for General Chesnut's sending his wife to Lincolnton was the abundance of provisions in the area, and while there was food aplenty the refugees had difficulty obtaining supplies because very few farmers or merchants would accept Confederate money in exchange. Mrs. Chesnut was unprepared for this situation and she soon found that if she were to get provisions she would have to use her clothing in payment, for the farmers were anxious to barter for any item of wearing apparel, so she concluded that in Lincolnton she ate her clothes. At no time during the War had she been required to struggle for food and this was a new experience for her. She was critical of the plain diet, bored with the quietness of Lincolnton, and unhappy with the rainy weather, but she thought it fortunate that during the weeks spent there it was also the Lenten season, so she could spend her time fasting and praying like a "drowned rat." Whether it was because she changed her first opinion of the community or because she was happy to be going home, Mrs. Chesnut left Lincolnton with a kindly feeling toward the place. She was especially fond of her landlady, and well she might have been for the woman charged her no rent, so the refugee departed believing that North Carolinians had "great depths of hospitality and kindness."³⁰

An unidentified refugee who left Columbia about the same time as Mrs. Chesnut tried to get accommodations in several communities before he also came to Lincolnton. However, his stay in the village was brief, and although he thought it a pleasant enough place despite its being overcrowded, he had two complaints against it. He had never seen any town as filled with extortioners who made it impossible for him to remain there for any length of time, and he had a very real aversion to the name of the community, for being an ardent Confederate he was uncomfortable in Lincolnton.³¹

While many of the eleventh-hour refugees flocked to Lincolnton because they believed it safe and well provisioned and also because the railroad connected the town with Charlotte, Bishop Henry C. Lay

³⁰ Chestnut, *Diary From Dixie*, 478-507.

³¹ *Columbia Phoenix* (South Carolina), April 8, 1865.

had already decided on the town as a place of sanctuary for his family before the South Carolinians arrived en masse. His wife and children had been homeless since the first year of the War, having left their home in Fort Smith, Arkansas, going first to the home of friends in Huntsville, Alabama, and later to Virginia. Bishop Lay had traveled about the Confederacy, preaching in various places and in the fall of 1864 he had been within the Federal lines in Alabama. However in January, 1865, he was shopping around western North Carolina in search of a temporary home to which he could bring his family, and after visiting several communities he narrowed his decision down to either Shelby or Lincolnton. He decided against Shelby because there was only one four-room house for rent in the town, and while it was situated on three acres of good land, there was not a shade tree near it, the rent was \$1,500 a year, and the owner "was not easy to deal with." He wrote Mrs. Lay that he finally decided against moving here because he thought she would not find "anyone with whom . . . [she] would be likely to have pleasant association." Proceeding to Lincolnton he was immediately enchanted by the village. Here he found a house which the owner would rent reasonably, and while it did not have a garden plot which he very much wanted, there was a man who offered to let him use some of his land nearby. But the people in the community won his heart when one offered to buy him provisions more cheaply than a refugee could purchase them, another promised to get him yarn and have sheets woven, and several residents suggested that they be permitted to furnish the home. Enthusiastic over the prospects of living in such a friendly community, he wrote Mrs. Lay that he was sure that she would be very happy here for the people were so much like her friends in Arkansas. In telling her of his experiences he commented, "I don't know that I have ever applied myself with greater diligence to anything than to this matter of hunting up a home—may merciful Providence guide us aright."³²

The towns in western North Carolina were especially appealing to those out-of-state refugees who were displaced early in the War and who settled with the idea of remaining in their hideaways until the end of the conflict. Some of these people came great distances to the mountains in the belief that this area offered greater safety than any other in the Confederacy, and many communities had an appreciable number of refugees throughout the War. Lenoir was so crowded with homeless people by February, 1864, that the wife of a Confederate colonel could find no place to board in the town, and she reported

³² Henry C. Lay to Mrs. Lay, January 30, 31, 1865, Henry Champlin Lay Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

that such had been the case all the way from Augusta, Georgia, to Lenoir. A friend to whom she appealed in the latter community wanted to accommodate her, but his home was already filled with these temporary visitors; however, he wrote a cousin and asked her if she could possibly take the lady into her home. She was anxious to get herself settled somewhere and stay there for the remainder of the War.³³

Those who went to the mountains were among the most enthusiastic of the out-of-state refugees, and none was more so than those who made their wartime home in Asheville. Although there were many Unionists in the town and surrounding areas, even the most ardent Confederates felt at home there when they found the citizens exceptionally hospitable and kind. One displaced person wrote, "You have heard of mountain *hospitality*, . . . but 'the half has not been told.' These mountaineers' hospitality seems inexhaustible. . . . The accursed greed for gain . . . sweeping over the land . . . has not prevailed here. They still have an open house and a welcome hand for the exiled refugee."³⁴ This tribute to the people of Asheville was especially meaningful for it was written only four months before the end of the War, and by this time most communities looked upon the refugees as nuisances and a great many individuals thought of them as enemies. Yet in Asheville the homeless were still finding a welcome.

Asheville had no greater boosters among the displaced people than the family of the Confederacy's "Fighting Bishop," General Leonidas Polk. Mrs. Polk and her unmarried daughters fled first from Nashville just after the fall of Fort Donelson and went to New Orleans where they had many friends, but soon after they arrived that city fell to the Federals. Mrs. Polk was not happy to have the battlelines separating her from her husband and she applied for a pass to go into the Confederacy. This was granted and she went to Richmond to confer with General Polk about a possible place of refuge where she could live for the duration of the War, and he suggested that she go to Asheville which he assured her was "a safe, retired place." Mrs. Polk and her daughters followed his advice and rented a ten-room house situated on a large lot which afforded them a garden plot, and included in the property were an orchard and a cow. Mrs. Polk was especially pleased that seven of the rooms were carpeted, for one of the universal complaints of refugees was the lack of floor coverings in most rented houses, and bare floors increased the problems of

³³ E. R. Harpin to Carolina Patterson, February 23, 1863, Lindsay Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

³⁴ *Southern Presbyterian* (Columbia, South Carolina), January 12, 1865.

adequately heating the establishments. Mrs. Polk had reason to be pleased that her home had carpets, for the winters in Asheville were much colder than those to which she had been accustomed in Louisiana before the War. When the Polks' oldest daughter Kate, whose husband was William Gale of Mississippi and Tennessee, was driven first from their plantation home on the Yazoo River and later from Jackson, Mrs. Polk urged that she and the children join her in Asheville, assuring Mrs. Gale the house was large enough to accommodate all.³⁵ Kate Gale was delighted to accept her mother's invitation, and she arrived with her children in late 1863.

Not long after the second family was added to the household Mrs. Polk's son Hamilton and his family joined the others in Asheville. He had been wounded while fighting in Louisiana and he had no other place to take his wife and children, but the Polks and Gales were an exceptionally close-knit family and, as crowded as they were, they maintained more harmonious relations with each other than was the case in many congested transitory households. Soon after Hamilton's arrival, however, the family began its search for more spacious quarters, but large homes were hard to find and those which were available carried prohibitive rents. One of Mrs. Polk's newly acquired friends, however, offered to share her nineteen-room home with them, rent free, in order to have others in the house for company and protection. The Polks were unwilling to accept the invitation on these terms but the parties reached an agreement when Hamilton insisted that he pay the lady's taxes in return for their sharing the home. This settled, the family moved into the large house and here they lived until the end of the War. This was only one of the many acts of generosity bestowed upon the refugees by the Asheville citizens. Writing years after the War, Kate Gale remembered how very kind and sympathetic the neighbors had been when her father was killed and how thoughtful they were when her younger sister married William Huger in the spring of 1864. They helped to make the wedding a memorable event as they contributed items of apparel to the bride's trousseau, food for the wedding reception, and carriages to be used to take the family to the church. Some of the most generous friends they had in the mountains were those of Unionist views who accepted the Confederates without thought of their political differences. Mrs. Gale remembered one man who was an avowed Unionist who worried about the refugees being vulnerable to attack from others of his group, and once when a raid was rumored as imminent he insisted on

³⁵ Mrs. Leonidas Polk to Kate Polk Gale, December 17, 1863, Gale-Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Gale-Polk Papers.

taking the family's stock of provisions to his own farm near town where other Unionists would be less likely to steal or destroy them.

Mrs. Polk and her household were in some ways more fortunate than the average refugee, but the family came to know the meaning of privations, as did most southerners. The problem of clothing was a major one, for it was a struggle for the family to keep warm in the winter, and the women spent many hours patching, sewing, and converting all kinds of materials into clothing. Mrs. Gale recalled that a garment worn by one of the children had been patched a hundred times, and she remembered that during the last winter of the War her sons had to go "barefooted for *three weeks*" in midwinter because no shoes were to be had. There were times when it was difficult to feed the group and many days they had only milk and corn bread, but during the summer and early fall they were able to get vegetables and fruit from their garden and orchard. They also knew fear, for while they counted a number of Unionists among their friends there were others who would delight in causing trouble for the family of a Confederate general, and Hamilton Polk was especially vulnerable, having served in the Confederate Army. Yet despite their fears and their hardships, they hated to say good-bye to their friends when the time came for them to go home after the War. Mrs. Gale wrote, "The whole community had extended to us individually & collectively the greatest kindnesses & sympathy. It was impossible to break from it all without real sadness and genuine regret." The only situation in Asheville which did not meet with her approval was the poor mail service, and once in 1864 she went for two months without hearing from her husband who was in the army. Yet it was not the fault of Asheville that letters arrived so irregularly, for the city averaged three incoming mails a week and this was far better service than many communities had.³⁶

Most displaced people naturally looked forward to the day when they could return to their homes and many from the adjoining States did not wait for the return of peace to start their journey back. Some who were nestled away in isolated areas had difficulty in leaving their safe harbors. The transportation system was disrupted, vehicles and animals were scarce and those having them were often reluctant to take them out on the roads of the State in the turbulent weeks following the War. Some refugees had no home to which they could go if it had been destroyed or confiscated as abandoned property, and women were very reluctant to make the trip without male escort, for lawless bands roamed at will in many sections. One young woman,

³⁶ Katherine Polk Gale, "My Recollections of Life in the Southern Confederacy (1861-65)" (manuscript), Gale-Polk Papers.



Displaced persons near New Bern during the Civil War. From *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863.

who had been sent to a point in North Carolina which she located as being forty miles from Greensboro and forty miles from Raleigh, had to wait four months before she could get a ride to Greensboro from which point she could take the train south. Her home was in Columbia, yet even when she boarded the train in Greensboro she knew she would be unable to travel in this way all the way to Columbia, for the tracks were torn up near Newberry, from which town she would have to take a stagecoach to her home. But the months between Lee's surrender and the start of her journey to Columbia were the worst she had known; and many refugees felt as she did, that although life was hard in many ways, as long as the War was being fought the displaced people could at least hope for victory, but when the War was lost everything seemed dark and hopeless.³⁷

One prominent man, who bowed in and out of North Carolina several times during the War, joined his family in Mecklenburg County where they rented a farm in 1865. J. G. M. Ramsey had no home to which he could go nor did he have funds for his return to East Tennessee. When the War ended his wealth consisted of seven-

³⁷ Mrs. Clara Dargan MacLean, "Return of a Refugee," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XIII (1885), 502-515.

teen dollars in silver and Mrs. Ramsey had twenty-five dollars in gold; he was sixty-eight and she was sixty-four. The future seemed to hold little for them but they made the best of their situation as did so many others in similar circumstances. To their rented home near Charlotte came homeless friends who, for one reason or another, could not get back to theirs, and among these were several families from New Orleans. Despite the Ramseys' poverty they always managed to welcome others, and so many stayed varying lengths of time with them that Ramsey named their home, "Exile's Retreat."³⁸

The course of the War saved a great many North Carolinians from having to make the choice of whether or not to become refugees, and many factors combined to keep the State from being as congested with displaced people as were some parts of the South. Yet there were hundreds who came into North Carolina for brief periods and there were others who came with the idea of remaining until the War's end. Other States might boast greater numbers of refugees, but few had more distinguished ones than did North Carolina. While both the Virginians and the South Carolinians preferred to remain within their own States for as long as they could do so, the combination of McClellan, Sherman, Grant, Sheridan, and desperation made them grateful for a refuge even in "the Valley of Humility."

³⁸ Ramsey, Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes, Ramsey Papers.

NORTH CAROLINA'S REACTION TO THE CURRENCY ACT OF 1764

BY ROBERT M. WEIR*

Great Britain's continental colonies suffered from a chronic shortage of specie in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result most colonial legislatures resorted to temporary issues of various types of paper money to provide a sufficient medium to carry on internal trade. Before the middle of the eighteenth century these issues were usually legal tender, but increasing opposition after 1720 from the British merchant community, which feared injury from depreciated colonial currency, culminated in Parliament's passage of two important statutes in 1751 and 1764. The 1751 measure prohibited issues of further legal tender paper in New England, and the Currency Act of 1764 extended the prohibition to all the continental colonies. The 1764 Act stipulated that no existing legal tender issue continue in circulation after the date originally specified for its retirement and threatened governors who violated the law with a £1,000 fine, loss of position, and permanent exclusion from crown office.¹

Although opinion has been divided on the degree to which these laws actually affected the colonial economy,² the 1764 Act is often cited in the list of those British restrictions which marked the road to revolution following 1763. Speaking before Parliament in 1766, Benjamin Franklin mentioned "the prohibition of making paper money among themselves" as one cause of the recent decline in colonial respect toward Parliament,³ and the First Continental Congress in-

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¹ 24 Geo. II, c. 53, Danby Pickering (ed.), *Statutes at Large from Magna Charta (1225 to 1868/69)* (Cambridge and London, England: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1762-1869, 109 volumes [Title changes to *The Statutes of the United Kingdom* and volumes are not numbered after volume XLVI]), XX, 306, hereinafter cited as Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, with proper citation; March 9, 1764, James Munro and W. L. Grant (eds.) *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* (Hereford, England: His Majesty's Stationery Office [continuing number of volumes, I—], 1908—), IV (1745-1766), 623, hereinafter cited as *Acts of the Privy Council*; 4 Geo. III, c. 34, Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, XXVI, 103-105.

² E. James Ferguson, "Currency Finance: An Interpretation of Colonial Monetary Practice," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, X (April, 1953), 153-180.

³ Testimony before the House of Commons February 3, 1766. John Bigelow (ed.), *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 10 volumes, 1887), III, 418.

cluded the Currency Act among those measures it considered "subversive of American rights."⁴ Nowhere was the Act a more important and continuing issue than in North Carolina. Yet no one has attempted to spell out the relationship between the Currency Act and the revolutionary movement in North Carolina.

North Carolina's pre-1764 experience with paper money foreshadowed later developments. Crown attempts to restrict colonial paper money by instructions to the governor led to colonial evasions. Aided by military necessity and a casual attitude toward colonial administration in London, the colonists were fairly successful in their attempts to augment the currency supply. Indeed, the North Carolina situation was one of the prime considerations in the imperial decision to extend the restrictions on New England to the other continental colonies.

Imperial officials had long been skeptical of colonial paper money. They had instructed George Burrington, North Carolina's first Royal Governor, to approve only those acts emitting bills of credit which contained a suspending clause⁵—an instruction regularly issued to all royal governors after 1720. Following the North Carolina paper money issues of 1748 and 1754, British merchants complained bitterly that they were being unfairly compelled to accept colonial currency at the legal tender rate of £133/6/8 to £100 sterling when actually £133/6/8 in North Carolina paper was worth only £70 sterling.⁶ As a result, in 1759 imperial officials approved an instruction to Governor Arthur Dobbs calling for an amendment to the 1748 and 1754 laws to provide that debts to British subjects should be payable in colonial bills of credit at their actual market value and then only if the creditor were willing to accept them. Furthermore, the instruction forbade Dobbs to assent to any future act which did not contain a clause to that effect and stipulated that paper bills should not be legal tender for quitrents or any other crown dues.⁷

⁴ October 14, 1774, W. C. Ford and Others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1787* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), I, 71.

⁵ "Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbeloved George Burrington. . .," December 14, 1730, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), III, 95, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁶ Laws of North Carolina—1748, and Laws of North Carolina—1754, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *The Colonial Records* and *The State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 292-296, 392-398, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*; May 31, 1759, *Acts of the Privy Council*, IV, 415.

⁷ Instructions to Arthur Dobbs, May 31, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 43-45.

In December, 1759, Dobbs informed the legislature of the new instruction. The House not only failed to amend the issuing acts of 1748 and 1754 but also flatly refused Dobbs' request for a military appropriation which, it contended, would require emission of more currency. A new issue under such conditions, the House argued, "must depreciate the present Paper Currency and prove a means of destroying the Credit of the Country."⁸ Dobbs agreed that an increase in currency was necessary not only because there was no other way to raise money for the French and Indian War, but also because specie was so scarce that he feared that sheriffs might have to levy executions upon the taxpayers' property in order to collect quitrents or public taxes. At a forced sale the few having specie might exploit those without it. Such a development, Dobbs warned the Board of Trade, might "raise a flame" which would prevent the government from enforcing the law. To relieve the situation and secure the military appropriation he resolved by the next spring to violate his instruction and permit issuance of some paper money.⁹

But Dobbs' plan was frustrated by a disagreement with the Lower House. At this point the Lower House saw the opportunity to increase the supply of provincial currency by appropriating and printing more than Dobbs thought necessary to meet the situation. In May, 1760, he vetoed the bill, charging that "the whole scheme [was] calculated to have £12,000 Currency issued without a sinking fund and made a tender in all payments. . . ." ¹⁰ After proroguing the legislature until September, Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade that the House scheme was simply a plan of a "Junto," composed chiefly of the Speaker Samuel Swann; the two Treasurers, John Starkey and Thomas Barker; North Carolina's London agent, J. Abercrombie; and Attorney General Robert Jones. This group, wrote Dobbs, intended to issue paper money, and as that money depreciated use North Carolina's share of the £50,000 in specie, granted by Parliament to Virginia and the two Carolinas for military operations in 1757 and 1758,¹¹ to buy up colonial paper at its market value, exchanging the depreciated paper at the colonial treasury for specie at the legal rate. This operation, Dobbs charged, would result in a considerable profit for the "Junto." To complete their nefarious scheme, he continued, they would petition again for more paper money. In all probability these

⁸ House Journals, December 8, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 149-151.

⁹ Arthur Dobbs to Board of Trade, January 19, 1760, and Dobbs to William Pitt, April 12, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 218, 234.

¹⁰ House Journals, May 27, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 426.

¹¹ Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945), 195, hereinafter cited as Lonn, *Colonial Agents*.

accusations were only a diversionary tactic; Dobbs included them in a letter to the Board of Trade replying to a series of House resolves charging him with maladministration. Apparently, the Board did not take Dobbs' accusations too seriously; at least it was unwilling to approve an alternative plan which he suggested.¹² Nevertheless Dobbs' report could not have been conducive to a more lenient imperial attitude toward North Carolina's paper money demands.

Eventually, Dobbs was forced to approve the emission of the additional currency on the House's terms. Requests for troops by both Pitt and Amherst in 1760 preceded a call from Governor Fauquier of Virginia for assistance against the Cherokees in the spring of 1761.¹³ Upon the advice of his Council, Dobbs assented to an emission of £12,000 in 1760 and £20,000 in 1761, both of which were legal tender.¹⁴ The refusal of the North Carolina legislature to comply with the instructions, however, only served to increase the determination of imperial authorities to take a stricter tone in currency matters.¹⁵ Three years later Parliament, freed from the constraints of military necessity, enacted the stringent penalties of the Currency Act to prevent any such acquiescence to colonial demands for legal tender paper money.

The Currency Act did not evoke any immediate response from North Carolina officials, but the next four years saw a succession of attempts by the Lower House to obtain relief from its restrictions. Despite the strong support of Governor William Tryon and a fair prospect for success in late 1766 and early 1767, all of these efforts came to naught.

Except for an unsuccessful protest when Couchet Jouvencal, agent for North Carolina's Lower House, with representatives of five other colonies called upon the Board of Trade to protest the proposed act,¹⁶ the first official North Carolina reaction to the Currency Act did not

¹² Dobbs to Board of Trade, August 3, 1760, and Board of Trade to Dobbs, June 10, 1762, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 305, 725. Dobbs had recommended that the Parliamentary grant remain in London as credit upon which the colony might draw. The Junto had hoped to have the specie shipped to the colony. See also Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, x-xii.

¹³ Upper House Journals, April 24, 1760, and House Journals, April 15, 1761, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 346, 687.

¹⁴ House Journals, April 23, 1761, and "Report of John Starkey, Treasurer," House Journals, November 24, 1764, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 695, 1,309; Laws of North Carolina, 1760, and Laws of North Carolina, 1761, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 516-518, 539-542.

¹⁵ Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, Volume II, *The Southern Plantations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Company, 9 volumes, 1936—), II, 65.

¹⁶ Lonn, *Colonial Agents*, 394; February 7, 1764, *Journals of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations: January, 1764, to December, 1767* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936), 18, hereinafter cited as *Journals of the Commissioners* with proper dates.

occur until nearly two years after its announcement in the Council at Wilmington, November 2, 1764.¹⁷ Wartime currency issues probably provided sufficient temporary relief, and the legislature which met in May, 1765, made no attempt to issue additional paper. However in November, 1766, a petition from Pasquotank County "setting forth the many great hardships the said inhabitants . . . of this Province endure, for want of Paper, and other currency," prompted the Lower House to appoint a committee to draft a petition to the king asking repeal of the Currency Act. But the House discharged the committee before it had completed the petition,¹⁸ apparently because Governor Tryon had offered to intercede with English authorities in the matter. Shortly thereafter he wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, that North Carolina had less than £70,000 paper money circulating and that local merchants thought £200,000 "barely sufficient for the circulating medium . . . under the present increasing state of [the colony's] commerce."¹⁹

This action revealed that Tryon was both an astute politician and an advocate of paper money. His inaction was equally revealing. Having received a copy of the 1759 instruction in regard to the currency emissions of 1748 and 1754 in one of his first letters from the Board of Trade,²⁰ Tryon was confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, he might have attempted to follow his instruction and, by pressing for an amendment which his predecessor had already been unsuccessful in obtaining, risk conflict with the Lower House at the beginning of his administration. On the other hand, to conciliate the House he could have chosen to ignore his instruction. Tryon chose the latter course, some time later explaining to the Board of Trade that the amendment was no longer necessary. When the instruction had originally been issued, the courts awarded judgments in colonial paper money at its nominal value. Since then, however, Tryon reported, the Superior Court had reversed this procedure and now the courts considered currency depreciation in determining the amount of an award. Consequently, he contended, British merchants could have no further reason to complain.²¹

By the summer of 1767 it was apparent that the currency shortage had caused considerable distress. In June the Reverend Alexander

¹⁷ Upper House Journals, November 2, 1764, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1,080.

¹⁸ House Journals, November 20, 22, 27, 1766, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 386, 393-394, 408.

¹⁹ Governor William Tryon to the Earl of Shelburne, January 31, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 433.

²⁰ Board of Trade to Tryon, November 29, 1765, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 132.

²¹ Tryon to Board of Trade, July 15, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 511.

Stewart of Beaufort County wrote that "so great is the distress of the people for want of a currency, that Mobs and Riots are frequent, and in many places where there are Officers they dare not distrain for any Dues whatever."²² When the legislature met the next winter, it immediately indicated concern over the situation. Predicting ruin for the colony "from the great want of a sufficient quantity of circulating currency to serve as a medium in Trade," the House asked that "every laudable measure be made use of by us to avert or delay the impending mischiefs, which from the still greater scarcity of a currency must consequently ensue." Both houses then appointed a committee to draw up a petition to the crown for permission to issue £100,000 in paper money to circulate for sixteen years. Pointing out that the paper then in circulation was due to be retired within the year, they contended that great "distresses of the poor inhabitants" would result if more were not issued to replace it. The petition also promised that the proposed emission would not be made tender for debts due to the crown or to British merchants.²³

Tryon forwarded the petition to Shelburne with his own endorsement, noting that the promise not to make the issue legal tender for debts due to the British Isles seemed to conform to the 1759 instruction to Governor Dobbs. If these conditions were not satisfactory, Tryon wrote, the legislature would be glad to alter them to contain nothing prejudicial to British interests. Confirming the need for additional currency, he pointed out that distraint proceedings to satisfy debts, taxes, and quitrents caused much distress and frequently failed even to yield the required sum. He also suggested that replacing the money then circulating with a new emission would be an effective way to meet a serious counterfeiting problem that contributed to North Carolina's currency woes. Tryon evidently expected the petition to be successful. On the same day he asked Messrs. Drummond and Company to order copperplates and paper if permission for the new issue were granted.²⁴

But Tryon's order was premature. Lord Hillsborough had recently assumed the new office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, thereby taking over duties formerly handled by Shelburne. As his reply to Tryon illustrated, Hillsborough was an implacable foe of legal tender currency. "But this Matter has already received so full a Discussion

²² Alexander Stewart to Secretary of Society for Propagation of the Gospel, June, 1768 (1767), Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 495.

²³ House Journals, December 11, 1767, and January 16, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 570, 681.

²⁴ Tryon to Shelburne, February 2, 1768, and Tryon to Messrs. Drummond and Company, February 2, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 678-679, 680.

at the Board of Trade, at the Privy Council, and in each House of Parliament, and so strong and unanimous a Determination that Paper Currency with a legal Tender is big with Frauds, and full of Mischief to the Colonies, and to Commerce in general," Hillsborough wrote in rejecting the petition, "that I apprehend no Consideration of a possible local Inconvenience will induce a Deviation from the sound Principles of the Act of Parliament relative thereto."²⁵

Faced with such a doctrinaire attitude, the negotiations carried on by North Carolina's agent had little chance for success. As early as September, 1767, Henry E. McCulloh, a colonist then residing in London, had expected a general discussion by imperial officials of the whole currency problem sometime that winter. Of several possible alternatives McCulloh felt that the one most likely to be adopted involved repeal of the restrictive acts and permission for the colonies to emit paper money under limited conditions. First, Parliament was to prescribe the amount; second, all debts contracted prior to emission of the new currency were not to be affected by any subsequent depreciation; and third, all sterling debts were to be paid "in Value." Before anything was done, however, the colonies would have to assent to these conditions. Because he could see little objection to them, McCulloh offered to represent North Carolina in the matter.²⁶

On December 12, 1768, the Lower House appointed him its agent and instructed him to co-operate with representatives of the other colonies to secure repeal of the Currency Act.²⁷ However, a controversy between the two houses of the legislature over his appointment hampered his effectiveness as a negotiator. In fact, the Board of Trade temporarily refused to recognize his right to act for North Carolina.²⁸ Nevertheless, McCulloh was reasonably hopeful of success. By mid-summer of 1769, however, the plan for a direct repeal of the restrictive acts seems to have been dropped; in July he wrote to the North Carolina House that a general repeal would be subject to many objections. He, therefore, planned to press for a Parliamentary act to answer your "particular purposes"—presumably a special exemption—for which he expected to be able to gather merchant support.²⁹ Nevertheless, Hillsborough remained adamantly opposed, and the negotiations soon died.

²⁵ Earl of Hillsborough to Governor Tryon, April 16, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 709.

²⁶ Henry E. McCulloh to John Harvey, September 13, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 517.

²⁷ House Journals, December 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 878-879.

²⁸ April 18, 1769, *Journals of the Commissioners, 1768-1775*, 88.

²⁹ McCulloh to the Committee for Correspondence of the Lower House, July 14, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 56-57.

In the meantime, however, Tryon's administration was in the throes of the turmoil caused by the Regulators whose grievances were accentuated by the shortage of currency. "These regulators declare . . . they are not satisfied with the public and county taxes, and that it is not in their power to procure specie or currency, from its scarcity, to discharge them," Tryon wrote to Hillsborough. He predicted that if the colony's petition for a currency were granted, "the public taxes would be collected without any obstruction." Hillsborough was unmoved. "I have already . . . been so full and explicit upon the Application made by the Council and Assembly of North Carolina for a Paper Currency," he replied, "that I have nothing to add upon that Subject."³⁰

Although previous petitions had been unsuccessful, the North Carolina Lower House, with Governor Tryon's support, continued to press for legal tender paper money. Continued failures during the period 1768 to 1771 led to repeated attempts at evasion of the Currency Act. Although unable to co-operate openly, Tryon was at least sympathetic to colonial proposals. Military necessity again provided an opportunity to augment the currency.

At the opening of the legislature's fall session in November, 1768, Tryon reported Hillsborough's refusal. The House replied by thanking him for the support he had given to their petition. Speaker Harvey then continued, "We adopted the measure . . . as the only remedy of saving this Province from ruin nor are we happy enough at this time to have the least reason to alter that opinion."³¹ Yet, though in despair, the House made vigorous attempts to avert impending calamity. It rapidly passed a bill to discharge the public debt by an emission of £30,000 in legal tender debenture notes. The Council, however, hesitated over so large an issue and suggested instead £20,000 as a figure more apt to meet with imperial approval.³² The Lower House refused to entertain the Council's proposal on the grounds that the Council had no right to participate in framing money bills.³³ The Council countered by suggesting that both houses waive the question of their respective rights. It argued that a money bill would certainly be deemed a violation of the Currency Act and asserted its willingness that the bill "should not be considered as such in any respect whatsoever." So anxious was the Lower House to secure passage that it

³⁰ Tryon to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, and Hillsborough to Tryon, August 13, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 791-792, 800.

³¹ House Journals, November 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 931.

³² Upper House Journals, November 30, December 1, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 912, 915-916.

³³ Upper House Journals, November 30, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 914.

agreed not to stand upon its rights, and on December 1 both houses passed the bill at the Council's figure.³⁴ The Lower House also instructed McCulloh to work for "permission to emit a paper currency," and again asked Tryon to help with his influence. The following day Tryon vetoed the debenture bill because it violated the Currency Act.³⁵

Over the following weekend Speaker Harvey and Tryon apparently communicated,³⁶ and on Monday both houses rushed through a bill, which Tryon subsequently approved, to issue £20,000 in nonlegal tender debenture bills to pay the forces raised to suppress the Regulators. At the same time, to further relieve the currency situation the House sought to continue in circulation the legal tender currency that still remained from the emissions of 1760 and 1761 by suspending collection of the poll taxes levied to redeem these issues.³⁷ But Tryon refused to approve the action because he thought it premature and rightly recognized it as a violation of the Currency Act.³⁸

Apparently the Lower House then directed the treasurers to omit the tax from the list of those to be collected. Tryon countered with a proclamation enjoining sheriffs to collect it.³⁹ Gradually, however, he changed his position. Probably motivated by a conviction that, although the colony was in dire need of more currency, it was impossible to get imperial approval and influenced by a desire to conciliate the legislature to secure its co-operation in suppressing the Regulators, Tryon allowed the tax collection to lapse. Although he admitted in July, 1770, that there was still £58,000 in legal tender paper circulating, Tryon gave official sanction to this policy by consenting to a law which indemnified those sheriffs who had not made the collection since 1768. Having thus placed himself in jeopardy of the Currency Act, Tryon evasively reported to Hillsborough that he had rejected the House's initial attempt to suspend the taxes because he previously lacked information. He had originally been in error, he implied, and therefore allowed the taxes to lapse because the country afterwards agreed with the legislature.⁴⁰

³⁴ Upper House Journals, December 1, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 915, 917.

³⁵ House Journals, December 2, 3, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 974, 979.

³⁶ Tryon to Hillsborough, January 10, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 5.

³⁷ Upper House Journals, December 5, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 922, 924; *Laws of North Carolina—1766*, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 781-783.

³⁸ Tryon to Hillsborough, February 10, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 10.

³⁹ Governor Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.

⁴⁰ *Laws of North Carolina, 1770*, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 840-841; Tryon to Hillsborough, July 2, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 212.

Meanwhile, to comply with the House's request Tryon in February, 1769, again wrote Hillsborough urging the necessity of more paper money and pointing out the beneficial effects expected from it. Before he received this letter Hillsborough seemed to have been in a more conciliatory humor. On March 1, 1769, he had written, "The Commendable Conduct of the Assembly in the present disturbed situation of North America disposes His Majesty to shew them every indulgence in His Power, and the tranquility and support of your Administration are objects which you are well entitled to expect should be attended to by Government." But, continued Hillsborough, only Parliament had power to alter the Currency Act and "therefore no Petition that prays for Paper Currency as a Legal Tender can meet with . . . success" without Parliamentary action. He then suggested that the colony adopt instead a paper currency like that of New England and Maryland, one "upon a just foundation of Credit" but without legal tender provisions.⁴¹ Hillsborough's next few letters, however, were less conciliatory and seemed to confirm McCulloh's opinion that in regard to legal tender paper money the Secretary of State for America is "your bitter enemy."⁴² By 1770 Hillsborough removed any possible doubt about his position when he replied to Tryon's report that paper money outstanding had fallen to approximately £60,000, that "the only observation I have to make upon it is, that the sum appears to be large, and will I trust be fully sufficient. . . ." ⁴³

The colony would not have agreed with him. In an earlier petition inhabitants of Anson County had poignantly contended that "the Province in general labour under general grievances, and the Western part thereof under particular ones; which we not only see, but very sensibly feel, being crouch'd beneath our sufferings." Among other demands, they asked that no further tax be imposed until "a currency is made."⁴⁴

In October, 1769, when Tryon reported to the legislature that, although Hillsborough was willing to consider colonial suggestions, there seemed little hope for legal tender paper money, the news gave the House the "utmost concern."⁴⁵ And cause for concern continued

⁴¹ Tryon to Hillsborough, February 25, 1769, and Hillsborough to Tryon, March 1, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 12, 17-18.

⁴² McCulloh to John Harvey, January 26, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 172.

⁴³ Tryon to Hillsborough, July 2, 1770, and Hillsborough to Tryon, October 3, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 212, 247.

⁴⁴ House Journals, October 9, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 75-77.

⁴⁵ House Journals, October 23, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 87-88; *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), November 10, 1769, hereinafter cited as *The North-Carolina Gazette*.

to increase. By the next year Regulator disturbances again demanded that the colonial treasury provide money for troops, but the House felt unable to meet the expense unless the restrictions of the Currency Act were lifted. Again it petitioned Tryon to recommend repeal and again, despite Hillsborough's repeated refusals, Tryon gave the House his wholehearted support. Requesting that Parliament exempt the colony from the currency restrictions, Tryon argued that North Carolina deserved concessions because "the several ports of this province have been open ever since the repeal of the Stamp Act for every kind of British manufactures to the full extent of the credit of the country."⁴⁶

Tryon's appeal seems to have affected Hillsborough less than the members of the legislature. The former made no concession; the latter repaid Tryon's support in kind by giving him full co-operation in crushing the Regulators. Their action, however, was motivated by more than gratitude. To them, as members of an established government, civil insurrection was an immediate threat: The Regulators "were pursuing measures destructive to the felicity, and dangerous to the Constitution of their Country."⁴⁷ Before the legislature arranged to pay the troops, Tryon had moved to the governorship of New York, but even from his new post he made one final unsuccessful attempt to help North Carolina's currency situation by easing the financial burden of the expedition against the Regulators. On August 1, 1771, he wrote to Hillsborough that the cost of the expedition would probably be £40,000, "a load the province is *absolutely incapable to discharge, unless by a new emission of currency, or an aid from Parliament.*"⁴⁸

In 1771 the arrival of Tryon's successor, Josiah Martin, marked a new and fateful era for North Carolina in the currency controversy. Because he had realized that some form of paper money was essential to the colony's economic and political life, Tryon had been tolerant of colonial expedients. Martin, however, rigidly opposed them. An inflexible supporter of the principles of the Currency Act, he termed all paper money "a fraudulent medium of circulation . . . contrary to good policy. . . ."⁴⁹ In effect Martin brought home to North Carolina's soil the Hillsborough attitude. At no time since passage of the Currency Act had the colonists been forced to deal with this attitude directly. Rather they had met it in a form attenuated by three thou-

⁴⁶ House Journals, January 25, 1771, and Tryon to Hillsborough, February 1, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 462-463, 495-496.

⁴⁷ House Journals, November 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 930.

⁴⁸ Tryon to Hillsborough, August 1, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 651.

⁴⁹ Martin to Hillsborough, December 12, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 67.

sand miles and by a governor sympathetic to their proposals. Therefore Tryon's departure and Martin's arrival had two implications of major significance. First, where Tryon made concessions to colonial need, Martin offered no compromise. When forced to deny colonial requests, Tryon brought to the task perception and political astuteness; Martin brought the insolence of office. Secondly, as long as Tryon held the governorship, the colonists felt that they had an important ally to intercede with the ministry. But Martin's coming deprived them of such support; only the colonial agent remained to represent them, and he was not an integral part of the imperial machinery. Given such a situation it was only a matter of time until the legislature and the governor would be in open conflict.

The conflict was not long in coming. In the fall of 1771 Martin's first legislature inherited the problem of paying for the expedition against the Regulators. Even Martin realized that an emission of more paper currency was necessary, but by pressing the legislature to call in all outstanding public debts he expected that enough could be collected to retire the £42,000 legal tender paper still circulating. Consequently he hoped that the new emission could be issued with only a small increase in the total supply.⁵⁰

The Lower House had other expectations. On the one hand, by a bill to issue £130,000 in debenture notes, more than three times the amount Tryon had thought necessary, it moved to increase the currency supply with a new emission. On the other hand, by a bill to repeal the tax provided for its retirement, it hoped to save the paper money already in circulation. And finally, to reinforce the other two measures it again petitioned the king for repeal of the Currency Act. Promising to frame the issuing statute to protect British creditors against possible depreciation, the House contended that unless such an exemption were granted debenture notes provided the only means to pay for Tryon's expedition. At best, such notes were only a temporary expedient, the House declared, "attended with great Inconvenience to the Public, and those Individuals who are to receive them. . . ." Most unfortunate of all, the House shrewdly contended, was the fact that the first to suffer by depreciation of the debentures would be the very men who had risked their lives in support of the king's government.⁵¹

At this point Martin faced a situation roughly comparable to Tryon in 1768. Early in the latter's administration the House had planned to

⁵⁰ Martin to Hillsborough, December 12, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 67.

⁵¹ Upper House Journals, December 12, 1771, and House Journals, December 6, 21, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 181, 166, 213.

petition against the Currency Act. Tryon cultivated good will by doing it himself. Five years later Martin's first legislature again planned to petition. Martin allowed this opportunity to slip by without action. In 1768 Tryon vetoed both a legal tender currency emission and a bill to discontinue the tax levied to sink the emissions of 1760 and 1761. Shortly thereafter he allowed the tax to lapse, and two years later, as Martin put it, "Governor Tryon was engaged, I must believe deceived or surprised, into sanctifying this political enormity . . ." by assenting to the 1770 law to indemnify sheriffs who had not made the collection.⁵²

Martin planned to sanction no such enormity in 1771. Earlier in the session a member of the House had consulted him about the bill to withdraw the sinking tax. Martin had indicated that he would not approve it. He pointed out that the tax was to continue until the currency was retired and that, if the tax were discontinued in 1771, "the money now in circulation would be continued contrary to the express letter" of the Currency Act. Such a step, Martin argued, would be a "measure teeming with fraud" which would have "reduced to worthless paper" the still outstanding currency. His caller intimated that if the bill passed both houses only to be vetoed by the governor, his veto would "bring odium upon the dawn of [his] administration. . . ." To which Martin reportedly replied that he would never "become a pandar to the public dishonor." Nevertheless, the House bill passed the Council although Martin contended that if the full membership had been present it would have been defeated.⁵³ The debenture bill, reduced to £120,000, had also passed both houses. On December 23 both bills were presented to the Governor.

Martin decided to invite the threatened odium. A rumor had reached him that the House had devised an alternative plan in case he refused to approve the tax bill. Previously agreed upon resolves to discontinue the tax and to indemnify sheriffs for doing so were to be entered on the Journal. Already, Martin had been told, the treasurers had omitted the tax from the list of those to be collected. Martin inquired if this were true. When assured that it was not, he vetoed both the tax and debenture bills⁵⁴ and immediately dissolved the legislature, hoping thereby to have "frustrated their illegal intentions."⁵⁵ However, to avoid alienating those who had supported the government against the Regulators, Martin provided for their pay-

⁵² Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.

⁵³ Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 230-235.

⁵⁴ House Journals, December 23, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 222.

⁵⁵ Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 233.

ment by assenting to a compromise bill for £60,000 in debenture notes.⁵⁶

For about a month Martin believed that he had effectively countered the House tactics. But one day in talking to the treasurer for the northern district he discovered that the treasurers actually had omitted the sinking tax from the collection list. The House had even debated an order calling upon the customs collectors to discontinue the rum duty, also levied for sinking the currency, but had dropped the idea, so the treasurer reported, because a majority felt that such an order to crown officers would be futile. "Of all this extraordinary proceeding," wrote Martin, "not one word appears upon the Journals." The House, he continued, "by an order clandestinely suggested through its Speaker to the Treasurers . . . exercise[s] a sovereign power; virtually abrogating by its breath, a positive Act of the whole Legislature ratified by his Majesty. . . ." Such a "monstrous usurpation of authority . . . proves irrefragably the propensity of this people to democracy." And, concluded Martin with an ironically prophetic statement, "these people are studiously fermenting dispositions of which they cannot foresee or determine, but will certainly rue the consequences."⁵⁷

Thus horrified to discover that the House had outmaneuvered him, Martin issued a proclamation ordering the sheriffs to collect the tax.⁵⁸ Here the matter rested for almost two years, but during the following summer Hillsborough gave approval to Martin's conduct of the tax affair and instructed him that, if he thought the speaker of the House had been responsible for the episode, to refuse approval of his reelection at the next session.⁵⁹ Apparently the issue did not arise.⁶⁰ However, at the winter session in early 1773 the House continued to seek more paper currency by instructing its agent to "represent the particular distresses . . . of the Province" due to the currency shortage.⁶¹

The following legislature pressed the issue more vigorously. During its first session in December, 1773, the Lower House passed another bill to discontinue the currency sinking tax only to see it fail in the Council.⁶² The next spring at its second session the same House ap-

⁵⁶ Martin to Hillsborough, December 26, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 76; Laws of North Carolina, 1771, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 850-851.

⁵⁷ Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 233-235.

⁵⁸ Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.

⁵⁹ Hillsborough to Martin, June 6, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 301.

⁶⁰ Richard Caswell was the speaker of the 1771 session, John Harvey of the 1773 session. Examination of *The Colonial Records* for the period under study revealed no conflict over the latter's election.

⁶¹ House Journals, March 6, 1773, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 579.

⁶² House Journals, December 9, 1773, and Martin to the Earl of Dartmouth, April 2, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 744, 959.

pointed a committee to petition for permission to make the North Carolina debenture bills legal tender. Finally, its patience exhausted, it again turned its attention to the tax issue. On March 24, 1774, by a series of solemn resolutions the House irretrievably committed its prestige to victory in the controversy. These resolutions represented a drastic step from which there could be no retreat. The one shilling poll tax and the fourpence duty on imported spirits levied to retire the currency issues of 1748 and 1754 had already served their purpose, the House declared. Although it had frequently passed bills to suspend those taxes, it had never been able to obtain a law to this effect. This failure, it maintained, constituted a "great grievance." Therefore, pledging its faith to make good any shortage which might result from suspending these taxes, it resolved that the treasurers order all collectors to omit them from their tax lists and to "inform such collectors that their not complying with the said order will be deemed a great contempt to the Resolutions of this House, and merit its highest censure."⁶³

When he prorogued the legislature on March 26, Martin had not yet learned of these resolves; two days later he discovered them. Acting on the advice of his Council, he reacted with first one proclamation dissolving the legislature and then another ordering collection of the tax and duty. The next session, the final one under the crown, lasted only four days. Thus the last major legislative session was that of March, 1774. In this session the House had posed the challenge to royal authority for which it was dissolved because as Martin wrote at the time, "The plain truth is . . . the Assembly wishes to continue the legal tender Paper Bills in circulation forever. . . ."⁶⁴

Actually Parliament had made a major concession to colonial demands before the North Carolina Lower House took this drastic action. In 1773 it passed a statute to supplement and explain the Currency Act. Although this act continued to prohibit legal tender paper money for general transactions, it specifically provided that voluntarily accepted "certificates, notes, bills or debentures," might be legal tender at the colonial treasury for duties and taxes.⁶⁵ Because the effect of this provision was to give legal sanction to a reasonably successful means for stabilizing currency values which several of the colonies had employed only at the peril of royal disallowance, the new law represented an important concession. But for North Carolina it was too little and too late. Apparently by 1773 the situation had

⁶³ House Journals, March 23, 24, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 937, 943-944.

⁶⁴ Martin to Dartmouth, April 2, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 959, 960.

⁶⁵ 13 Geo. III, c. 57, Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, XXX, Part 1, 113-114.

so deteriorated that any official notice of the act seems to have been lost in the excitement of the conflict between Lower House and governor. Moreover, the colony continued to demand more than Parliament granted. The new act became effective September 1, 1773; as late as March, 1774, the House was still petitioning for permission to make North Carolina debenture bills "a legal Tender in all payments. . . ." ⁶⁶

A general fear that nonlegal tender paper money would be subject to great depreciation seems to have deterred the legislature from greater use of this expedient. Thus unwilling to issue sufficient quantities of the only type of money permitted, North Carolina was trapped. The currency shortage became so critical that the House even attempted to jeopardize its own tax revenue to keep in circulation the legal tender paper previously issued.⁶⁷ General distress united the colony in opposition to imperial policy.

Not once in the record of the eleven years between passage of the Currency Act and the downfall of royal authority did the colonists question Parliament's right to pass the law, but they repeatedly questioned the wisdom of its application to North Carolina. As entreaty after entreaty yielded no relief, it would not have been surprising had the North Carolinians concluded that an arrangement in which Britain placed the commercial interests of her merchants before the stability of the colonial government was not to their advantage. They saw that the Currency Act, as it operated in North Carolina, helped to nourish such unrest as the Regulators; they saw equally well that "no consideration of a possible local inconvenience" would induce Britain to alter her policy. The men who led the fight against domestic insurrection were the same men who later spearheaded the revolt against imperial encroachment. While the astute and sympathetic Governor Tryon represented the colonial position to the royal bureaucracy, North Carolina could hope for relief. Martin's arrival extinguished that hope, and the House grew desperate. From peaceful petition it moved to outright defiance.

A multitude of small things can sometimes be more effective in motivating men than a few dramatic acts. The causes of the Revolution in North Carolina lay in a host of incidents and grievances. Of this host the Currency Act, and its rigid enforcement, was only one, but there is little question that it contributed to the growing convic-

⁶⁶ House Journals, March 23, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 937.

⁶⁷ Although the taxes it sought to discontinue had been appropriated to retire the currency issues, the House had often used this revenue to meet contingent expenses. See *The North-Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1775; Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 230-235.

tion among North Carolina leaders that they were the only ones who knew how to solve local problems. Certainly, the Currency Act was important in helping to raise that flame which Governor Dobbs had so prophetically feared fifteen years before.

A NEW HISTORY BUILDING FOR NORTH CAROLINA

BY MCDANIEL LEWIS*

The year 1963 will mark two of the most significant anniversaries in all North Carolina history—the tercentenary of the granting of the Charter of Carolina by King Charles II of England to the eight Lords Proprietors and the centennial of the critical year of the War Between the States. These two anniversaries will be commemorated throughout our State by appropriate ceremonies, publications, dramas, dedication of historic sites and historical markers, and in various other ways. It will be indeed a year that will highlight, and when we may memorialize, the great past and background that are ours.

What could be more suitable, I ask you, than for us during this year of dedication to make funds available for and to begin construction of a stately North Carolina History Building and to hold ceremonies marking the beginning of this important and much needed enterprise? Today, as Chairman of the Executive Board of your State Department of Archives and History, I wish to use the brief time allotted to me to state the pressing, indeed almost desperate, need for such a structure. Let me give you the background and the reasons why we Tarheels so urgently need a new building to house the records and the relics of our past.

Your State Department of Archives and History will be sixty years old next year. It was established in 1903 as the State Historical Commission, and the name was changed in 1943 to its present form. Among all the fifty States of the Union it is one of the oldest of the State historical agencies—and, if you will pardon my saying so, it is generally recognized as being one of the half dozen pioneers and leaders in the field.

For a good many years the agency moved along rather slowly, with a limited budget and a small staff. Only in recent years has the marked expansion occurred, when the program has spread into a

* Mr. Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, made this address at the morning meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held on December 7, 1962, in Raleigh.

number of new fields and channels in order to provide a well-rounded and well-balanced service to all our four and one-half million people. And the people like it.

Statistics can be dull, but let me illustrate this expansion in terms of merely two things—budget and staff. In the fiscal year 1934-1935, at the bottom of the Great Depression, the total budget amounted to \$11,315. During 1962-1963, thirty years later, the Department's budget totals \$576,714—an increase of fifty fold. Even allowing for the erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar, I believe you will agree with me that this growth has been little short of phenomenal.

Likewise the staff has greatly increased in number—from eight in 1932 to 90 at the present time—an increase of eleven fold. Thus, from a small and insignificant agency, your Department has developed into one that in size and scope of activities ranks among the larger and better-known agencies of the State of North Carolina. You will be interested to know also that nationally, in size of budget and of staff, we rank among the six leading States. Most other States in the South cannot begin to equal us, and actually our budget for archives, records, and manuscripts is larger than that of any other State in the Union.

As for quarters, the old Historical Commission was first located temporarily in two rooms of the State Capitol—and had to move out of these rooms when the General Assembly was in session. In 1914 the Commission moved to the second floor of what is now the Library Building. That space in turn was outgrown, and in 1939 the agency made its last move to date—to the first floor of the Education Building. At that time, twenty-three years ago, the new quarters seemed ample—almost magnificent. Today they are completely and totally outgrown.

What are the space handicaps under which your Department of Archives and History labors and seeks to serve our people today?

(1) The total amount of space is grossly inadequate. So crowded have we become that the staff seeks to perform its functions in storage rooms, in hallways (where workers are constantly interrupted by passing traffic), in basement cubbyholes and, the most extreme case of all, we have actually torn the telephone out of a telephone booth and have placed in that tiny space a typist and such equipment as we could.

(2) The present space is not suitably designed to meet the Department's specialized needs. The Education Building was planned as an office structure and not for an agency needing uniquely designed storage areas, workrooms, space for exhibits, and other special areas.

(3) The Search Room, where the public makes use of the archives

and manuscripts, is entirely too small and inadequate, so that frequently researchers overflow into offices, archives areas, and everywhere else we can put them.

(4) Though the Department is required by law to preserve the permanent official records of our State, counties, and municipalities, there is not sufficient space in the Archives to care for all these records. We know of thousands of cubic feet of records that should be moved into the Archives but that cannot be placed there, because there is no room. Actually, we have been compelled to transfer a number of records of permanent value to places other than the Archives, where they cannot be adequately protected.

(5) There is no suitable place to preserve microfilm. Under a broad program, the Department has now microfilmed more than 50 million pages of State and local records, and this enormous and extremely valuable mass of film ought to be preserved in specially designed cabinets with controlled temperature and humidity. Actually, we have nothing of the kind, with the result that the film is steadily deteriorating.

(6) The Department possesses by far the largest and most complete set of maps relating to North Carolina history. At the present time, for lack of space, the cases in which these maps are contained are placed in hallways where there is danger of theft or other loss.

(7) Archives, manuscripts, museum items, and other historical materials that are received are frequently infested with insects of various kinds. In order to eliminate these pests, all such materials need to be fumigated—but at the present time the Department lacks adequate facilities for this purpose.

(8) Many of the official records and private manuscripts that are received have been damaged by fire, insects, and even occasionally by one or more of that species known as *Homo sapiens*. Such damaged records need to be repaired by scientific and highly specialized processes—but the Department now has its equipment for this purpose placed in such crowded quarters that it is difficult to use—cannot be used to the greatest efficiency.

Let us look at the situation in a slightly different light.

The situation described above is bad enough, but even worse—indeed a tragic condition—is the following:

The General Assembly has required the Department of Archives and History “To preserve and administer such public archives as shall be transferred to its custody, and to collect, preserve, and administer private and unofficial historical records and relics relating to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the

earliest times. The Department shall carefully protect and preserve such materials . . ." (General Statutes, Chapter 121-2[4]). Under present conditions it is impossible for the Department to give proper protection and suitably to preserve such materials, so that the Department actually is not carrying out the mandate of the law.

(1) *These archives and manuscripts are unique and irreplaceable.* They are not like books, of which a number of copies usually exists, so that if one copy of a book is destroyed another copy is ordinarily available. *If these archives and manuscripts are destroyed, they are gone for all time. There are no other copies* (except microfilm copies which we are making of a small percentage of the total).

(2) These records constitute the great body of the official (and some unofficial) source materials of the history of North Carolina and its people, going far back into the colonial period. They have been gradually brought to the Archives over a period of nearly 60 years.

(3) In addition to the historical value of these records, many of them are essential to the operation of government and to the protection of the rights and interests of persons. For instance, there are early court minutes which are frequently used; land records that are necessary to determine land ownership; maps and drawings of boundaries which exist nowhere else; marriage records; correspondence of our governors through 1960 (which must be referred to frequently); official opinions of the Attorney General; and many other types of irreplaceable records. In addition, there are housed in the Archives areas security microfilm copies of essential records of the counties, as described above.

(4) These records have an intrinsic value of millions of dollars (though, of course, the State will never sell them). The State should take every possible step to protect such valuable property.

(5) At present the records are deteriorating. Some of the trunk pipes of the State's heating system run through these Archives areas, so that it seems impossible to obtain suitable humidity and temperature conditions. We have had one expert after another study this problem, and they all report that, though we have air-conditioning equipment, it cannot be made to produce the desired results because of the heating pipes.

In the Hall of History, or State Historical Museum, conditions are similarly bad.

(1) A large portion of the exhibit areas contains wall space made of plaster and therefore it is difficult or impossible to use for hanging pictures or other objects. The space is not suitable to handle the

60,000 school children who annually visit the Museum. There is no public room for showing films and for public gatherings.

(2) The Museum requires study and research rooms, for each year scores of researchers visit the Hall of History in order to make use of the Museum's study collection. Such researchers have to be placed in offices, storage rooms, and wherever we can find a small amount of space for them.

(3) The Museum lacks appropriate receiving space where incoming collections can be temporarily placed and processed.

(4) There is no fumigating and cleaning space.

(5) There is not enough workroom space for preparing, altering, and otherwise processing exhibits.

(6) The storage areas are only a fraction as large as they should be. According to the standard of the American Association of Museums, a first-rate museum should have at least twice as much storage space as exhibit space. The Hall of History has been assigned only a small fraction as much.

(7) The storage areas should be air-conditioned. Portraits, photographic negatives, and other historic objects are deteriorating every minute that passes, and they will continue to do so until proper conditions are provided.

Likewise, in the other phases of its work the Department is hampered for lack of space.

Do you realize that every State from New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the north to Mississippi and Alabama on the south now have or are in the process of erecting new history buildings—every State, that is, except North Carolina? The State of Georgia has just let the contract for such a building to cost approximately \$6,000,000. Texas has just completed such a structure.

Today in North Carolina we are proud of our history as never before. In the past our people were not fully cognizant of the contribution our State made to the building of the great American nation. Massachusetts and other New England States made—and received—full share of the credit. In the South, Virginians and South Carolinians proclaimed their historical achievements. But we in North Carolina knew little about our history and seemed to care less. Indeed, other States were credited with rights of priority and achievements that really belonged to us.

Recently our people have become more and more conscious of their history—have come to realize that we have made a truly great contribution to the growth and development of the United States. The first English colonists in America; the first official act of any colony calling

for independence from Great Britain; the oldest State University; the first public school system in the South; the greatest contribution of men to the Confederate cause—these few examples will serve to illustrate the great events and achievements of our history.

And yet our State has still not made adequate provision for preserving the records and the physical relics of the past. We have permitted one State after another, not only in the Southeast but also in other parts of the country, to surpass us in making such provision. This lack and failure on our part must be remedied.

And so, in the approaching tercentennial and centennial year, let us begin the erection in our Capital City of a building to provide for our historical records and relics. Let us build a structure of which all our people may truly be proud and which will be second to none in the nation.

NORTH CAROLINA NONFICTION BOOKS, 1961-1962

BY C. HUGH HOLMAN*

As one of the five judges of the competition for the best work of nonfiction by a North Carolina resident published in the twelve-month period ending June 30, 1961, I have the pleasure of trying to suggest to you something of the nature, the scope, and the subject matter of the books entered in the contest for the Mayflower Society Cup. I must begin my remarks by disclaiming a competence for such a task. There are at least a score of books entered in this competition that merit for their proper evaluation the attention of highly skilled experts in perhaps a dozen fields and would demand from those experts in each case a longer period of time than I have for all the works. I shall, therefore, content myself with essentially non-evaluative brief descriptions. Yet I believe that such descriptions have a collective value and, perhaps, some interest for an audience such as this one, for it tells us something significant about ourselves.

Herman Melville, faced with the problem of somehow classifying whales without, in fact, knowing very much about them, resorted to the whimsical—and face-saving—device of grouping them under book sizes—folio, octavo, duodecimo, and so on. Faced with an equally difficult task, I have elected to classify the Mayflower volumes in terms not of whales but of how they reflect the concerns and attitudes of North Carolinians.

Two decades ago W. J. Cash, a graduate of Wake Forest College and the Editor of the *Charlotte News*, made a brilliant exploration of the way the natives of the southeastern region think and have thought. He called his book *The Mind of the South*, and in it he defined both the homogeneous and the heterogeneous qualities of thought in this section of the United States. As I cast a backward glance over the road I have been fortunate enough to travel in surveying the books entered in this year's Mayflower competition, it seems to me that they give a strengthened and qualified picture of that southern mind as it is found in North Carolina twenty-one years after Mr. Cash's study.

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For here are thirty books by persons resident in the State for the past three years or longer. Furthermore, these thirty books are works of nonfiction, and none of them, under the rules of the competition, is a technical or scientific work. Thus they form an impressive accumulation of the results of thinking in a broadly non-artistic and nontechnical sense in North Carolina. Let us examine what they show.

First, some statistics: Here are 7,761 pages of thoughtful writing, in thirty books varying from a thin 96 pages to an impressively thick 577. They are the physical and editorial products of 22 different publishers, ranging from the author himself in several cases to such nationally established houses as Harpers, McGraw-Hill, Lippincott's, Little-Brown, William Sloane, and Atheneum. The predominant type of publisher is the university press: the press at the University of North Carolina produced four of the books, at Louisiana State University two, and at Duke and the University of Wisconsin one each. Twelve of the books were not only written by North Carolina residents but were also published entirely within the State.

The authors, on the other hand, show a surprisingly unified picture. Of the twenty-nine persons who wrote these books (Burke Davis was the author of two of them), twenty are from the academic world and four more are practicing journalists. Thus the Mayflower books this year predominantly show what our college teachers and university scholars are writing about and what concerns our journalists when they extend their efforts beyond the limits of the newspaper or magazine.

North Carolina, like the region of which it is a part, has obviously had a deep interest in history. As W. J. Cash said, "The mind of the section . . . is continuous with the past." To an abnormal degree, if judged by the nation at large, the events and the personages of history are at the forefront of our thoughts. It is, therefore, not surprising that nine of the Mayflower books deal directly with history and that seven more are biographies. Thus 53 per cent of the entries this year are concerned with the record of the past.

This exploration of our history, not surprising in the degree to which it has concerned North Carolina writers, does have a great surprise in its subject matter. Only one of these books deals directly and exclusively with the Civil War period, either in the State or in the nation. Perhaps our writers have already grown weary of the Civil War Centennial, which began with such strength; perhaps the Civil War fails to have for this State the obsessive interest that it has for some others. Whatever the reason, the presence of only one Civil War

book in the Mayflower collection is, I think, both interesting and encouraging.

The concerns of these historical writers is sharply local. Only one of the nine works of history deals with non-North Carolina material, and that one is Jonathan Daniels' story of the Natchez Trace, *The Devil's Backbone*, written as the first volume in *The American Trails Series*, a historical project that gives promise of presenting distinguished but popular accounts of special kinds of local history. Mr. Daniels' book got the series off to an excellent start, for it is a picturesque account of violence, villainy, and heroism in the old Southwest—an admirable example of exciting and romantic but accurate and serious history.

Three of the historical works are the proud records of North Carolina counties. Ruth Blackwelder, in *The Age of Orange*, confines her account of the period between 1752 and 1861, when Orange County had, she asserts, the political and intellectual leadership in the State. Col. C. Wingate Reed, in *Beaufort County: Two Centuries of Its History*, follows his subject from the days of the Indians to the turn of the twentieth century. Judge Johnson J. Hayes, in the longest of this year's Mayflower books, *The Land of Wilkes*, records the events which have marked Wilkes County from its beginnings as a white man's settlement to the present and in a valuable group of appendixes supplies much additional primary information.

Two books deal with history in the colonial period. J. K. Rouse's *Colonial Churches in North Carolina* is a group of thirty-six brief, pictorial, and historical studies of churches that were established in North Carolina during the days before the Revolution. In *The First South*, Professor John R. Alden of Duke University discusses the rise of a conscious sectionalism in the South in the period immediately after the Revolution and about thirty years before sectionalism is usually supposed to have appeared. This important brief volume was developed from the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures which Professor Alden delivered at Louisiana State University.

Burke Davis' *The Cowpens-Guilford Courthouse Campaign*, a popular military history of the Revolutionary campaign that led to Yorktown, is a volume in another new and promising historical series, *Great Battles of History*.

Two other historical works move into the more recent past. Professor James H. Boykin of St. Augustine's College in *North Carolina in 1861* examines the State's posture on the eve of the Civil War and traces its drift toward secession. Professor Robert F. Durden of Duke University in *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth-Century Politics* ex-

amines in detail and with a meticulous use of primary evidence the celebrated suit of *South Dakota v. North Carolina* in 1904 to collect payment of North Carolina Reconstruction bonds, a suit that had grave political repercussions and gave the North Carolina Democratic party the slogan, "Butler and bonds."

In the seven biographical works, however, there is no such local concentration of interest as the histories display. Only Mary Polk's autobiographical *The Way We Were*, a charming reminiscence of childhood, is centered primarily in North Carolina. Logna B. Logan's *Ladies of the White House* is a useful collection of thumbnail sketches of the wives of the presidents. Burke Davis' *Marine! The Life of Chesty Puller* is a memoir, resting largely upon many interviews with General Lewis B. Puller, the record of whose military exploits it recounts. Professor David L. Smiley of Wake Forest College, in *Lion of White Hall*, gives a scholarly account of the life and eccentric adventures of Cassius M. Clay, a Kentucky abolitionist. Harry Golden in *Carl Sandburg* gives a warm and relaxed biographical portrait of his friend, now a resident of this State but primarily a poetic citizen of the world. Professor Joseph C. Sloane, Director of the Ackland Art Museum at the University of North Carolina, examines the nature of the failure of a man of talent and promise in *Paul Marc Joseph Chénard: Artist of 1848*, a critical biography of a nineteenth-century French painter who devoted his life to the development of a heroic interpretation of history.

Professor Charles E. Ward of Duke University in *The Life of John Dryden*, was the only biographer whose choice for a subject was a demonstrably great figure from the past. Ward's account of the life of a major English poet of the seventeenth century is a thorough, careful, and detailed piece of work, monumental in its scope, its scholarship, and the calm certainty with which it deals with its subject. It will stand as a major and standard biography for many years to come.

Two persistent concerns of the southern mind, both past and present, have been race and religion. Certainly as we look at our daily newspapers or simply gaze on the scenes around us, we see that these concerns have not lessened in North Carolina. It is, therefore, surprising that they received scant attention from this year's Mayflower authors. Only three books entered in the competition deal primarily with racial issues and only three others with religious matters.

Professor M. Elaine Burgess of the Woman's College of the University, in *Negro Leadership in a Southern City*, studies the class and institutional structures of Negro life in a North Carolina city and attempts to discover who the real decision-makers of the Negro com-

munity are. Dr. Wilmoth A. Carter, who teaches at Shaw University, makes what is in many respects a parallel study in *The Urban Negro in the South*, a study of adjustment to change in Hargett Street, Raleigh, which, she believes, has the character of "the Negro Main Street" in any southern city of comparable size. Professor R. Frederick West of Atlantic Christian College links the subjects of race and religion in his aid to pastoral and preaching duties, *Preaching on Race*.

Two of the books on religion are guides to the study of the Bible. Professor William W. Sloan of Elon College in *A Survey of the New Testament* presents an introduction to New Testament study for laymen, designed as a companion volume to his popular *Survey of the Old Testament*. Dr. Howard Justus McGinnis, long associated with East Carolina College, has written a useful guide book in *Know Your Bible*, a layman's study of Old Testament history and literature. In the most important of the religious books *The Gloomy Dean*, Professor Robert M. Helm of Wake Forest College explores the philosophical and theological positions and expressions of William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from 1911 to 1934 and a significant figure in twentieth-century religious thought.

Since the turn of the century education has been a central issue with North Carolinians, and that concern is reflected in three widely different works entered in this year's contest. Alice Noble's *The School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina: A History* is a record of the beginnings, growth, and present status of an important instrument of medical education in the State. Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, now a member of the State Board of Higher Education, in *Graduate Education: A Critique and a Program*, makes an intensive study of the nature and problems of graduate study in America and advances challenging proposals for setting our houses in better order in this segment of the educational picture.

Professor Randall Jarrell of the Woman's College of the University, a distinguished poet and critic, has assembled ten of his essays and addresses in *A Sad Heart at the Super Market*. These essays, witty and sparkling with wisdom, I am also calling works on education; for Mr. Jarrell in presenting them to the audiences to whom they were originally delivered or to the readers of journals like *The Saturday Evening Post* was trying to instruct our taste, to improve our sensitivity to values, and to awaken us to right, wise, and beautiful actions. Here skill, courage, and cunning conspire with grace, insight, and style to produce some of the best writing done in this State in this or any other year.

The temptation to quote a stylist like Mr. Jarrell is very strong, but I shall hurry on to my last group of books, five volumes which have successfully resisted my Procrustean classifications and upon whom I take the revenge of applying the label "miscellaneous." Attorney L. A. Martin, in *Around Court Square*, presents more than fifty very short familiar essays which he calls "meditations and observations"—thoughts on many subjects appropriate to the end of the day.

Mrs. Louisa E. Rhine of the Parapsychology Laboratory at Duke, in *Hidden Channels of the Mind*, treats various forms of extrasensory perception revealed in the experiences of men and women in many walks of life and makes an important addition to the studies of extrasensory perception for which her husband is famed.

Arthur Larson, Director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke, in *When Nations Disagree: A Handbook on Peace Through Law*, explains in nontechnical language the elements needed, as he sees it, to achieve a lasting peace and suggests how we can go to work to do our part in creating these elements.

And Professor Roger H. Crook of Meredith College, concerned with keeping another kind of peace, has produced in *Let's Get Married*, a manual of conduct and attitude for engaged couples.

This year, too, Bill Sharpe published the third installment of his *New Geography of North Carolina*, a county-by-county description of landscape, industry, current conditions, and anecdotes, together with maps and illustrations. Volume III, which covers twenty-six of North Carolina's counties, will be followed in about three more years by the concluding volume. When it is complete, this *Geography* will be an almost unbelievable wealth of information about the State.

And thus we come to the end of this very rapid summary of what the Mayflower books of 1961-1962 are about and what they suggest about the mind of North Carolina. Two decades ago, W. J. Cash, concluding his study of *The Mind of the South*, said:

Proud, brave, honorable by its lights, courteous, personally generous, loyal, swift to act, often too swift, but signally effective, sometimes terrible in its action—such was the South at its best. . . . Violence, intolerance, aversion and suspicion toward new ideas, an incapacity for analysis, an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and false values, above all too great attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values, sentimentality and a lack of realism—these have been its characteristic vices in the past. And, despite changes for the better, they remain its characteristic vices today.

These Mayflower books generally support Mr. Cash's contention, and yet they show that the virtues are slowly but surely winning out over the vices. They are books in which we can take pride, and the mind which they reflect is one in which we can be proud to share. Although enamored of the past and local in some of its sentiments, the eyes of that mind are turned resolutely to the future and it is in the control of a sensible judgment.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF CAROLINA HISTORY

BY CHALMERS G. DAVIDSON*

It is a charming happenstance that the colony of Carolina should originate in the 1660's with the Merry Monarch of old England, Charles II of the House of Stuart. I wish I could believe that his present condition is the same felicitous well-being as that of his geographical namesake, but all that is Presbyterian within me, I believe he is frying in Hell.

The period of the Restoration was, of course, the nadir of British morals. For about a decade the English people had been Puritanized and Presbyterianized. They were ready for a swing in the opposite direction and Charles II was happy to give the swing a push. He had no intention, as he said, of going again "on his travels." The disastrous period of the Civil War in England, of Cavalier versus Roundhead, or one might almost say of F.F.V.'s versus New England Founding Fathers, had been a distressing one for Charles as he wandered in exile and poverty throughout Europe. It had also become distressing to many of those remaining in England who had unwittingly helped to make of Oliver Cromwell the most absolute dictator England had seen since the days of William the Conqueror. It is always distressing to crusaders to discover that the road they travel to controlled conformity, of however pious intent, leads not to liberty but to totality.

There would be little difference of opinion, then and now, that Restoration England swung too far in the direction of license. It was a day of new man (with new women), of turncoats, and chastened Cromwellians.

Of the eight men whom the King delighted to honor with the grant of Carolina, two had fought against the Stuarts, George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. It depends, of course, on who is writing the history as to whether these men were opportunists or sincere penitents for past errors. Riding the bandwagon is no modern invention for getting ahead. The other

* Dr. Davidson, Professor of History and Director of the Library of Davidson College, read this paper as his Presidential Address at the dinner meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 7, 1962.

six, however, had signalized their loyalty by sacrifices while Stuart fortunes were at low ebb. Edward Hyde had traveled with Charles and served as his Chancellor-in-exile. Lord Craven contributed generously to Charles I and his property was confiscated by the Roundheads (he is also notable for his tender attentions to Charles II's aunt, the Queen of Bohemia). George Carteret defended the Channel Isles for the Cavaliers, welcomed the Royal family at his castle, and eventually gave up home and comfort rather than surrender to Cromwell. John, Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, rendered his services to Charles' brother, the Duke of York, who eventually became James II, and fought beside him in the Spanish War in the Low Countries. The two Proprietors with personal knowledge of the New World were Governor William Berkeley of Virginia, who held the Old Dominion for the Stuart cause, and Sir John Colleton of Barbados who did the same for that very English island. It was said to be Colleton who first proposed that the Stuart adherents be rewarded with the grant of Carolina.

Perhaps Charles thought he was getting off with easy payment. As a matter of fact this was the seventh time that the monarchs of England had attempted to give away the territory including the present Carolina. In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. When he failed to return from his second voyage, the grant was transferred in 1584, to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's unsuccessful efforts to establish a colony have provided North Carolina with her most intriguing mystery. The land next went to the Virginia Company of London in 1606. Two revised charters to the Virginia Company, one in 1609 and one in 1612, in effect regranted the territory. In 1629 Charles I conveyed to his attorney general, Sir Robert Heath, the region south of the Virginia settlements between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude. For the first time the name "Carolana" (spelled with two a's) came into use. Heath's failure to fulfill his obligations simplified the revocation of his grant and the Carolina Charter of 1663 was the seventh and final effort of the kings and queens of England to give away the most delightful, the most beautiful, and now the most civilized area of America.

An effort to compare the Carolina of 1663 with that of 1763, 1863, and the present is fruitless. There was a government in 1663 for the inhabitants, but there were no inhabitants, except those "noble savages" who so intrigued the artists Jacques Le Moyne and John White and whose females presaged the future by their revealing bikinis and their frizzled Kennedy coiffures. To claim that these were the first Tarheels is historically possible and, if so, our recorded history begins with the efforts of the natives to resist a government not of

their own choosing, but I prefer to invoke the privileges of my faith and to believe that these people were not *predestined* to prevail. At any rate, the provisions of the Carolina Charter did not include "the barbarous people who have noe knowledge of almighty God."

Most of the privileges of government granted in the Charter went, it is true, to the eight Lords Proprietors, but there is specific provision that the settlers were to enjoy all "liberties, franchises, and privileges" of the King's subjects in England. And although the Proprietors had the power to propose laws they were to become effective only "with the advice, assent and approval of the freeman of the said Province or the greater part of them or their delegates or deputies." These were to be assembled from time to time in such manner and form as seemed best to the Proprietors. The nonresident government, that of the Proprietors in England, was particularly enjoined to propose no laws contrary to the laws and statutes of England. This, to the colonists, meant clearly that they were to be protected by what was already recognized as the unwritten constitution of England, and they resisted henceforth with varying degrees of energy and success the efforts of any bodies but their own elected legislature to revise, reverse, or re-interpret those liberties which they conceived to be theirs when they became a part of the domain of Britain.

A century later, the year 1763, finds the colonies in the throes of such a struggle for survival. The Governor was Sir Arthur Dobbs, a well-meaning Anglo-Irish gentleman, who had no intention of depriving the good citizens of North Carolina of any of their liberties, except such as were obviously, of course, not being exercised for the best interest of the world empire or the ruling family. Legislation was slow, owing to distances to be traveled and differences of opinion, and the Governor received instructions from the Crown that henceforth fifteen members of the legislative Assembly should constitute a quorum. On May 16, 1763, the Agent for the Province of North Carolina reported to the Board of Trade (the body in England which controlled the economic affairs of the colonies), the unequivocal objection of the Carolinians to such an innovation.

. . . by the Charter of the said Province granted by King Charles the Second to the late Lords Proprietors of Carolina, they [the North Carolinians] humbly conceive the Laws and Constitutions passed for the good and happy Government of the said Province . . . are to be passed by, and with the advice, assent and approbation of the Freeman of the said Province, or the greater part of them, or their delegates or deputies, as by the said Charter (to which they beg leave to refer your Lordships) doth at large appear, and that no Assembly from the first settlement of the

Province, ever proceeded to the passing of Laws or any other business without such majority [except for a law of 1746 making fourteen members a quorum which caused great confusion and was shortly repealed by his Majesty] . . . that should fifteen Members be constituted a Quorum to proceed upon Business, it might afford an opportunity for eight evil-designed Persons . . . to pass bills . . . destructive of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of His Majesty's good Subjects in the Province [and finally, the Tarheels hope], they will not justly incur the severe censure of disobedience & undutifulness, in adhering to their ancient Constitution settled by Charter [until lawfully altered].

But whether they were to incur censure or not, as their conduct fifteen years hence was to show, they had no intention of giving up their liberties without resistance.

Fortunately for Sir Arthur Dobbs, other events of the year 1763 were more propitious for peace. The Treaty of Paris brought to an end the French and Indian War in which North Carolina had played an honorable if minor part. To the very Anglican Mr. Dobbs this had been in large part a religious crusade of English Protestantism to oust the forces of French "popery" and he greatly rejoiced in the victory. On the fall of Quebec to General Wolfe, he had himself composed a hymn to be sung throughout the Province, which is perhaps of more value as a cultural document than as literature.

What culture there was was peripatetic, for the colony had no settled capital. It had no college and, for the time being, no newspaper. The Governor had recently purchased what he called his villa at Russelboro in the neighborhood of Brunswick town and had designated the handsome edifice of St. Philips in Brunswick as the King's chapel in North Carolina. But Brunswick was not large enough to entertain many politicians or much culture and Dobbs' favorite seat for the government was nearby Wilmington. There was agitation to make New Bern the permanent capital and on this proposal Dobbs wrote on February 23, 1763, "I told them [the legislators] I could not recommend it as a healthy situation having been thrice at death's door from its low stagnated situation and bad water."

His health was not so stagnated, however, as to prevent his exhibition of a good dash of Tarheel vigor in marrying at the age of seventy-four a fair native of fifteen summers. He died soon afterward and lies today somewhere near the ruins of his beloved St. Philips, as controversial a figure at the present writing as he was two centuries ago.

A hundred-year leap lands us in the middle of the War for Southern Independence. In 1863 the issue was still in the balance. Many problems had been solved in the intervening century, or at least the opti-

mistic Carolinians had so believed. The old charters from kings and queens had been replaced by written constitutions, State and national, granting to the governments the powers which seemed appropriate, and guaranteeing to those governed the liberties they retained for themselves. North Carolina had entered the Union reluctantly, refusing to ratify the Federal Constitution until the Bill of Rights was made a part thereof expressly stating by the Tenth Amendment that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution or prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

The North State left the Union as reluctantly as she had entered it. Though dubbed by her own gadflies as "Old Rip" and by her neighbors as "The Valley of Humility" there was an increasing level of prosperity and much with which to be contented by the end of the ante-bellum era. The capital had found a resting place in Raleigh to the general satisfaction of all sections. The Capitol building was then as it is now, an evidence of good taste which could successfully stand the test of time. Thanks to Calvin Henderson Wiley and a few co-operative governors, the system of public education at the secondary level was the best in the South. Higher education suffered a relative lag, but only relative for out-of-state students were being attracted by the four institutions for men—the University at Chapel Hill, and the denominational colleges—Trinity, Wake Forest, and Davidson—and by two excellent Piedmont academies for ladies: Salem in her present lovely locale, and Edgeworth Female Seminary which flourished for three decades in Greensboro. The plantation system was less entrenched than in the States to the north and south, but the observation of an ultra democratic chief executive that North Carolina had no plantations was an indication less of agricultural poverty than of gubernatorial ignorance. For plantations there certainly were, as is amply evident to this day from the magnificent "Creekside" near the mountains around Morganton to the elegant "Orton" on the Cape Fear River.

There is good reason to believe that North Carolina might have remained within the Union had Lincoln not ordered troops to invade the South. Old Rip woke up with a start and no State did more for the Confederacy than did she. Her peerless leader was Zebulon Baird Vance, the most popular Governor this State has ever had. That Vance loved the Confederacy there is ample evidence from his service in the field before he was chosen chief magistrate, but no love could blind him to the rights and privileges of the State he called his own. Reminiscent of the colonial agent's protest to the Board of Trade exactly

100 years before is Vance's letter of September 11, 1863, to President Jefferson Davis. A few days previously, a Georgia regiment had entered Raleigh and destroyed the office of the *Standard* newspaper. The next morning a mob of Raleigh citizens destroyed the office of the *State Journal* in retaliation. Governor Vance requested the Confederate government to direct troops passing through the vicinity to stay out of the capital city. To President Davis he wrote "I feel very sad in contemplation of these outrages. The distance is quite short to either anarchy or despotism, when armed soldiers, led by their officers can with impunity outrage the laws of a State. A few more such exhibitions will bring the North Carolina troops home to the defense of their own State and her institutions. I pray you to see that it does not occur again."

The best illustration that I have seen of the unique personality and power that was Zebulon B. Vance's comes from an incident of the War which took place in the same year 1863. It was related some years afterward by a member of his staff who accompanied him on a visit to the Army of Northern Virginia.

He was then a candidate for re-election to the gubernatorial chair, and was being opposed by the party proclaiming itself for "Peace and Reconstruction" on any terms; and though the ostensible object of his visit was to advance his political fortunes, its real object was to rekindle the fires of patriotism in the hearts of the North Carolina troops and to cheer and stimulate the entire army.

General Lee ordered a general review in his honor—an incident I believe without parallel in the history of the army. Upon an immense plain near Orange Court House, there were assembled the troops which composed the then unconquered Army of Northern Virginia***Jackson, Longstreet, Stuart, Early, Ewell, Hill, Rhodes, Gordon, Hampton, Pettigrew, and Fitzhugh Lee were there to do honor to Carolina's illustrious son.

Arranged in two confronting lines, the noble veterans awaited the coming of the old chieftain and the youthful Governor. Finally the cannons boomed and General Lee and Governor Vance appeared, and, amid storms of enthusiastic cheers, rode slowly along the excited lines.

Soon as the review was ended the men and officers came crowding around the elevated platform which had been prepared for the orator, and for two hours they gave him their most earnest attention. The day was truly a proud one for North Carolina and her gifted son, and a more appropriate, effective and eloquent address was never uttered by human lips. Under the influence of his varied imagery, his happy and graphic illustrations, his stirring appeals and deep pathos, his masterly grasp and inner meaning, trenchant thrusts and touching allusions and, in a word, under his magnificent and resistless eloquence, the audience was stirred, enraptured, enthused and carried away as if by the spell of a magician. Not a man who heard the impassioned outburst of patriotic

inspiration would have hesitated to die for his country. If aught of lukewarmness or despondency had been produced by the machinations of a selfish faction at home, they vanished as the morning mist before the rising sun under the spell of this good man's matchless eloquence. I heard General Lee remark that Governor Vance's visit to the army had been equivalent to its reinforcement by 50,000 men, and General J. E. B. Stuart said of it, "if the test of eloquence is its effect, this speech was the most eloquent ever delivered."

And that is a good note, it seems to me, on which to move to the Tercentenary year of the Carolina Charter. As in the year 1663, it would be fruitless to review the condition of the State, and for the opposite reason—in the first year we had nothing, in this year we have everything. Our happy cities seduce industry from the strife-torn metropolises of the North and West. The face of our land is adorned with all that the ingenuity of our race can contrive. Architecturally we are uniquely blest: The outstanding residence of the thirteen colonies was Tryon's Palace on the Trent. The most elaborate residence that will ever be built in these United States is "Biltmore" in the Land of the Sky. Both are now open to the public. And in State College we have a school of design which is not merely abreast of the times but a pace-setter for the times to follow. Our Research Triangle is a national center for the propagation of knowledge. The magnificence of the monument of James B. Duke, cultural and athletic, is matched by the intellectual ferment of Carolina, scholarly and sophomoric, both complemented by the serene loveliness with which millions of shekels have endowed Wake Forest and Davidson. The catalog is endless, our cup runneth over.

In the current dispute over the centralizing tendencies of the United States government since World War II, it is not the purpose of this paper to become involved. Our present Chief Executive made this statement in an address in New York this past summer: "I am sure the President and most Cabinet members and substantial leadership in the Congress would like to stop the trend to centralization but they can't do it unless the public will tolerate it and the public will not accept it until we as a state and local officials demonstrate our competence and willingness to handle the legitimate needs of the public."

Many will welcome his Excellency's assurance as to the intent and purpose of the federal government and its desire to retire from the local scene.

Whatever our differences of opinion with respect to the "legitimate needs of the people," the Tercentenary year is an appropriate milestone at which to take note of where we are and how we got there.

This, indeed, is the purpose of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, established in 1959, by the General Assembly, and to which some \$225,000 has thusfar been allotted in State funds in addition to private contributions.

Impressive achievements have already been accomplished, although the Tercentenary date for the issuing of the Charter does not arrive until March 24, 1963. A TV music drama is in the process of composition, a commemorative work for symphony orchestra is being scored, an art exhibit, featuring loans from England of three-hundred-year-old paintings, will be presented in Raleigh in March and April. Most educational institutions in the State plan appropriate observances during the year, and a motion picture film available for loans to teachers, clubs, and the like, should be released by September. The Charter Commission has some half a dozen informative pamphlets, on topics dealing with early colonial history, being published and scheduled for distribution to schools throughout the State. The first volume of the much-needed revised *Colonial Records* is now on the press and will be available early in 1963, and a campaign is underway to persuade the legislature to appropriate funds for a building for the Department of Archives and History, ours being one of the few southern States without an adequate structure exclusively for such purposes.

I am quite obviously taking advantage of this captivity of the cultural elite of the State to enlist support for the Tercentenary celebration in all its varied facets of history, literature, education, religion, and the arts. There is much to be remembered in these three hundred years and there are many to whom we should be grateful. The Tarheel names most frequently found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* published by the American Council of Learned Societies are Ashe, Nash, and Henderson. But there are great and small in every county who deserve our thanks for present blessings and there is no more appropriate time to accord them their due. The North State, old and new, was made not by hundreds but by thousands of sincere and self-sacrificing patriots.

We did not get here by chance, although as I suggested in the beginning, it may have been by Predestination. We will most certainly not stay here without emphasis on the absolutes of success and service—however relative each generation is determined to prove them—and without, most important of all, the eternal vigilance with respect to both friend and foe, which is the price of the Charter—adumbrated and God-given liberty which distinguishes our happy State.

LOCALIZED HISTORY IN THE AGE OF EXPLOSIONS

BY CLIFFORD L. LORD*

I stand before you tonight with great personal pleasure, partly because of the nature of this audience which we were assured this noon by Dean Holman is enamored of the past, but particularly because it gives me a welcome chance to express publicly before a North Carolina audience, my long-standing admiration for—and my hope that you equally admire—the remarkable job that is being done in your Department of Archives and History under the leadership of Dr. Crittenden. All of us in the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History have admired Chris for many years, not just as the gentleman he is but as the dynamic and deceptively calm leader of a model program in not only archival but museum work, with junior historians, sites and celebrations, publications, and everything that constitutes the well-rounded program of the State historical organization. And this he has done, as you know, on relatively limited resources. He is a man of great success in winning the co-operation of others in a common cause—as all of you in this audience tonight certainly well know—and a man, too, of great success in drawing to his staff bright, attractive, and able people and then holding them against the seductions of those of us elsewhere in the country who try to get them away from him. I hope that everyone here is going to get behind the two latest projects of the Department—the county history program and the sorely needed new building.

This is a remarkable occasion—an occasion, that is, worthy of remark. Here we are in the Hotel Sir Walter, spending a week discussing culture, cultural projects, history, heritage and similar esoteric subjects, in the midst of the most exciting and explosive, dangerous, and promising era in the history of mankind. At Canaveral and Vandenburg, at Wallops Island and Central Siberia, mankind is launching satellites to probe the ionosphere, to send us data on space phenomena, or even to relay television programs from continent to continent. There are

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according to the latest figures well over 200 satellites in orbit around the earth at this moment and, just possibly, one of them is passing overhead right now. We are launching space probes on the moon, to Mars, to Venus; we are launching astronauts and cosmonauts; we are beginning the serious exploration of space.

It is popular in history to characterize various periods as "ages"—the Age of Reason, the Age of Enlightenment, the Golden Age of this or that. I think of this as the Age of Explosions.

Though the explosions which launch the exploration of space have captured the popular imagination, there are other dramatic and significant explosions taking place all around us. Take, for instance, the explosion of knowledge. Robert Oppenheimer not too long ago—and how can even a brain like his comprehend this—said that the corpus of human knowledge is now doubling at the rate of once every eight to eight and one half years. In science, you know something of what is going on; the probing of space is paralleled by exploration in the opposite direction, as Operation Mohole probes through the under-seas surface of the earth to explore what lies beneath. You know some of the accomplishments of the sensational International Geophysical Year so recently completed. You have been reading of the progress in biochemistry and the discovery of DNA, that rather remarkable five-foot-long-coil buried in each living cell—animal and vegetable alike—which operates rather like a built-in computer to tell that cell how to develop and what kind of cell to become. You know something of the progress being made in the behavioral sciences and the growing understanding of what makes men and women and animals act and react as they do. You know something of the progress in medicine: the antibiotics, the miracle drugs, the radical surgery now undertaken of heart and brain. You know of the new unity that has come to the physical sciences with the appreciation of the atomic structure. You know something of the miracles and the perils of atomic science. This is common knowledge. But let's assess this putative doubling of the corpus of human knowledge every eight or eight and one half years in some less likely field like ancient history. When I was in school, the Empire of the Hittites was *terra incognita*. It consisted, so far as we then knew, of a few Biblical references and some extraordinary ruins at Boghazköy and one or two other places in Asia Minor. But because, since World War II, we have uncovered some extensive Hittite archives and because linguists have cracked the code and now can translate the Hittite language we know a great deal about this powerful empire that once ruled so much of Asia Minor forty centuries ago.

Again, when I was in school, Ankor Vat in modern Thailand was a complete mystery, a huge ruin completely overgrown by the jungle. Who had built it, where they had gone, and what had happened to them nobody knew. Now we know a great deal about the Khmers and the rather remarkable civilization that once centered at Ankor Vat. The discovery of amphora in Turkestan and Roman coins in Mongolia has proved what had only been surmised before as to the extent of trade in the pre-Christian eras. The same thing is true of the Aztec Empire and the civilization of the Incas. We have acquired the use of remarkable tools in carbon 14 and a modern derivative of Uranium 238 with which we can successfully date the objects of pre-history. So it is fair to say as we look at ancient history that here is another field of knowledge where the corpus of human knowledge is doubled approximately every eight or eight and a half years.

Let's take a look at another unlikely field, like literature. Here I would cite only one development—the so-called Mark II translator, which IBM will have on the market before long. The present Mark I translator has a vocabulary of 27,500 words. The Mark II translator will have a vocabulary of 275,000 words, will do very much better with dangling participles and split infinitives, and may even be able to handle poetry. Now think what this means. We all know of minor French classics which have never been translated into English. We know of major Russian classics that are not available in English. Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali have hardly been tapped. Even Chinese literature is for the first time being extensively and scientifically translated. The Mark II translator can go to work on all the great mass of untranslated literature and make it all more or less available in more or less good English more or less instantaneously. It can also take all English literature and translate it into the several hundred major languages and dialects of the world. Here again, clearly, knowledge of the literatures of other languages is exploding and the end is not in sight. This, of course, conjures a publisher's paradise while pointing up the fact that all of us in this enormous explosion of knowledge are becoming increasingly illiterate.

Take this theory of Oppenheimer's and put it the other way around. It means that by 1970—eight years hence—the corpus of human knowledge will be just exactly twice what it is today. Fantastic? I think it is happening.

Another explosion is that of automation. There has been in print for less than six months a prophesy by one of the students of this new development that all jobs below the middle management level will be automated within ten years. This may prove to be a slight

exaggeration but we know what is already happening in the displacement of persons. We know what is happening in retraining and retraining programs—retraining and retraining people in many instances, I am afraid, for jobs that will not exist by the time the retraining and retraining is done. We know what this means in terms of unemployables—the hard core unemployment of the unskilled, undertrained, undereducated, which is beginning to be serious.

Automation is accelerated by computers. We have just installed a new computer at Columbia. It will be functioning in about two weeks. It will take the entire payroll of the University—all the teaching staff, all the guards, all the building maintenance helpers and secretaries and everybody else paid by the University—compute their social security deductions, their retirement premiums, their Blue Cross-Blue Shield deductions, their major medical insurance, their group life insurance, all the other fringe benefits, New York State taxes, federal income taxes, and print the entire payroll in 35 seconds. Librascope operations, Control System (General Precision Company), Product Administration and Contract Control (Sperry Rand), Uniform Reporting Systems, Automatic Data Acquisition (RCA), all entail elements of a new mechanized managerial revolution with all the accompanying problems and with some potential at least of early realization of Dr. Donald M. Michael's startling prophecy.

Take another explosion: the explosion of population. Note the prediction that there will be standing room only on this poor globe of ours by the twenty-first century. Note the threat meanwhile of major explosions in overpopulated areas like China, India, and Latin America.

Take the explosion of nationalism, the collapse of the old colonial empires and the creation of new nations literally by the dozen. Think what this means in terms of its impact on international politics, on the balance of power in the United Nations, creating problems of tremendous scope and significance. Among others, speeding the realization of equality of opportunity—so long the proudest boast of Americans—in many areas in this country and abroad, in the process unsettling many deeply-rooted customs that people in many areas have come to count upon.

All over the world there are explosions, or explosive situations—Cuba, Berlin, Laos, the Chinese-Indian border, Arab nationalism against Israel, Kashmir, the captive nations, Latin-American poverty, racism in Africa, etc.—any one of which conceivably, directly or indirectly, could result in the biggest explosion of them all, which, of course, would solve all our problems by the process of elimination.

This then is the Age of Explosions—the Space Age, an age of great insecurity, an age in which you can take nothing for granted, an age of religious revival and yet of greatly increased delinquency both juvenile and adult, an age of awe and of religious affirmation on the one hand and of increasing amorality and immorality on the other, where many of the bases that we have accepted as basic to our civilization are shifting. It is an age full of vast, disturbing uncertainties—and of great potential and great challenge.

And here we sit in the Sir Walter participating in Culture Week. And this, I repeat, is worthy of remark because we seem also to be in the midst of a cultural explosion. Some of you like myself are old enough to remember when the newspapers across the country began to issue little coupons which you would cut out and send in with something like 89 cents and get an anonymous recording of classical music. You will remember the extraordinary success of this project which all of a sudden, overnight made classical music something not just for the elite or the highly cultured but part of the culture of the people as a whole. Since that breakthrough we have seen the unanticipated proliferation of symphonies in cities across the country, of summer opera in Santa Fe, of opera companies in many of our major cities, of festivals like those at Tanglewood and Gibraltar, and in New York the new Council of the Fine Arts which subsidizes at State expense the sending to the smaller cities of the State of operas, symphonies, ballets, and theater. This is just one example—music—of what I mean by the explosion of culture. Take art. Not just the fantastic prices we pay for masterpieces or the even more fantastic prices that are paid for experimental art just a few years old, but the new galleries and the new art museums which also are springing up all across the country. Remember, too, that the art of painting is no longer just a quaint curiosity but an acceptable part of the life of public figures like Winston Churchill or Eisenhower, or of less well-known people like my wife. Take a look at the theater where we all know that summer stock and the amateur playhouse and even good television programs are things of quite recent popularity and origin. Take projects like Lincoln Center in New York, or like the new cultural center underway at Trenton, where New Jersey will commemorate the tercentenary of *its* Charter by erecting a new building for its archives, a new State library, a new State museum, and a large public auditorium. This form of Charter observance I would emphasize without making the point, I hope, too obvious. These are signs of an affluent society to be sure, but they are something more. They are the signs, too, of an increasing

maturity, of rising educational levels, of rising standards of cultural appreciation throughout the land.

This brings me, as we come to the conclusion of the last evening program of this 1962 Culture Week in North Carolina, to localized history where also since World War II there has been a major explosion. I will be frank with you: It has not attracted the national-international attention that the exploration of space or even the explosion of knowledge has attracted, but it is here. A recent survey taken by the American Association for State and Local History indicates that the State historical societies between 1951 and 1961 have almost tripled their budgets, have more than trebled their membership, and have gone in for much more comprehensive programs of history for the people: junior historians programs, television, proliferation of sites, the expanded scope of the local societies, mobile museums, and the rest. I have seen it happen in Wisconsin. You have seen it happen in North Carolina. This survey also indicates that there are over 1,700 county and local societies with over 391,000 members and an annual income of close to \$6,000,000 a year, that they own real property valued in excess of \$18,000,000, that they own and operate some 470 historic houses and museums. These are just the county and local societies. And when you add to this the special groups—the Civil War Round Tables, the corrals of the westerners, the specialized historical societies, church, regional, and special interest groups, the total becomes highly impressive. But that is not all, because we have also to add the proliferation of movements to preserve sites and historic buildings. It's really getting to be a matter of keeping up with the Joneses: Every community must have its own historic site or historic house, some of which are not quite as historic as some of the others. Another alarming modern statistic is that across the nation we are dedicating an average of one historical museum per week at the present time. One wag, as a matter of fact, has charged that we are in the throes of a national edifice complex. To this you must add the restorations, starting with Williamsburg and your own remarkable Tryon Palace; the College Hill project in Providence, Rhode Island; the Independence Hall-area project in Philadelphia; the movement to restore historic St. Augustine; the preservation of San Francisco's waterfront; the restoration of Virginia City, Nevada, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. You have to add also the pageants, again Williamsburg, again your own Roanoke and Cherokee pageants, New Salem (Illinois), and all the myriad small ones which are being staged all over the country. And you have to add the phenomenal success of the magazine *American*

Heritage—hardbound, expensive, without advertising, and yet with an enormous subscription list. I cite these things simply to indicate that interest in localized history is widespread and deep-rooted.

Forgive me two personal experiences to emphasize the point. The first is the story of a rather remarkable county society which had gone on the rocks. It had been very active in the 1920's and early 1930's, had produced some very good county history, had built its own museum in a county of only 10,000 people, had gathered a rather select collection of artifacts and newspapers, but had made the sad mistake of not recruiting new personnel. It was now down to two members, both of them octogenarians, and both of them cardiacs. At this point the County Board, which had been supplying light and heat to the museum, resolved that since there was no county society it would return the building to the heirs of the donors. At this point I got on the telephone and called up the octogenarian who was then the president of this society and said, "Bert, it can't get any worse; would you let us come up there and see what we could do?" He said, "Come ahead, Cliff, but it is hopeless. You can't do anything. There is nobody in this county interested in history." Two colleagues and I drove to this county, sat down for two hours with the county clerk, the county agent, and the county agricultural 4-H leader and went through the telephone book. In a county of 10,000 people this was not very hard to do. They checked off the people whom they thought would be interested, and off we started. We divided the county into three zones, took one each. For two and a half days we rang doorbells. The result was that we took in the membership dues of about 200 people who could not come to the mass meeting we called at the county courthouse for the last night of the three-day sojourn. We turned out, despite a three-hour torrential downpour, at least one car from every community in the county. We had 150 people there. They elected the twenty-eight-year old postmaster of one of the towns as their president. They organized a group of active committees. They got a flourishing county society going, and for the time being they saved the museum.

The second experience I would cite I enjoyed within the month in Bergen County, New Jersey, where the county historical society had run a small two-column ad once in the county daily. The gist of this was if you want to know more about this county you reside in, come to this meeting at the civic shopping center at a specified auditorium. I attended partly out of curiosity and partly because the president invited me to "come on down and see what happens." The turnout was

1,500 people. The society is going to hold a series of such meetings next fall and capitalize on the obviously great public interest.

All this activity in historical societies, museums, restorations, markers, and programs both scholarly and popular reminds one of one of those incidents that sears itself into one's consciousness. It came at the end of my first presentation to the Joint Finance Committee of the Wisconsin legislature. I had made what I thought was a highly spirited and I hoped effective plea for an extra \$100,000 and I sat down with a slow glow of satisfaction spreading over me. It vanished very abruptly as the little white-haired senator who was chairman of the committee at that time looked up over his half-moon glasses and said, "Very interesting, Lord, very interesting, but is it important?"

That was a good question—a good question then, a good question now: Is this important? In this Age of Explosions is it escapism? Is it just doing what we have done for years regardless of the situation the world is in? I think not. Localized history shares the values that all history has to offer. It helps teach us how to weigh conflicting evidence; that there is more than one side, one version, to most stories; gives us a little experience in sifting and winnowing against the deliberate lie, propaganda, the misrecollection. All history by definition gives background—the background of our present problems, the story of how we got where we are. And this I suggest makes for more intelligent citizenship. It also makes for understanding—understanding of how things happen, why they happen, who makes them happen. Understanding of that kind makes for a sort of wisdom. And finally all history, I think, gives perspective—how far we have come and how fast. It makes people a little less radical about the cure of present evil, a little less ready to upset the apple cart to get rid of one rotten apple. It makes for balance, it makes for evolution rather than revolution.

So much for history in general. Localized history has its own very special importance. I must first make clear that by localized history I am not talking about the mere calendaring of local events: who started the first bank, who was the second mayor of the town, who was the Presbyterian minister when the town burned down. Localized history is not antiquarian; it is not provincial. It is not just collecting the old fact or the old artifact simply because it is old. It is, instead, the serious interpretive study of what has happened, how it has happened, why it has happened, and that all-important who made it happen. This has been called the microscopic approach to history, the worm's eye view of history, grass roots history or, what I call it, localized history.

It is the story of the man who gets an idea, which becomes a shop, which becomes a factory, which makes a product that is ultimately

exported to Japan where a bright entrepreneur picks up the idea, reproduces it, starts exporting back to this country, and precipitates a tariff fight in Congress. It is the story of the editor who fulminates against all transgression, real and imaginary, so mercilessly that he actually succeeds in creating a different climate of opinion in his community and in his region. It is the story of the preacher, who by precept and example, does bring a genuine element of Christian love (*Xápitos*, charity) to his community. It is the story of the gadfly who by reiterated attack ultimately may achieve a measure of reform. Or the story of the "stand-patter" or of the "middle-of-the-roader" through whom most progress is actually made. It is the story of the patron who brings new cultural opportunities to his or her community. It is the story of the teacher who opens to generation after student-generation new vistas, new horizons, new insights. In short, localized history is the story of people, working together or against each other, singly or in groups, shaping the course of local events and in that process making history, often far beyond the borders of that community or that region.

Looked at another way, our communities are different because their people make them so. I am sure I could illustrate this from North Carolina history, but it is safer for an outlander to illustrate from a distance—in this instance, Wisconsin. There are two towns on the Mississippi River, Cassville and Prairie du Chien. Cassville is a town of 900 souls; Prairie du Chien is a town of 5,000. Cassville is one and a half blocks wide and it will never be any wider because that is all the room there is between the water and the bluffs of the Mississippi. Prairie du Chien, on the other hand, is on a broad alluvial plain and has room to grow and grow and grow. Cassville has one railroad and the trains don't stop; Prairie du Chien has two railroads and the trains do stop. Cassville has one river; Prairie du Chien has two. All the advantages are Prairie du Chien's and yet Cassville is a booming, bustling, thriving, prospering town and Prairie du Chien is coming apart at the seams. What is the story? One man, literally one man: the local undertaker, who has been Mayor of Cassville for 29 years and who is one of the great promoters of this generation. I said to a friend this morning that if Mayor Eckstein had ever hit Madison Avenue this country would not be the same. But he has promoted one thing after another for Cassville to the point that his small, disadvantaged town is prospering mightily whereas a far better situated, larger community, thirty miles away is in desperate trouble. Localized history then, is the study of the men who have left towns—or companies or institutions or statutes or what will you—as their monuments.

Or take another approach. Our political parties are not, as you well know, great monolithic unities. They are in their operations made up of local groups, local leaders, local interests. There are conflicts of policy in both parties at the national level, at the State level, at the county level, at the local level. Acts of Congress are best understood not as reflections just of the national interest (except in times of crisis), but as reflections of these local interests, local pressures, local desires worked into cohesive bills by strong leaders and effective compromisers—all of them individuals. Localized history is the study of those on whose shoulders we stand.

Two critical contributions emerge from this approach to local history, both of genuine importance, both of basic significance in this Age of Explosions.

First of all in an era of such fantastic change, of such vast uncertainty, of such rapid shifts in formerly basic concepts, man—if he is to keep his wits and his balance—needs as never before a sense of roots, of stable background, of participation in a vast stream of history, culture, foundations, heritage. For us this sense of heritage goes back to Greece, Rome, and Bethlehem to be sure. But it also goes back to Roanoke, Hillsboro, Moores Creek Bridge, Brunswick, and Kitty Hawk. If we are to keep our sense of perspective we must recognize our continuity with and our debt to the past; we must sense the way we belong to North Carolina, to Raleigh, to America. If we utilize the peculiar values of localized history to compare life in Carolina today with life here one hundred, or two hundred, or three hundred, or three hundred and fifty years ago; if we study life in a Raleigh or a New Bern or a Beaufort then and now; if we look at what our forefathers did in the Revolution, or the War Between the States, or the Industrial Revolution, or what the present generation and its immediate predecessor did to bring North Carolina to its present unique position below the Mason and Dixon Line, our present problems fall into perspective. We gain not just insight, but wisdom and courage. A modicum at least of order and pattern begins to emerge. Some things to hold fast to, some guideposts for the individual and for the State come clear. Localized history puts one in intimate touch with the past, the rock on which we stand. It is a taproot into the rich soil of heritage, into a sense of understanding and belonging through knowing. This we need.

The second critical contribution of this localized approach is the way it brings into focus and spotlights the continuing importance of the individual—yesterday, today, and tomorrow. This no longer is just a slogan of the National Association of Manufacturers, but—

through localized history—a solid, demonstrable, historical fact. It is also a tenet basic to Western Civilization since the days of Greece, a tenet basic to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Localized history gets away from the broad generalization of world, or western, or even American history, which necessarily condenses the facts of history into broad syntheses or sweeping trends, in which the individual is reduced to a statistic, too often to a cypher. It moves from the general to the specific, from mankind to men and women. It gives the lie to the economic determinist who would have us believe that action is determined solely by self-interest. He who studies the history of people knows full well the impact of love and hate, of sentiment, principle and morality, of loyalty, and self-sacrifice.

Localized history brings us close to the source springs of the American genius, close to an understanding of what has produced the most dynamic economy, the most fluid (democratic) society, and the highest standard of living the world has yet seen.

We are now engaged in a fateful world-wide contest for the minds and souls of mankind. Here, in the localized approach to American history, we have at hand the means both the better to know—to understand—ourselves, and to arm ourselves with the understanding, the knowledge, the facts with which to help others understand us, our way of life, the dynamics of the American experiment.

Armed with such knowledge, such understanding, balance, perspective and wisdom, we achieve that oak-like quality that is the hallmark of those well rooted. But simultaneously we arm ourselves for what Andrew Jackson once called “the expansion of the areas of freedom.” Never was this understanding of the nature of the American experiment and of the importance of the individual of more critical importance than in the turmoil of this Age of Explosions.

So my answer to that Wisconsin senator, and my conclusion for tonight—and for tomorrow and tomorrow’s morrow—is that localized history, if well-pursued and well-practiced, is of great importance, the more so now than ever before.

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BY WILLIAM S. POWELL*

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of William Alexander Graham, Volume IV, 1851-1856. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (Raleigh: The State Department of Archives and History. 1961 [1962]. Pp. xxii, 701. \$3.00.)

Volume IV of the Graham papers reveals comparatively little about Graham personally, but a great deal of the political thoughts of Whigs in this vital period. It should constitute a very useful source for scholars seeking an understanding of the 1850's.

The volume opens when Graham is Secretary of the Navy. Most of his correspondents discuss the Compromise of 1850 insisting that they loyally support it, but enemies call them "submissionists" and seek destruction of the Union. Quite a few assert that the Union will be saved only if northern states obey the Fugitive Slave Law. Graham in a few speeches urged the North to obey the Constitution which he clearly explained required the return of fugitive slaves.

Most of Graham's correspondents praise President Millard Fillmore and demand his re-election. A Fillmore-Graham ticket is widely advocated as one that can defeat the Democrats and save the nation. Letters by and to Graham denounce Winfield Scott as a "Tool" of William H. Seward and the abolitionists. Angry letters reach Graham concerning the publication of a letter by Willie P. Mangum which praised Scott and denounced Fillmore. After the Whigs nominate Scott and Graham, Graham writes several letters asserting Scott's alleged ardent support of the compromise, and many of the same correspondents who denounced Scott begin to praise him. A Democratic victory in the North Carolina gubernatorial election is blamed on the treachery of Thomas L. Clingman and on "free suffrage." Hopes get high in September and October and Graham receives letters from many areas predicting Whig victory. Graham lost, failing to carry even North Carolina, but a slight hope existed that he could be elected United States Senator. This failed, but Graham was nominated and elected to the State Senate. In an amazing speech Graham opposed free suffrage likening it to taxation (on land) without representation. In 1856 Graham ardently supported Fillmore. The letters whet one's appetite for wishing to learn more concerning the partial merger of Americans and Southern Whigs.

Matters other than politics, of course, enter the study. There are interesting letters from Matthew Perry concerning Japan. Graham's

complex dealing as a contractor for the North Carolina Railroad is the subject of several letters. Graham received dozens of letters from his overseer about crops and slaves. Incidentally, a medical bill for five years, mostly for treatment of slaves, amounted to \$650.25. Graham wrote and received letters concerning a large bequest to Davidson College as he was counsel for the trustees in the case. He was an amateur historian and wrote and received many letters concerning sources of Revolutionary War history. He gave a long address before the New York historical society.

Historians owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Hamilton and to the State Department of Archives and History for making this valuable source available. One regrets that Democratic sources of State history aren't preserved in a comparable manner.

William S. Hoffmann.

Delta College,
University Center, Michigan.

O. Henry from Polecat Creek. By Ethel Stephens Arnett (Greensboro: Piedmont Press [Distributed by Straughan's Bookshop, Greensboro]. 1962. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. Pp. xxi, 240. \$5.95.)

William Sidney (later Sydney) Porter is usually thought of as a native of Greensboro and is so listed in many reference books. According to Mrs. Arnett, author of this account of Will Porter's boyhood and youth, he was not born in the city, however, but on a farm a few miles away near Polecat Creek in Guilford County. After the death of Will's mother three years later (in 1865), Dr. Algernon Sidney Porter moved with his two young sons to the home of Dr. Porter's mother, Mrs. Sidney Porter, in Greensboro; and here Will lived until he went to Texas in 1882. In 1890 and again in 1891 he returned to Greensboro with his first wife Athol and his young daughter Margaret. These appear to have been his only visits to the city after he left it, though in 1907 he married (after Athol's death) a Greensboro widow, Sara Lindsay Coleman, who had been his first sweetheart twenty-six years before. After his death in 1910 he was buried not in Greensboro but in Asheville, where he had gone the preceding year in an attempt to recover from a decline in health.

Mrs. Arnett has confined her account of Will almost exclusively to his Greensboro years, adding a brief postscript on his later years and

his death. Though she has used many printed sources, she has enriched her account with additional material gathered in numerous interviews with relatives, friends, and acquaintances of young Will Porter. Thus he is seen usually through the eyes of people who knew him long before he became O. Henry. For example, his brother Shell recalled hearing him laugh only three times. His school friend Tom Tate, in remembering Will's extensive reading, had "no recollection of his caring for poetry or historical works. His seemed to be the love of the story teller for the story." Another school friend remembered his "gentleness of manner, a delicacy of feeling, [and] a refinement in speech and demeanour that was as much a part of him as his humour."

One valuable aspect of Mrs. Arnett's book for students of O. Henry's stories is her relating people or incidents in Will's early life to characters and actions in specific stories. She cites his use of plots, scenes, and descriptive or other details not only in the southern tales but also in scattered ones with Central American, Western, and New York locales.

O. Henry from Polecat Creek is an important addition to O. Henry biography. One minor objection may be raised, however, to the portrait of Will Porter in the book. Occasionally he sounds a little too much like one of the Rover boys or one of Horatio Alger's heroes.

H. G. Kincheloe.

North Carolina State College.

The Face of North Carolina. Compiled and edited by Bruce Roberts. Text by Dick Gorrell. Foreword by Paul Green. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin, Publishers. 1962. [Pp. vi, 176, unnumbered]. \$12.50.)

From the wind and wave swept shores of Hatteras to the cloud-encircled tops of the Smoky Mountains, North Carolina has many faces. There are the faces of great wealth and greater poverty, of intellectual brilliance and pathetic ignorance, and of sublime beauty and stark ugliness. In *The Face of North Carolina* the ethereal and naive faces of children and the seasoned resigned faces of the elderly contrast sharply with the expectant and rapturous faces of youth. Often the photographs are silhouettes—a burdened farm boy outlined against the westering sun or a homing shrimp boat slipping through silvered waters. These are pictures to make Tarheels nostalgic, proud, thoughtful, and determined.

The collection of photographs in this ambitious book by Bruce Roberts shows all of the faces of North Carolina, its people, and its resources. Mr. Roberts has arranged his material with artistic appeal and a fascinating story would unfold even if there were no commentary. He is to be congratulated for his success in presenting North Carolina photographically. The book is a treasure house of expressions of joy and pathos, of despair and hope, which has been caught by the camera and grouped to tell the story of the growth of a great State—changing, yet unchanging.

Dick Gorrell supplied the text. Following an Introduction he outlines the geographical sections of the State, frequently using a few words to delineate an entire series of related pictures. Mr. Gorrell writes well, at times lyrically and poetically, and only a severe critic would berate him for the errors found in a few of his descriptions. His introduction to "Land of the Sky" is phrased succinctly—a précis—nonetheless, it is an admirable piece of writing.

This large volume, 9½ x 12 inches, is another praiseworthy book to come from the presses of McNally and Loftin, the young Charlotte publishers. They have done a notable job of publishing North Caroliniana by North Carolinians. Paul Green in the Foreword says, ". . . the editors of this volume have created a stunning pictorial study of our beloved State. The book is a work of art from start to finish and is crammed full of beauty and delight." It is obviously a book to give *and* to keep. It will become more valuable as the face of North Carolina changes.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

State Department of Archives and History.

Ghosts of the Carolinas. By Nancy Roberts. With photographs by Bruce Roberts. Foreword by LeGette Blythe. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin. 1962. Pp. 64. \$3.50.)

In 1959, Nancy and Bruce Roberts brought out, with popular success, *An Illustrated Guide to Ghosts & Mysterious Occurrences in the Old North State*, among whose sixteen stories were those of the hoof-prints at Bath, Peter Dromgoole, and the Maco Lights. By no means did that book exhaust phantom possibilities in the State, though this time Mrs. Roberts has extended her geographical field by having her eighteen yarns equally divided between North and South Carolina.

In fact, with a gracious invitation for other writers to enter the arena of ghost-story writing, she reveals that she has barely scratched the surface, for "there is a wealth of material in North Carolina and South Carolina libraries which was gathered by those who engaged in the federal writer's project during the 1930's," she explains. "Although most of it has not been published, it is available in manuscript."

Well-told ghost stories almost never fail to make for good reading, and it is practically impossible for even the most literal-minded to resist them. From North Carolina, Mrs. Roberts dramatically narrates the appearance of several apparitions in the Wilmington environs, recounts the superstitions about Tsali's ghost and the Brown Mountains Lights, and raises the reader's hair right off his head with events in the House of the Opening Door. From South Carolina, there are the Hagley ghosts of Georgetown, the shades of Litchfield Plantation, the Gray Man of Pawley's Island, and others. All the stories are written in an easy, journalistic style. No sources are acknowledged for the separate stories.

In the general preservation of our folklore, it is vastly important that ghost tales be constantly rewritten and continually resurrected. These two books by Nancy Roberts (with fascinating trick photographs by her husband), plus John Harden's *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Carolina Mystery Stories* (1947) and *Tar Heel Ghosts* (1954), give North Carolina a certain prestige in the field of recounting its popular legends.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

The County of Moore, 1847-1947: A North Carolina Region's Second Hundred Years. By Manly Wade Wellman. (Southern Pines: Moore County Historical Association. 1962. Appendixes, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. viii, 211. \$7.50.)

Moore County is unique among North Carolina counties. Situated in the eastern edge of the Piedmont region, the upper portion is fairly typical Piedmont country. It was inhabited at mid-nineteenth century, when Mr. Wellman's story begins, by a sturdy people, most of whom were farmers or fairly prosperous "planters." Many of them were descendants of the Scottish Highlanders who had made their way up the Cape Fear Valley a hundred years before; and most of them were devout Presbyterians.

The southern part of the County was relatively undeveloped and had few inhabitants. It was a region of sand hills, and they were covered by forests of longleaf pine. The farmers had passed them by for more productive lands.

Within a quarter century, however, a revolution had begun which was to turn this backward area into a relatively populous and prosperous region. Some of "the Builders" came to Moore from other counties and some were "Yankees," but many were natives of Moore. Observing the pleasing fragrance of the pine-scented air and the relative dryness of the rain-absorbing soil, they advertised it first as a haven for sufferers from respiratory diseases and even obtained testimonials from reputable physicians as to the efficacy of Moore's climate.

This approach, however, was soon discarded. After all, the climate was delightful and the rolling hill country was beautiful. Furthermore, the Sandhills were only half as far from the northern city dwellers as Florida where many of them were already going to avoid the rigorous winters. So, roads were built and towns laid out and beautified by the best landscape architects of the country. Thousands of trees and flowering shrubs were imported and planted. Hotels, private homes, and schools were erected by such indefatigable promoters as John T. Patrick and James W. Tufts whose faith in Moore County led them to risk their fortunes in developing its attractions. The prosperous and cultured community that the Sandhills has become justifies their faith.

This well-written and readable book represents painstaking research. It is well documented. More studies of North Carolina's counties such as this are needed.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

The Land of Wilkes. By Johnson J. Hayes. (Wilkesboro: Wilkes County Historical Society. 1962. Pp. xii, 577. \$6.00.)

The Land of Wilkes traces the history of Wilkes County from its beginning to the present, a period of about 200 years. The chapters are organized into three divisions, the first ending in 1868, when the present North Carolina Constitution was adopted; the second in 1900; and the third in the present. The first division has 18 chapters, the

second 10, and the third 16, totaling 44 chapters varying in length from one page to 36 pages.

In addition to the book proper the volume has 35 pages of appendixes, 17 pages of notes and references, and a full index. It is attractively printed and copyrighted by the Wilkes County Historical Society.

Judge Hayes has written an unusual county history. His first sentence surely tells much about the book when he writes, "It has been difficult to condense the data compiled. . . ." That he succeeded in condensing his materials, numerous enough for two books, into one volume illustrates both his task and his understanding of what a county history should include.

The history is unique and excellent in its treatment of the early settlers and others, where they lived, whom they married, their children, acres of land owned and from whom purchased, boundaries of land, dates purchased and the page and book references to recorded deeds. In his emphasis upon land ownership, the author shows an understanding of the importance of land in local as well as in general history.

After land, emphases are given to three other phases of the history of Wilkes County, described as "a land of change." These are legal or governmental acts, church annals, and educational development.

The author studied carefully and thoroughly minutes of justices of the peace, county commissioners, grants and school records, wills, deeds, church and association records, as well as all available files of newspapers published in the County. He examined old county records at Wadesboro, Salisbury, Dobson, as well as at Wilkesboro. Incidents taken from the official records are often joined to make the history. The chapters on the churches of Wilkes are among the longest and most complete in the book, including pastors and Sunday School superintendents. In recording the history of education, Judge Hayes gives full endorsement to the fact that education and progress go hand in hand.

The book covers many other phases of the history of the County. Answering a long-standing claim Judge Hayes writes, "It thus seems clear that Tennessee never was a part of Wilkes County notwithstanding the long tradition that Wilkes was called the 'State of Wilkes' because it extended to the Mississippi." Other phases include the longest land trial in the history of the State, from 1752 to 1831; the case which resulted in the State Supreme Court limiting the size of the stick used in disciplining a wife to one no larger than a husband's

finger; and the first and second wives of William Berkley Lewis, close friend of Andrew Jackson and head of the "Kitchen Cabinet" in Washington, who were natives of Wilkes. There are many biographical sketches including those of General William Lenoir who is described as "Wilkes' first citizen," and Montford Stokes, the only Governor Wilkes County has furnished the State.

Doubtless because of the lack of space, a few subjects are treated briefly or omitted. These include political parties and elections before 1910 and only brief treatment after 1910 of taxes, land valuations, prohibition, and modern highways.

The reviewer likes best the author's ability to choose from much data those events which interestingly but accurately record the history of a great people, not omitting the bad but stressing the good as the basis for future constructive progress. Indeed, there are many passages in the book which illustrate the author's reverence for the achievements of his beloved native people.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes has set high standards in his excellent history for future county historians. Every home in Wilkes, and every school and public library in North Carolina, should have this history.

Daniel J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

North Carolina Votes. Compiled by the Staff of the Political Studies Program at the University of North Carolina under the Direction of Donald R. Matthews. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [c. 1962]. Pp. x, 315. \$5.00.)

This paper-back volume contains the North Carolina general election returns by county for President, 1868-1960; Governor, 1868-1960; and United States Senator, 1914-1960. There is also a list of candidates for each position, by party and year, together with the total United States and North Carolina returns for each election. Percentages and pluralities or majorities are given in all cases.

This in a sense is not a new work, for the statistics presented were already available in various publications. It will be useful, however, in that for the first time these figures are gathered in one handy volume. The presidential election statistics are obtained from six different printed sources. The gubernatorial and senatorial tabulations come exclusively from different editions of the *North Carolina Manual*, an official publication of the State of North Carolina. It is stated (p. x)

that "A few clerical errors and arithmetical discrepancies were found in these works and were corrected."

The chief question regarding the value of the work involves its accuracy. A spot-check, made by Mrs. Frances T. Council of the State Department of Archives and History, indicates that there are a few errors in the presidential and gubernatorial returns. For example, the presidential vote for Alamance County, 1876, is given as Democratic, 1,391 and Republican, 1,446, indicating a Republican victory; but the official manuscript volume from the Secretary of State (in the State Archives) gives the respective figures as 1,391 and 1,146, a Democratic majority. The total State vote for Governor, 1876, is given as Democratic, 118,258 and Republican, 104,330; but the official figures are 123,265 and 110,256. In 1956 the total Burke County presidential vote is shown as Democratic, 9,679 and Republican, 9,968, a Republican majority; the official vote is Democratic, 9,968 and Republican, 9,679, a Democratic majority. A few other discrepancies could be pointed out, but in most instances the presidential and gubernatorial votes appear to be correct. In no case that has been found does an error change the official state-wide party victory. It seems that the volume is for the most part reliable and thus a valuable research tool, one that will be used for many years to come.

Practically no interpretation is given except one: a comment on the tendency of Republican strength to grow in recent years, with appropriate questions as to the reasons. To attempt to interpret extensively would have been to go far beyond the intended scope and can be left for future graduate students and others. Making available the figures for each county will be useful for writers of local history.

There is one mistake in the statement that the *North Carolina Manual* "was not begun until 1913 . . ." (p. vii). Actually, such a publication (under a slightly different title) was published as early as 1874, and beginning in 1903 it has been issued every odd year to date.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History.

Josephus Daniels Says . . . An Editor's Political Odyssey From Bryan to Wilson and F.D.R., 1894-1913. By Joseph L. Morrison. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xi, 339. \$7.50.)

Newspaper editors in the post-Civil War South were counted among the section's most influential leaders. And certainly Josephus Daniels

of the *Raleigh News and Observer* would have to be numbered among the top two or three southern newspapermen of his generation. Fortunately, Daniels wrote a good three-volume autobiographical account of his career. More scholarly and objective analyses of his later activities after he became nationally prominent in the Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations have been published also. We have now Joseph L. Morrison's description of the Tarheel editor's participation in politics at the State level during his early editorial days before he went to Washington in 1913 to become Secretary of the Navy. It is appropriate that Morrison, an associate professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina who has had good historical training as well, should write on this period of Daniels' life when he was more journalist than politician.

Students of the New South will find this volume most helpful. Daniels was required as editor of the State capital's daily newspaper to comment on the politics of the time. But his interest was more than journalistic for he became national committeeman of the Democratic Party in 1896 and held that office for twenty years. He was thus doubly involved in North Carolina and national politics in an interesting and crucial period.

The basic issue Morrison has to come to grips with is the one of trying to understand and reconcile the contradictions and paradoxes of Daniels' early career. The terms must be carefully defined but it is fair to say that Daniels thought of himself as a liberal and progressive in State and national politics. He was against "privilege" and trusts, including North Carolina's own tobacco trust. He campaigned for low tariffs, free silver, and public education, especially on the university and college levels. On the other hand, his editorial attacks on the Republican-Populist Fusion party in the 1890's bordered on irresponsibility. He condoned and preached white supremacy in the 1898 campaign that eliminated the Negro vote in North Carolina and precipitated the Wilmington race riot. He hounded John Spencer Bassett so viciously that he finally drove one of the foremost scholars from the State. And in 1912, when there was a clear choice in the senatorial contest between progressive Walter Clark and conservative Furnifold Simmons, Daniels looked the other way and remained silent while the progressives went down to defeat.

To this reviewer it seems that Morrison is overly sympathetic toward Daniels and too ready to accept the editor's own definition of politics as the "art of the possible." This definition along with blind loyalty to the Democratic Party were the guide lines of Daniels' career. Morrison

is too quick to recognize these as positions of strength and too slow to recognize that they were also positions of weakness. Daniels' unwillingness on either one or both of these grounds to go out on a limb at crucial times to support the tenets of progressivism was in fact one of the signal weaknesses of that movement in North Carolina and a major reason why Joseph Steelman, the historian of North Carolina progressivism, has concluded the State's record was not "consistently outstanding." Nevertheless, Professor Morrison has added to our understanding of the man and his times.

James A. Tinsley.

University of Houston.

The Priceless Gift: The Love Letters of Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson Wilson. Edited by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. Illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xii, 324. \$6.95.)

The more than 1,450 letters exchanged between Ellen Axson and Woodrow Wilson constitute one of the most important sources of information about Wilson's life. Heretofore these letters have been closed to Wilson scholars, but they now are available at Princeton University. Mrs. McAdoo, the youngest and only remaining daughter of Ellen Axson and Woodrow Wilson, has done a thoroughly competent job of editing these remarkable letters. She provides the connecting narrative passages which place the letters in their proper setting.

Perhaps no other figure in American public life wrote as many love letters as did Woodrow Wilson, nor has any American surpassed the ardent Woodrow in the ability to turn a romantic phrase. "Eileen," as Woodrow frequently called Ellen, confessed her inability to keep emotionally cool while reading her lover's fervent messages.

The Editor has not included all of the letters that passed between her parents. Enough of the messages have been printed, however, so that no significant phase of their lives, as expressed in their correspondence, has been omitted. In the numerous communications published, Mrs. McAdoo has wisely chosen to delete unimportant family matters, mention of casual visits with friends or relatives and other repetitious materials of no consequence to posterity.

Ellen Axson was a demure, quiet, young woman when she met Wilson. Although her formal education was somewhat limited, she

was well read in English literature and talented in art. She gave Wilson a sense of security, a feeling of confidence in himself. She widened his intellectual horizon by introducing him to fields of knowledge which he probably would never have known without her encouragement and influence. As the years flew by, Wilson depended upon Ellen much more completely than most husbands ever do their wives. She was, he stated repeatedly, the only one who could give him an easing of his tensions, an assurance in the ultimate victory of his cause.

Unfortunately for Wilson's later years, Ellen died in August, 1914. Certainly she would have prevented such statements as Wilson made to the American voters in October, 1918, and would have lessened her husband's bitterness against the League of Nations opposition in the United States Senate. Ellen's death was inopportune for Wilson and America in these situations, but Wilson was certainly fortunate in having Ellen as his bosom companion throughout most of their adult lives. The rare warmth of their relationship is attested by the publication of *The Priceless Gift*.

George Osborn.

University of Florida.

Florida Breezes: Or, Florida New and Old. By Ellen Call Long. Introduction by Margaret Louise Chapman. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile reproduction of 1883 edition]. 1962. Floridiana Facsimile and Reprint Series, Rembert W. Patrick, General Editor. Pp. xxxiii [vi], 401. Index. \$8.50.)

In 1883 Ellen Call Long, daughter of Unionist General Richard Keith Call of Florida, published a semi-fictional description of the State before the Civil War along with an account of the degradation of southern civilization following disunion and defeat. The author described the book as "a compilation of anecdotes, facts, and histories, intended for reference and the entertainment of posterity." But her real purpose was to defend her father's career, both in the Seminole War and in the events of the 1860's. Almost bitterly she castigated her father's opponents, the defenders of secession: "Thus, our generous, chivalrous, and brave southern people are to be dragged into the whirlpool, by selfish and designing politicians. . . ." Mrs. Long included a quotation from the *New York Herald* describing Florida as the "smallest tadpole in the dirty pool of secession," and quoted at length General Call's speech against disunion in Florida.

Such views made her book unpopular. Though she also referred to the "state to which Buncombe, bluster, ignorance, arrogance and New England fanaticism have brought us," the book irritated the sensibilities of a generation far enough removed from the War to see it as the romantic Lost Cause rather than—as General Call would have it—as the realism of misguided zeal and excitement. Irate Floridians burned many copies of the book, making collector's items of those few which survived. Though its prose is heavy and at times even tedious to the modern reader, and its long poems even more so, Mrs. Long possessed a sure eye for detail, including descriptions of southern "poor whites" and mechanics, and a finely attuned ear for the cracker accent. The University of Florida Press merits praise for making the volume available in facsimile.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College.

Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston (1758-1812). By George C. Rogers, Junior. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, genealogical charts, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 439. \$8.00.)

William Loughton Smith's family belonged to the landed and commercial aristocracy of colonial Charleston. At the age of eleven he was sent to Europe for an education. There he remained, absorbing learning and worldly experience, until 1783. He returned, amid accusations of disloyalty, to an estate that had been depleted by war and inflation; but he was able to rise rapidly in the booming commercial expansion, due to his luck, hard work, astute thinking, family and social connections, and his rare ability as a lawyer.

Smith represented the Charleston district in Congress, 1789-1797, where he became known as a stalwart Federalist, and Hamilton's right-hand man in the controversies over the bank and the national debt. He led the fight in the House against Madison's resolutions calling for retaliatory commercial legislation against Britain, and he gave his strong support to Jay's treaty. In 1797 he became America's Minister to Portugal. Upon his return to America in 1803 he could still hold his own as a lawyer and businessman, but was unable to get back his seat in Congress. In 1808, being convinced that the Federalist Party was dead and that he could no longer serve self or country under

that banner, he tried unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination to Congress.

The Federalists in South Carolina and throughout the nation caustically condemned Smith's "defection and apostasy." Many of his best friends and most intimate life-long associates in Charleston turned their backs upon him scornfully. Yet the Republicans refused to welcome the new adherent, and they withheld from him the coveted nomination for Congress in 1810. Two years later death put an end to his painful frustrations.

Rogers seems to have made a remarkably thorough study of the source materials and secondary works relating to Smith. Footnotes are at the foot of each page, fortunately. The story is well told, and it ties in the statesman neatly with the surging life of South Carolina and the young nation he tried so diligently to serve.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

Stetson University.

By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War. By Bern Anderson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Preface, plates, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 303. \$5.95.)

This one-volume history of the naval side of the Civil War is not a detailed story of the many naval campaigns and battles of that historic struggle. Rather, it is a brief, highly-readable account of the strategic aims and results of the important naval operations, with special emphasis on the Union naval blockade of the South as a crucial factor in the final outcome of the War.

The author begins his story by reviewing briefly the history of the United States Navy prior to 1861. He emphasizes that the Navy was active and progressive in the years prior to Fort Sumter, but being essentially a "deep-water" navy was almost entirely unprepared at the beginning of the conflict for the type of warfare required of it from 1861 to 1865. Admiral Anderson is high in his praise of the officers and men in the United States Navy in 1861, and considers President Lincoln most fortunate in his selection of such a capable Secretary of the Navy as Gideon Welles, the "policy maker," and of Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the "administrator." Of course the author emphasizes the fact that the Confederacy had no navy to begin with.

Admiral Anderson considers that the main task of the Union Navy after Lincoln's famous proclamation of a naval blockade of the South was the establishment and maintenance of that blockade. On the other hand, the chief task of the Confederate Navy which evolved was to break, circumvent, or discredit the Union blockade. The author disagrees strongly with those historians who maintain that the Union blockade was only a paper blockade which could be run at relatively small risk throughout the War. He claims that the Union blockade became highly effective as the months and years passed, and that the blockade was the chief instrument in bringing on the economic collapse of the South, which made possible the victories of the Union armies over those led by Lee and other southern generals. Thus, the author contends that it was "sea-power" which was the major factor in bringing on the ultimate collapse and defeat of the South, especially "sea-power" as demonstrated through the Union blockade.

Admiral Anderson says Lincoln was well aware of the Navy's contribution to the War effort, even though in the eyes of the northern public at the time the Navy was subordinate to the Army, and its activities and accomplishments not as well recognized.

As far as the Confederate Navy was concerned, Admiral Anderson says its story was one of complete frustration, and, except for the exaggerated success story of its commercial raiders and the use of submerged mines, the results were largely negative. He insists that this was the case in spite of the ability of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Stephen B. Mallory.

In addition to his emphasis on the blockade Admiral Anderson shows how the Civil War was the birth of truly effective joint action by American military and naval forces, paving the way for the success of that type of warfare in World War II.

In *By Sea and By River* Admiral Anderson, who is intimately connected with naval strategy and tactics, looks at the Civil War strictly through the eyes of a naval officer. His conclusions are based not only upon the documents he studied but also upon his own intimate knowledge derived from thirty years experience. Thus he makes out a very strong case for the Union Navy's being a major factor in the North's winning of the Civil War. While there is no formal bibliography included in the volume, the author indicates in the preface and the footnotes that he has consulted the appropriate sources for this study.

For a complete understanding of the strategy which won the Civil War for the Union forces, this volume is a must for all students of this conflict. In order not to be completely overwhelmed by the Navy's

part in the winning of the War, one should remember while reading this volume that Admiral Anderson's viewpoints might be slightly biased in favor of the Navy.

Alvin A. Fahrner.

East Carolina College.

Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff. By Stephen E. Ambrose. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. vi, 226. \$5.00.)

A study of Henry W. Halleck's triple service as Civil War departmental commander, General-in-Chief and Chief-of-Staff rather than a full-scale biography, this book's purpose is to examine Halleck's determining contribution to three movements in the Federal military experience which became basic to the development of the present "American military establishment." These movements were: first, the application—and ultimate rejection—of Baron Henri Jomini's military principles by the Union high command; second, the growth of a professional, national army at the expense of the State militia; third, the beginnings of a modern command system. Obviously, this is no easy undertaking and Ambrose, a 1958 master's degree-holder from Louisiana State University and teacher at its New Orleans branch, has not quite carried it through. There are good things in this book but more that are unsatisfactory due to inadequacies in treatment and argumentation.

Thus, although Ambrose makes clear Halleck emerged a Jominian from West Point, six months of European study, and authorship of *Elements of Military Art and Science*, "in large measure a translation of Jomini's writings," he does not show why Halleck should be designated that theorist's "high priest in America" any more than he explains what reasons "army officers and Washington leaders" could have had in 1861 for considering him the country's "foremost exponent of the art of war." Halleck had sat out the Mexican War, had become a leading California lawyer, had resigned the army in 1854, had married a granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton, and had accumulated an estate worth \$500,000, but if he remained a student of war after publishing his *Elements*, Ambrose does not tell it. He does provide the essentials, however, of Halleck's service as departmental and then over-all commander in the West, from November, 1861, through his

capture of Corinth in June, 1862. Ambrose is good in showing Halleck's adherence to Jominian teachings in his Missouri and Tennessee campaigns, but is weak on such other matters as the slavery issue and its politics, the Washington end of the Western campaigns, especially as related to General-in-Chief McClellan's plans, and, most important, in substantiating his assertion of there being in 1862 anti-Jominian Union commanders who upheld destroying armies as more important than capturing strong places.

McClellan's repulse before Richmond made Halleck General-in-Chief, and in six middle chapters, covering Second Bull Run through Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Ambrose is discerning on Halleck's relations with McClellan and Lincoln both before and after Pope's defeat, at his best on the Lincoln-created problem of a McClernand Mississippi expedition, which so plagued Grant, and good on Halleck's minimal role—in accordance with his practice of avoiding positive instructions to field commanders—in the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns. Hardly convincing, however, in view of his account of non-co-operation among western commanders, is his statement that Vicksburg was "the ultimate example" of the Jominian principle of concentration to take a place.

Grant's elevation in March, 1864, terminated Jominian limited war and ushered in "modern, total war." So says the author, who pictures Halleck as going along with the transformation, indeed capping the "movement," by becoming its advocate. His treatment of developments is too scanty to afford satisfactory proof of the existence of a "total war" mind in 1864-1865 any more than earlier. Similarly concerning the advent of an efficient, if rudimentary, Union high command system and Halleck's "new" Chief-of-Staff role as liaison between Lincoln and Grant: What took place during the last year of the war seems not to have been controlled by a "system" any more than before, and it is hardly consistent to speak of Halleck as effective and at the same time write, ". . . he could not make himself understood. Unable to give of himself he was unable to communicate."

In 1958 the late Kenneth P. Williams virtually asserted that a proper account of Halleck's Civil War career could be written only by a soldier-historian, a "general officer" with at least staff closeness to high command experience, and not by an academic historian. One need not be taken as agreeing with Williams in suggesting that Ambrose's account is at best a study of merely interim usefulness.

Eugene C. Drozdowski.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War. By Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers. (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office. Published by the National Archives. 1961. Pp. x, 721. \$3.00.)

Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers, of the National Archives staff, have accomplished a Herculean task and performed an outstanding service to researchers in compiling this *Guide*. In the Foreword, Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, explains that the *Guide* has been published as a part of the contribution of the National Archives to the Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War.

In determining what should be included in the *Guide*, the compilers initially concluded that all extant archives of federal agencies which existed in the 1860's would contain information on the Civil War. Eventually, however, they decided that events and developments occurring subsequent to the War often had a direct bearing upon the struggle. As a result, pertinent documentary materials of the postwar period, even down to the present century, have also been included.

Because most of the records with which the *Guide* is concerned were created during the war years, the information about them is listed in sections corresponding to the government's organization in that period. An interesting and valuable by-product of this arrangement is the fact that the table of contents provides a blueprint of the organization of the Federal Government during the Civil War.

The first section of the volume lists general records of the government; subsequent sections describe the records of the Congress, judiciary, presidency, the executive departments, and various other offices and agencies of government. Each section opens with a historical statement of the functions and responsibilities of the government agency concerned. Names of the wartime heads of the agency are listed. Records of a general character are first described followed by separate descriptions of the records of the component bureaus and other offices. Bibliographical references and descriptions of records are followed by notations of finding aids, documentary publications, and other pertinent information.

Records described include not only those in the National Archives and Federal Records Centers, but also in other custody. The last class includes materials still held by other Federal agencies as well as official or quasi-official materials on deposit or available elsewhere.

Significant accumulations of private papers are referred to under Records in Other Custody, found in each section.

Many of the Federal Government records obviously relate to the Confederacy, but the official records of the Confederacy itself will be described in the forthcoming Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America. In the two *Guides* historians and Civil War buffs will have ready access to descriptions of all important archival collections of the great struggle and its aftermath.

The Contents itself would serve as an adequate guide to the contents of the book, but there is also included a comprehensive and meticulously prepared index of 123 pages which greatly facilitates the use of the *Guide*.

In the publication of the *Guide* the authors and the National Archives are to be congratulated on an accomplishment of mammoth proportions. It is difficult indeed to conceive of any other project in the publication field which could possibly contribute more than the *Guides*—Federal and Confederate—to the Centennial commemoration of the Civil War.

A. M. Patterson.

State Department of Archives and History.

Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920's. By Burl Noggle. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, and index. Pp. ix, 234. \$6.00.)

From time to time throughout America's history the public has been shocked because leading political and business figures have been guilty of scandal and conspiracy in which the public was the chief victim. For some reason these principal government scandals of fraud and corruption have followed major wars. Probably the most complex, although widely publicized, story of corrupt partnership by political and business leaders involved oil reserves during the early 1920's. The Elk Hills (California) and the Teapot Dome (Wyoming) oil scandals exploded with such force that their effects were widely felt within both political parties.

Although one cannot say that Mr. Noggle has written a definitive history of Teapot Dome, he has written a rather objective story and appraisal of the affair. His emphasis is on the oil scandals and their effects on politics and political leaders of the 1920's. Here the story begins with the nomination of Warren G. Harding and his selection

of a cabinet, which certainly did not appeal to such staunch conservationists as Gifford Pinchot and Harry Slattery, two alert watchdogs of conservation. These two men were greatly upset over the administration plan to transfer the U. S. Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Interior, then under the control of Albert B. Fall. While gathering evidence for their fight with Secretary Fall, Slattery became aware of questionable handling of government naval oil reserves. Appreciating the significance of a possible oil scandal, the conservation forces began in earnest to attack their prime target, Fall, along that line. The result, of course, was the famous Teapot Dome Scandal, which shook the country from every corner.

Mr. Noggle, in most respects, has done an excellent job of tracing the history of the affair from its beginning to the Hoover administration. Seemingly, it has been the author's purpose to relate, and emphasize, the relationship of this affair to the politics of the 1920's and the effects, therefore, on the presidential elections of 1924 and 1928.

The author is to be commended for the evidence of diligent research, his attempt to be objective, and the new interpretations that are suggested. A major contribution to a knowledge of the 1920's has been made. One minor drawback is the excess of quotations, short and long, by which the readability of Mr. Noggle's scholarly work is adversely affected.

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The Farm Bureau and the New Deal: A Study of the Making of National Farm Policy, 1933-40. By Christiana McFadyen Campbell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Tables, bibliography, and index. Pp. ix, 215. \$4.75.)

Here is a doctoral dissertation that was good enough to win the Agricultural History Society Award for 1961. It is everything such a product should be: scholarly, analytical, clear, concise, and significant. The author is a graduate of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, received her master's degree from Columbia University, and earned her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Professors Avery O. Craven, William T. Hutchinson, and Theodore W. Schultz. With her husband and three children she now

lives in Australia and is a teaching fellow in history at the University of Sydney.

Mrs. Campbell first summarizes the early history of the American Farm Bureau Federation, describes its intimate connection with the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service, explains the structure and functions of the A.F.B.F., and details the historic political alliance between midwestern and southern farmers during the McNary-Haugen movement of the 1920's. The main part of the book then focuses upon the relationship between the A.F.B.F. and the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This relationship is seen as close and cordial during the early years of the New Deal, but as strained after 1936 when the Department of Agriculture ceased to consult Farm Bureau leaders in the making of agricultural policy. While considering the role played by America's strongest farm organization in the 1930's, the author discusses the several sectional and commodity conflicts within the Farm Bureau and how they were resolved under the skilled leadership of President Edward A. O'Neal of Alabama. Mrs. Campbell has made particularly effective the use of O'Neal material in Farm Bureau headquarters in Chicago, and of personal interviews she had with farm and government leaders of the period.

In 1936 A.F.B.F. officers launched a strong membership drive in the South. They regarded North Carolina as the key State in their plans. Several pages of this book recount the development of the Farm Bureau in North Carolina and offer revealing glimpses of Dean I. O. Schaub, Director of Extension; Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*; R. Flake Shaw, President of the State Farm Bureau, and others.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College.

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Setzer School Story, written by Max F. Harris, Research Associate, State Department of Archives and History, and published by the Salisbury City Schools, tells of the restoration of the nineteenth-century school. The restored building was dedicated on May 9, 1962. Located on the campus of the Knox Junior High School, the Setzer School will be used as a "living laboratory of educational history" in the community. Copies of the 20-page, illustrated pamphlet may be ordered from Mr. J. H. Knox, Superintendent, Salisbury City Schools; the price is 25¢.

Legends, Myths and Folk Tales of the Roanoke-Chowan, by F. Roy Johnson, was published by The Daily News Company of Ahoskie and Murfreesboro. No less than sixty-four tales are included in the 105 pages. The prefatory remarks indicate that "this book is being published primarily to preserve the traditional stories that could easily become lost in a changing sense of values of the twentieth century." The paper-covered, illustrated book is being sold by the publisher for \$3.00.

Also relating to the same area of North Carolina is *The Roanoke-Chowan Story*, by F. Roy Johnson and Tom Parramore. The fifteen chapters, which cover the history of the area and contain information on outstanding men and women produced by the section, were originally published in *The Daily Roanoke-Chowan News*; in fact, the present book was produced by binding the entire series exactly as it first appeared in the form of newspaper supplements during the period 1960-1962. The result is 180 pages, complete with advertisements interspersed with the newspaper stories. Additional information may be obtained from the publisher.

New Hanover County Court Minutes, Part 4, 1794-1800, abstracted, compiled, and edited by Alexander McDonald Walker has been published and is ready for distribution. Like the three preceding volumes, Part 4 will be of special value to students of social history and genealogists. The 121-page book has its own Index and is complete for the years indicated. Part I of this work may be purchased in 35 mm. microfilm copies only, perhaps a dozen of Part 2 and several dozen of Part 3 are still offered while the supply lasts. All copies, including Part 4, are \$5.00 each and may be purchased from Mr. Walker, 4887 Battery Lane, Apt. 21, Bethesda 14, Md.

The Branch Banking and Trust Company of Wilson has published *Branch: A Tradition with a Future*, commemorating the ninety-year history of that institution. The 117-page book presents the story of credit and private banks in North Carolina from the days of Reconstruction through recent years. Miss Vidette Bass, the author, has written the history around the personalities who built the Branch Bank and Trust Company into the present-day bank. A number of tables, lists, appendixes, a bibliography, and footnotes make the book more useful as social history. The Foreword is by Mr. J. E. Paschall, President. Attractive illustrations add to the volume, especially the two maps of the town of Wilson for the years 1872 and 1882.

Bladen County, North Carolina: Abstracts of Wills, 1734-1900, was compiled and published by Wanda S. Campbell. The abstracts themselves, 95 pages, contain names of testators, executors, beneficiaries, and witnesses. Where there is a relationship between the testator and beneficiaries, the information is noted. All Bladen County wills from the extracts of Grimes' *Abstracts of North Carolina Wills* were included, as were abstracts from the will books in the office of the Clerk of Superior Court and from a few wills recorded in miscellaneous deed books. A 66-page index makes the work unusually valuable. Because 55 of the present 100 counties were at one time a part of Bladen County, the information contained in this paper-bound book will be of particular interest to genealogists throughout the State. Copies of the publication may be ordered from Mrs. Wanda S. Campbell, Box 547, Elizabethtown, N. C., for \$5.50 each.

Persons interested in the history of education in North Carolina will like to know that a story about Dr. R. H. Lewis and his work in Kinston has been written. Entitled "The Lewis School in Kinston," the paper was written by Ellen Ragan. It was issued in mimeographed form by Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro.

Republican Heyday, by C. A. Stern, discusses Republicanism through the McKinley years. The text of 45 pages is supplemented by notes and a lengthy bibliography, making the total booklet 97 pages in length. A companion booklet, *Resurgent Republicanism: The Handiwork of Hanna*, by the same author is similar in format and length to *Republican Heyday*. Copies of the publications are available from Mr. Stern, P. O. Box 401, Sioux City, Iowa, for \$1.25 postpaid.

Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites, by Kenneth Carroll, tells the story of this religious group in colonial America. Though the sect originated in Maryland, it grew and communities of members were established in both Carolinas. So similar were they in belief and organization to the Quakers that they were absorbed by the Society of Friends after forty years of separate existence. Nearly half of the 116 pages will be of especial interest to genealogists. Appendixes give Nicholite birth records, Nicholite marriages, witnesses to Nicholite marriages, the names of Nicholites admitted into the Society of Friends, and Nicholite wills. A bibliography and an index add to the usefulness of the book. It is available for \$3.75 from the publisher, The Easton Publishing Company, Easton, Maryland.

History: Sandy Creek, 1858-1958, is an account of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association, its history, its leaders, its churches. Hundreds of names of delegates, messengers, pastors, and associational clerks will make the booklet useful to those interested in genealogical research. Sketches were written by various individuals; the 173-page, paper-bound book was dedicated to the late Rev. Clyde P. Stinson of Goldston, who did much of the research and collection of material needed for the publication of the history. Copies may be ordered from the author, Mr. H. A. Teague, Rt. 3, Box 281, Siler City, for \$1.00, each.

The Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology has published another in its River Basin Surveys Papers series. Number 25 of the series is entitled *Archeology of the John H. Kerr Reservoir Basin, Roanoke River Virginia-North Carolina*, by Carl F. Miller. Persons interested in archeological findings in this area will find much of value in the book. Site descriptions, details concerning pottery and other artifacts, burials, and numerous other topics are included. The book is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$4.00.

Folklore Keeps the Past Alive, by Arthur Palmer Hudson, contains in published form the Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, delivered at Mercer University on October 24, 25, and 26, 1961. Dr. Hudson, Kenan Professor of English and Folklore at the University of North Carolina and Editor of *North Carolina Folklore*, has included the three lectures, entitled "The Poetry of Earth: Two Old Folksongs," "Glimpses of History in Folksongs of the South," and "Folksongs in American Poetry and Fiction," in this 63-page book. Published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, the book cost is \$2.50.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

North Carolina's three-hundredth anniversary celebration was formally opened by Governor Terry Sanford at a cake-cutting held on January 4 at the Executive Mansion in Raleigh. The Governor and Mrs. Sanford, attired in colonial costume, received State officials and members of the Charter Commission and press.

Chairman of the Charter Commission, the Honorable Francis E. Winslow, opened the ceremony, after being introduced by the Commission's Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips. Mr. Winslow pointed out that with the ceremony, the Charter Commission had started on the execution of a plan to uncover the forgotten history of North Carolina, the plan being over two years in preparation.

Announced by a trumpet fanfare, the Governor and Mrs. Sanford, leading a procession of State officials clad in colonial costume, descended the stairs of the Executive Mansion into the ballroom where a cake in the shape of the United States, with the Carolina territory outlined, was displayed with 300 candles. After the Governor and Mrs. Sanford lit and extinguished the candles, the cake was cut and served with yaupon tea.

Appearing in costume were: Secretary of State Thad Eure, Insurance Commissioner and Mrs. Edwin Lanier, Adjutant General and Mrs. Claude Bowers, Revenue Commissioner and Mrs. William Johnson, and Mr. and Mrs. Roger Jackson, Jr. Mr. Julian Oneto and Miss June Scarborough of Nags Head were garbed as pirates to remind guests of the era of Blackbeard the Pirate in the State's colonial history. Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Chief Osley Saunooke, assisted in lighting the candles. Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Swalin, also wearing colonial costumes, provided music from the period.

A special postage stamp commemorating the three hundredth anniversary will be issued by the United States Post Office on April 6 in Edenton, North Carolina. Governor Sanford was quoted, commenting on the decision, "North Carolinians will be pleased and honored to learn that the Post Office Department is issuing this stamp. This significant beginning point in the history of America is worthy of such attention and I am grateful to Senator B. Everett Jordan, Dr. Frank P. Graham, and General John D. F. Phillips and others who worked to get the Department to recognize the importance of this anniversary."

Mr. Hunter Johnson of Benson, North Carolina composer, has been commissioned to write a special composition for North Carolina's tercen-

tenary celebration. The composition will be titled, "North State, A Composition Celebrating the Granting of the Carolina Charter in 1663."

It will consist of three movements. The first—Introduction and Celebration One. The second—Three Interludes: The Colonist. (1) Westward, the Unknown; A Prayer. (2) Land Bright with Sun and Birds. (3) Simple Lives, Often Lonely. The third movement will be Celebration Two: A Dance.

The Charter Commission has announced the publication of the first volume of its new Colonial Records Series. The first of the unnumbered volumes is entitled *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698*. It is the first publication since the ten-volume series edited by William L. Saunders was published, 1886-1890. Never before have these charters and constitutions been published in one volume.

Mrs. Mattie E. Parker and her staff did not re-edit the *Colonial Records* by Saunders but worked from photographic reproductions of the original manuscripts. Many of the materials were obtained from the Public Record Office in England.

Being printed by the Kingsport Press, Inc., Tennessee, the volume contains a foreword by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History. Acknowledgment of a \$10,000 donation for continuation of the project is made to the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation.

Modern discoveries and new editing techniques make it possible for the new series to shed light on North Carolina's history, telling a great deal more accurate and valuable story than the obsolete edition of almost 70 years ago.

The Chairman of the Charter Commission, the Honorable Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, presented a personal copy to Governor Terry Sanford at the Capitol on January 24.

Orders are being accepted for the book by the Charter Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh. The price for regular binding is \$5 per copy and \$10 per copy for deluxe leather binding. Check or money orders should be made payable to the Carolina Charter Corporation.

A state-wide essay contest for junior and senior high school students enrolled in North Carolina and United States history courses is being sponsored by the Charter Commission. The assigned subject is "The Carolina Charter of 1663: A Milestone in the Advance of Democracy."

State-level winners will be announced on May 20 with prizes of \$250, \$100, and \$50 being awarded in each division, junior and senior high. This contest is one of many projects being sponsored by the Charter Commission as a part of the State's three hundredth anniversary observance of the Carolina Charter. Rules for the contest have been supplied to all county and city school superintendents who have been asked to forward winning entries from their administrative unit levels for final judging on the State level. A board of judges will be organized by the superintendents and winners in the units announced prior to March 24, the anniversary date of the granting of the Carolina Charter by King Charles II to the eight Lords Proprietors. The essay contest is being con-

ducted by the Charter Commission with the co-operation of Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The contest is designed to contribute to the over-all objective of the Tercentenary—the development of knowledge and appreciation of a little-known period of North Carolina history, 1663-1763, or the colonial period. Concurrently, the Charter Commission is publishing a series of historical pamphlets. Written by prominent scholars, the publications include *Uphaval in Albemarle, 1675-1689—The Story of Culpeper's Rebellion*; *The Lords Proprietors*; *The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*; *The Highland Scots in North Carolina*; *The Royal Governors of North Carolina*; *The Influence of Geography upon Early North Carolina*; and *Colonial Architecture*.

The above pamphlets are also available for purchase by the public for fifty cents each, postpaid. In addition are two pamphlets entitled, *A Selective Music Bibliography from the Period, 1663-1763*, by Dr. James Pruett and Dr. Lee Rigsby, and *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763*, by Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson, also fifty cents each. A series of leaflets on colonial life are distributed by the Commission. The leaflets, *Colonial Carolina Coins and Currency*, *Colonial Colonists' Costumes* (men and women), *Colonial Carolina Cookery*, *The Guns of Colonial Carolina*, and *Colonial Carolina Sports*, are available by writing the Charter Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh. Additional leaflets will be available soon.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

The Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, presented a program on the Fort Fisher salvage operations to members of the High Point Civil War Round Table on November 30. He was assisted in his presentation by Mr. Samuel Townsend, a member of the Hall of History staff and co-ordinator of the preservation aspect of the operation.

On December 5 Mr. Larson met with the production staff of WTVD-Durham to discuss that station's plans to televise Betty Smith's "Durham Station." The one-act play, which was written especially for the North Carolina Confederate Commission, will be adapted for television by Mr. Harry Middleton, WTVD Production Manager, and will be produced in co-operation with the Raleigh Little Theater.

The Executive Secretary was in Rockingham on December 12 to inspect the H. B. Garden collection of Civil War guns. On January 8 he met with the Commission's Audio-Visual Committee in High Point to complete plans for the production by WUNC-TV of a full-length television drama on James J. Pettigrew. Mr. Larson was in Wilmington on January 14 to attend a meeting of the New Hanover County Centennial Committee. The meeting was held to plan the April Confederate States Centennial Conference, which will be held in Wilmington.

The Tenth Plenary Meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh, January 17. By unanimous decision, approval was given to the purchase by the Commission of the H. B. Garden Gun Collection. The Collection will be placed in the Hall

of History as a permanent memorial to the Commission and to the period which it commemorates.

Following the Commission meeting, a meeting of the newly elected Board of Directors of the North Carolina Confederate Corporation was held. New Directors are Senator Hector MacLean, Mrs. Alvin Seippel, and Senator R. F. Van Landingham. Re-elected to a second term were Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Colonel Hugh Dortch, Judge R. Hunt Parker, Mr. John R. Peacock, and Dr. Robert H. Woody.

In a special interview over WBTV-Charlotte on January 24, Mr. Larson told of the Commission's part in recent operations to salvage materials from the "Modern Greece" and other blockade-runners off the North Carolina coast. The following day, January 25, he spoke on the same topic to members of the Charlotte Civil War Round Table. A sampling of artifacts from the "Modern Greece" illustrated his talk.

Director's Office

On November 30 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director; Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor; and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, of the Department of Archives and History presented a selection of the Department's publications for the permanent library of the Governor's Mansion. Governor Terry Sanford accepted the books for the State. Lt. Col. Thomas A. Price, Jr., newly-appointed Director of the Wilmington-New Hanover Museum at Wilmington, was in Raleigh on December 20 to confer with Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Jordan.

Mrs. Martha Hutaff, Chairman, and members of the Cross Creek Park Commission, appointed by the Mayor of Fayetteville, met in Raleigh on January 8 to discuss plans for the development of a proposed historic area in Fayetteville. The map prepared for study and discussion includes the Kyle House, purchased in 1962 by the city; a stretch of the Cross Creek bank land; St. John's Episcopal, First Presbyterian, and St. Ann's Catholic churches; several old stores, and various historic buildings and sites; Cool Spring Inn and a number of Confederate gravesites. The project as suggested would also include formal gardens where the city parking lot is located at present. Dr. Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, were present for the meeting.

Mr. John G. Dawson of Kinston, Chairman of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission, and Mayor Guy Elliott of Kinston met with Dr. Crittenden on January 9 and later called on Governor Terry Sanford to request highway funds to pave an access road to and a parking area at the Caswell site. The Governor has since stated that the funds had been made available.

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and representatives of the various cultural societies which participate in Culture Week each December met on January 26 to make plans for the meetings to be held in December, 1963. On January 17 and February 3 the film telling the story of the salvage operations on the "Modern Greece" was presented on WECT-TV and WRAL-TV, respectively.

On February 11 the Historic Bath Commission met with Chairman Edmund H. Harding presiding. Present were Mrs. Wilton Smith, Secretary; Mrs. Claude Venters, Treasurer; Mr. Dan Paul, Finance Officer; Mrs. Roy Charles, Dr. Crittenden, Mr. Grayson Harding, Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Rev. A. C. D. Noe, Col. C. Wingate Reed, Hon. Wayland J. Sermons, Bath Mayor Wilton Smith, Mrs. Mary Fowle Stearns, Mrs. John A. Tankard, and Miss Elizabeth Thompson, all members of the Commission; others attending the business meeting were Mrs. Julian Davenport, Mrs. Noe, Mrs. Reed, Miss Anna Riddick, and Mr. Tarlton. The Commission voted unanimously to prepare a suitable memorial resolution to send the family of Mrs. Oscar F. Smith, who had contributed so generously to the restoration of Historic Bath. Plans were made to begin work on the outbuildings and the landscaping of the grounds which is necessary to complete the Palmer-Marsh House restoration. Other projects discussed included the placing of a marker and the building of a fence on the property once owned by John Lawson, and the erection of a 330-foot long pier at Harding's Landing. Col. Reed proposed that the Commission seek an appropriation from the 1963 General Assembly to maintain Bath as a State Historic Site. A number of committees were appointed and ways of promoting Historic Bath as a tourist attraction were discussed. It was decided to open the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses for visitation on March 24 to coincide with ceremonies planned by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

In order to consider a "Historyland Tour" through eastern North Carolina, a conference was held in Raleigh on February 13. Present were Mr. Charles B. Wade of Winston-Salem, Vice-President of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and Chairman of the Advertising Committee of the Board of Conservation and Development; Mr. R. L. Stallings, Jr., Director, and Mr. Charles J. Parker of the Advertising Division of the Department of Conservation and Development; Mr. Merrill Evans, Chairman of the State Highway Commission; Mr. T. E. Pickard, Jr., of Charlotte, President of the Travel Council of North Carolina; Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, of the Department of Archives and History; and others. It was agreed that the possibilities of developing such a historyland trail, especially in connection with the tourist business, were worth exploring. As a result of the conference a meeting was called in Raleigh for March 19 of leaders from various parts of eastern North Carolina.

The Executive Committee and Chairman of other committees of the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society met in the cafeteria of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest on February 14. Plans were made for a campaign to raise \$15,000 additional which is needed for the restoration of the interior of the Calvin Jones House, where the College had its beginning. Work on the exterior of the house is virtually completed. Mr. James B. Cook, Jr., of Winston-Salem is chairman of the Finance Committee; Dr. Crittenden is President of the Society.

A weekly Associated Press column, "In the Light of History," written by Dr. Crittenden, is being published in the daily afternoon newspapers

of North Carolina. It seeks to cover historical events and developments that are connected with present-day conditions.

In the recommended budget for the Department of Archives and History for the biennium 1963-1965, the Advisory Budget Commission has included \$589,478 for the first year and \$605,274 for the second year, as compared with the budget of \$556,063 for 1962-1963. Also \$3,000,000 has been recommended for both the Department and the State Library for a new building, and \$50,000 for a security records vault for the Department. On February 21 the Department at a hearing before the Joint Appropriations Committee of the General Assembly requested an additional \$15,824 for 1963-1964 and \$37,960 for 1964-1965 to continue the Colonial Records Project (administered through December 31, 1963, by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission), and \$96,000 for a Fort Fisher visitor center-museum.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, participated in a meeting of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Association of State Librarians' survey of library functions of the States in Chicago, December 7-8. On December 27-30 in the same city he attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the Council of the Society of American Archivists. At the same time he met with representatives of the latter Society and the American Association for State and Local History for the purpose of developing plans for the joint meeting of the two organizations in Raleigh, October 2-5, 1963. He also attended the Governor's Conference on Maps and Mapping in Chapel Hill on December 11.

Compilation of a *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900*, being edited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant from data gathered by the Department and the Committee on the Conservation of Newspaper Resources of the North Carolina Library Association, was continued, and publication is expected before the end of the spring.

In the Microfilm Services Center, 1,253 reels of microfilm consisting of 123,440 feet were processed during the quarter ending December 31, 1962. In addition to the negative film of State, county and church records processed, this quantity included 162 reels of positive copies of newspapers on microfilm sold to individuals and institutions. During the same period filming was completed for every known issue of newspapers published in Edenton, Elizabeth City, New Bern, and Wadesboro prior to 1901 and work was begun on filming of the *Wilmington Messenger*.

The Laminating Shop restored 23,682 pages of deteriorating records by the Barrow method, including 16,961 pages of county records. In addition, the staff members laminated 1,907 pages outside of office hours for individuals and institutions.

A series of staff meetings in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts was inaugurated on November 14 when the State Records Section sponsored a demonstration of its records management, microfilm, Records Center, and archival appraisal program. The Local Records Section was host on December 14, and the Archives on January 9. The meetings, de-

signed to co-ordinate more closely the extensive activities of the Division, will continue on a less frequent schedule.

The most notable additions to the holdings in the Archives during the quarter ending December 31, 1962, were the official letter books of Governor Zebulon B. Vance, 1862-1864, and an index to miscellaneous letters and telegrams, 1862-1865, which were transferred from the National Archives. These books were captured by Union troops in 1865 and taken to Washington. In 1888 copies were made by the War Department and sent to the Governor of North Carolina. The return of the originals to the Archives is the culmination of many years of effort on the part of the Department to have these valuable records returned to their rightful custody.

Other accessions during the quarter totaled 125. Included were public records from nine State agencies; reports of separation from the North Carolina Selective Service Office; and the newspaper collection of Mr. Joffre Bunker consisting of copies of 23 North Carolina publications, 1868-1953, and totaling 173 items.

The papers of the late Nell Battle Lewis, newspaperwoman and prominent Raleigh citizen, have been arranged and described, and through the co-operation of the State Library are now available to researchers in the Archives. This valuable collection covering the years 1926-1956 contains correspondence, articles, clippings, and pamphlets on a wide variety of subjects including politics, literature, history, labor strife, psychic phenomena, and segregation.

During the quarter 540 researchers visited the Search Room and 754 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. Photocopies numbering 716, together with 102 paper prints from microfilm and 33 typed certified copies, were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

The accumulation of Halifax County records already in the Archives has been augmented by the following additional records received from the register of deeds: record of deeds (1819-1829), cross-indexes to deeds (1732-1889), record of elections (1878-1922), and a marriage register (1872-1895).

The permanently valuable records of 26 counties have now been microfilmed and work is in progress in Alamance, Mecklenburg, Halifax, and Hertford. Microfilming in the first two counties named is being done by county personnel, with the advice and assistance of the Department. For the program of microfilming by the Department, counties are selected according to age.

Microfilm copies of the counties and churches listed below have recently been placed in the Search Room and are now available to researchers:

Edgecombe County: Record of deeds (1759-1928), marriage registers (1851-1961), indexes to vital statistics (1914-1961), County Court minutes (1757-1868), Superior Court minutes (1862-1924), records of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1830-1861), wills (1760-1959), inheritance tax records (1920-1961), maiden names of divorced women (1940-1960), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1931), records of election (1878-1960), military discharges (1918-1961), minutes of board

of county commissioners (1868-1933), and of the county board of education (1885-1907), marriage licenses (1866-1961).

Granville County: Record of deeds and land entries (1746-1923), marriage bonds and certificates (1758-1868), marriage registers (1867-1961), indexes to vital statistics (1913-1961), County Court minutes (1746-1868), Superior Court minutes (1807-1928), Equity minutes (1825-1851), miscellaneous bonds (1802-1917), records of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1868-1961), wills (1749-1961), inheritance tax records (1923-1950), tax lists (1767-1935), special proceedings (1852-1925), record of incorporations and partnerships (1895-1961), military discharges (1921-1962), and minutes of board of county commissioners (1868-1925).

Churches: Various types of records of Calvary Episcopal, Tarboro (1898-1961), Howard Memorial Presbyterian, Tarboro (1890-1958), Primitive Baptist, Tarboro (1908-1961), Baptist, Oxford (1881-1961), Enon Baptist, Granville County (1875-1934), New Hope Baptist, Berea (1886-1891), Pope's Chapel Christian, Pocomoke (1859-1961), St. Stephen's, Oxford (1832-1949), Geneva Presbyterian, Granville County (1823-1912), Presbyterian, Oxford (1821-1887), First Baptist, Clayton (1839-1962), Primitive Baptist, Smithfield (1847-1960), Lee's Chapel Christian, Four Oaks (1923-1956).

In the records restoration program, the job of repairing Rowan County records has been completed, a total of 8 volumes of wills and 36 volumes of deeds having been laminated, rebound, and returned to the county. Restoration work is done in conjunction with microfilming in each county and a large number of old records of Cumberland, Mecklenburg, and Halifax counties are now being laminated and rebound.

The local records program received, on December 7, a Certificate of Commendation from the American Association for State and Local History for "exemplary effectiveness in organizing and carrying out a state-wide program of local records management and security." It was also featured in the National Association of Counties' report on "Records Management and Preservation for National Survival" as "probably the most comprehensive and singularly successful state-assistance program" in the United States, and the President of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks, writing in the December, 1962, issue of the *County Officer*, called the *County Records Manual*, edited by Mr. Jones and Admiral Patterson, "one of the most significant recording documents of the year."

By the end of 1962 the records scheduling project of the State Records Section was virtually completed, with the records of almost all State agencies under disposition and retention control. Records of the Hospitals Board of Control and the Department of Water Resources were scheduled for the first time; and revisions of the Department of Archives and History, Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and Department of Public Welfare schedules were approved. Schedules for the Board of Higher Education, State Library, and North Carolina State College are in the hands of the respective agencies for approval. The Department of Public Instruction and State Highway Commission schedules have been amended.

Other activities centered about a series of workshops which have been made available to State agencies. In December Mr. A. K. Johnson, Jr., Chief of the Records Management Division, National Archives and Records Service, Atlanta, conducted the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop for 21 persons representing eight agencies. He also gave the Forms Improvement workshop to 18 persons representing nine agencies. Both of these workshops have been purchased from the Federal Government and will be made available to all State agencies.

The *Records Management Handbook: Files and Filing* has been issued and is accompanied by a workshop which has been developed by the records management staff. The handbook and workshop are expected to solve many of the less serious filing problems that constantly harass the State employees who are responsible for filing and finding.

Files reorganization surveys have been conducted in the Department of Archives and History, office of the Board of Public Welfare's Consultant for Negro work, and the Board of Architects. The State Librarian has asked for a reorganization of the files of the State Library and the Commissioner of Public Welfare has asked for assistance in streamlining the Board's extensive files.

The study of fiscal paperwork and systems throughout the State is approaching completion. Because of wide variations in fiscal practices, it now appears that it may not be feasible to issue a general schedule for fiscal records that will have state-wide applicability. Standards will be developed, however, that will be applied to fiscal records of individual agencies as their disposition schedules are prepared or revised.

In the Microfilm Project 144 reels containing 672,566 images were filmed during the quarter ending December 31, 1962. Filming of the original Supreme Court cases has been resumed and the film of the Monthly Reports on the Budget, 1925-55 and 1955-57, has been re-indexed.

In the State Records Center 1,403 cubic feet were accessioned and 1,360 cubic feet disposed of, resulting in a net increase of 43 cubic feet in the quarter ending December 31, 1962. The total holdings of the Records Center were 24,612 cubic feet. January and February saw accessions of more than 2,000 cubic feet, thus bringing the holdings 1,000 cubic feet above capacity.

On January 4, 1963, the General Services Division, Department of Administration, opened bids for rewiring the Records Center and replacing and relocating all light fixtures in the storage areas. All of the existing shelving has been moved into the location called for in the new lay-out, and it is hoped that additional shelving will be available for installation after the electrical work is completed.

References services totaled 11,136, including 5,349 items furnished and 5,787 items refiled or interfiled. There were 70 visitors from 14 State agencies, State College, U.S. Army Intelligence, and U.S. Probation Office.

Division of Historic Sites

The Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York has approved final grants totaling \$10,000 from the \$50,000 Challenge Grant which the

Foundation made to the Department two years ago to assist historic site and restoration projects. The \$10,000 will be divided as follows: \$7,500 to the President James K. Polk Birthplace near Charlotte; \$2,000 to the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee, Kinston, for the purchase of artifacts taken from the Confederate Ram "Neuse" which was raised from the Neuse River last year; and \$500 to the Wake Forest College Birthplace (Calvin Jones House) restoration at Wake Forest. The Wake Forest project received last year an earlier Richardson grant of \$6,000. On December 27 Mr. Alexander Schenck of Charlotte, Southeastern Representative of the Foundation, and Mr. Newton P. Hoey of Charlotte, Treasurer, visited the Department and conferred with Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton concerning the Foundation's interest in the Department's program.

Mr. Max F. Harris completed research and a full report on the controversial problem of Andrew Jackson's birthplace and in December joined the staff of the North Carolina Film Board on a temporary research assignment. He is gathering pictorial and descriptive information for a movie on the first century of North Carolina history after the Charter of 1663, which will be produced by the Film Board for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

At Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site the new visitor center-museum is being outfitted with interpretive exhibits. Mr. Frank Walsh, Historic Site Specialist in charge of exhibits for the Division, is handling the project in collaboration with Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Specialist in charge of the Town Creek Site and Dr. Joffre L. Coe, Director of the Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina and consultant to the Department on archeology and restoration at Town Creek. The new visitor center-museum will be in full use by the end of February. A special dedicatory program is being planned for the latter part of April.

Assisted by members of the staff, the Wake Forest College Birthplace restoration at Wake Forest is making rapid progress. Mr. N. B. Bragg is giving close supervision to the work of restoration and Mr. W. S. Tarlton is acting as restoration consultant. Mr. James H. Craig is doing research for the committee on furniture and other furnishings. The Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., of which Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department, is President, is administering the project. Exterior restoration is almost complete and plans are being made to restore the interior.

At the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site near Weaverville, Buncombe County, a site is now being acquired for the visitor center-museum soon to be constructed. Mr. Bert King of Asheville, Architect, has been engaged to draw plans and specifications for this building, which will be used as an orientation center for visitors and to house exhibits on the life and career of Governor Vance, North Carolina's Civil War Governor. It is expected that the plans will be ready for the letting of contracts by early summer.

Through the co-operation of the State Highway Department, the Federal Bureau of Public Roads has authorized the erection of two direc-

tional signs on Interstate 85 near Burlington pointing the way to the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site. These signs, soon to be erected, are expected to boost visitation at the Battleground appreciatively. Heretofore there was no way of calling attention to motorists on I-85 that this important historic site was located nearby. Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Bennett Place near Durham, site of the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate Army to Union General William T. Sherman, 1865, has assisted in the organization of a special Bennett Place Improvement Citizen's Committee, whose objective is the general development of the Bennett Place project. The Committee will promote a campaign for funds to construct a visitor center-museum, critically needed as a means of interpreting the historic site. This Committee consists of Mr. Charles Pattishall, Chairman, Dr. Richard L. Pearse, Rev. Robert Watson, Professor Paul Bryun, Professor Albert Buehler, Professor I. B. Holley, Mr. Herbert Bradshaw, Mr. Charles Sullivan, and Mr. Ernie Greup, all of Durham. A cast aluminum historical marker has recently been erected on the highway at the Bennett Place calling the restoration to the attention of travelers.

The Hillsborough Historical Society, upon the invitation of representatives of the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey, Philadelphia, is undertaking a project for surveying 10 or more historic buildings in Hillsboro. Mr. Tarlton, Historic Site Superintendent, has agreed to assist.

At the Governor Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, near Fremont, plans are being made to restore the Aycock stables and other features in the barnyard area. The project will include the construction of split rail and other appropriate types of fences. A flagpole is being acquired to be placed at the entrance. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge, has written a new leaflet for distribution to visitors and the leaflet has been published by the Department. Mr. Sawyer reports that since the opening of the new visitor center-museum in November, visitation to the project has increased steadily. Cub Scout groups from Goldsboro and Wilson visited the site during January. A circular letter addressed to all the school principals in the eastern half of the State has been prepared and will shortly go into the mail, inviting school groups to visit the site.

At Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site plans are being perfected for a visitor center-museum building which is expected to be constructed during the summer. Mr. Alan Ingram of Charlotte, Architect, is the designer. The Smithfield Junior Chamber of Commerce is undertaking a fund drive to raise the \$6,000 needed to finance the proposed \$40,000 building. A total of \$34,000 is already available. The Jaycees are sending letters to "history minded" people in North Carolina asking for contributions. The Johnston County Historical Society is currently working on furnishings for one of the bedrooms in the Harper House located on the battlefield. At Brunswick Town State Historic Site the Archeologist, Mr. Stanley A. South, is revising a number of archeological reports for publication. Interpretive drawings to be used as illustrations for the reports have been made by Mr. Don Mayhew, a member of the

Brunswick Town staff. As weather permits, archeological digging is continuing on one of the eighteenth-century town lots. Mr. South made a report on Brunswick Town at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in Raleigh, December 6.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that visitation during the winter months has remained good, especially on Sunday afternoons. Much interest has been aroused by the recent exhibition on Battle Acre of 12 large timbers which were uncovered in the surf by the storm of March, 1962. These hand-hewed lightwood timbers, containing iron spikes and other fittings, possibly are from the bomb proofs of the Confederate fort. A bronze plaque from the United States Department of the Interior, designating Fort Fisher as a national historic landmark, has been erected in the museum pavilion. Mr. Honeycutt has met with the New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee, the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee, and has spoken to the Wilmington Junior Optimist Club, the Wilmington Lions Club, the Methodist Men's Fellowship, Winter Park Methodist Church, Wilmington, a woman's group of the Temple Baptist Church, and the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Richard W. Iobst, Specialist for the Historical Highway Marker Program, represented the Department at the dedication of a marker for Huggins' Island Fort in Swansboro on January 19. On January 20 Mr. W. S. Tarlton presented a marker for Pleasant Grove Camp Ground at Mineral Springs, Union County.

Division of Museums

On November 1 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, visited the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site to make photographs to be used to publicize the opening of the Visitor Center-Museum. They were present also at the dedication ceremonies on November 18. Mrs. Jordan met in Winston-Salem on November 19 with officers of several organizations to discuss plans for the National Trust for Historic Preservation Seminar to be held later in co-ordination with the Winston-Salem group. Mrs. Futrell on November 26 visited the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site to make photographs and on December 11 she returned to the Aycock Birthplace to photograph the new Visitor Center-Museum for a future brochure.

On November 30 Mr. Samuel Townsend, Administrative Assistant, gave a talk and slide program on the "Preservation of Artifacts from the 'Modern Greece'" at the Civil War Round Table meeting in High Point. Mrs. Jordan met with a group of interested persons in Elizabeth City on January 8 to make further plans for the proposed museum there, and on January 16 she attended the Mid-Winter Council meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C. Members of the staff assisted in preparing exhibits for a small on-campus museum at the State

School for the Blind in Raleigh. Mr. Gene H. Anthony, faculty member, and other personnel helped co-ordinate this unusual project.

Division of Publications

Sales of publications increased with the opening of the school year, and the fourth quarter brought receipts totaling \$7,320. Of this sum \$4,860 was retained by the Department and \$2,460 was turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 350 documentary volumes, 248 letter books of governors, 539 small books, 9,080 pamphlets, charts, and maps, 27,275 leaflets and brochures, and 1,214 copies of the list of available publications. The grand total was 38,706. In addition the last sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review* were sold, making a total of 127 sets and receipts of \$3,452 from the special promotion of *The Review*. The backlog of remaining copies was sold to Mr. David Stick, Kitty Hawk. Persons interested in sets are being referred to Mr. Stick. There were 110 new subscriptions and 574 renewals to the quarterly during the fourth quarter. The three-month sale of documentary volumes resulted in receipts of \$763.

Copy for Volume IX of the *Records of the Moravians* was taken to the printer near the end of January. The biographical sketch of Governor Zebulon B. Vance, written by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, was sent to the Department in January. The front matter for Volume I of the Vance Papers was also sent to the printer in January. The documentary section of this volume is in type, so the volume should be available for sale before the end of the fiscal year. Copy for a history of Lenoir County, written by Mr. W. S. Powell for school children, was sent to the printer in January, and plans were made to issue this pamphlet early in the 1963 General Assembly's session. It is hoped that an appropriation will be granted to enable the Department to continue the series of county histories designed for school use.

The twenty-ninth biennial report of the Department, entitled *Selling Tarheel History*, was issued early in January. Covering the period July 1, 1960, through June 30, 1962, the publication summarizes the work of each division of the Department, the Tryon Palace Commission, and the Tercentenary and Confederate Centennial commissions. Statistical tables are included as well as lists of accessions in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and the Division of Museums. Over 1,800 copies were distributed during January.

The pamphlet on the State Seal was reprinted early in 1963, with 5,000 copies being delivered. Several historic sites brochures were rewritten and published in a simplified and inexpensive edition. Eventually pamphlets on each site will be available at a nominal cost; these will give more details and contain more illustrations than the previously-issued free leaflets.

A new list of North Carolina historical societies, officers, and other pertinent data was compiled in co-operation with the Historic Sites Division. Copies of this mimeographed list are available upon request to the Division of Publications.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, spoke to the Entre Nous Book Club in Raleigh on December 11, to the Ann Hathaway Book Club on January 8, and to the Rho Alpha Book Club on January 22.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant, spoke in Raleigh on February 8 to the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, and on February 12 she attended the annual Book and Author's Luncheon of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina which was held in Greensboro.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. James Edward King, a Professor of History at the University of North Carolina since 1948, died on December 23, 1962. Dr. King was a specialist in French history, the author of several articles and a book released in 1950, and the recipient of the Tanner Award for outstanding undergraduate teaching in 1959. At the time of his death Dr. King was in Washington, D. C., on a Guggenheim Fellowship engaged in writing a projected volume, *Origins of the Idea of Public Welfare*. Dr. James R. Caldwell was the winner of the 1962 Freshman Class Teaching and Service Award at the University.

Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen of Appalachian State Teachers College spoke on "Yankee Raiders in the South" on December 13 in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Her address was a part of the centennial observance of the Battle of Fredericksburg, sponsored by the Woman's Club for the people of the city.

Funds are available for additional grants-in-aid, up to the limit of \$1,000 for each grant given by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, Independence, Missouri. The Institute's committee on grants-in-aid will consider applications for projects involving the Truman administration and the history of the Presidency. It has adopted a policy of favoring grants to promising students and young scholars rather than to those who have already established a reputation in the various appropriate fields of research. Application forms are available from Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, Independence, Missouri.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its annual business meeting and subscription luncheon on December 4 at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Washington, D. C., and Kill Devil Hills presided at the business session and announced the appointment of Mr. John Fox of Raleigh as Vice-Chairman and General Manager of "The Lost Colony," the outdoor drama sponsored by the Association. Reports were made by various committees and by Mr. F. Edgar Thomas of Chapel Hill, General Manager for the 1961-1962 season. Officers, including Mrs. Morrison, who were re-elected are Mrs. Burwell Evans of Manteo, Secretary, and Mr. Chauncey S. Meekins of Manteo, Treasurer. Mr. William L. Long, head of the Dramatic Arts Department at Winthrop College, will serve as Director of "The Lost Colony," and Miss Elizabeth Welch of Salem College will be Assistant Director.

Also on December 4 the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs opened its sixth annual "Music Day" with a coffee hour followed by an afternoon session at which Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan of High Point presided. Persons appearing on the program were Miss Kay Franklin of Raleigh, violinist and 1962 winner of the Transylvania Music Camp Scholarship; Miss Yoko Nozaki of Durham, pianist; Miss Julia Ribet of Raleigh, who sang colonial folk songs and who is Administrative Assistant of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; and Mr. Arnold E. Hoffmann of Raleigh, who spoke on "North Carolina's Unique School Music Program." Following the program the Composition Awards for 1962 were presented to the winners of the Federation's Composition Contest. Mrs. Mehan presided at the dinner meeting, at which Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin, Director of the North Carolina Symphony Society, spoke on "This Is Your Music." Miss Eva Wiseman directed the Burlington Rotary Choir Boys in a musical program after which Miss Janice Elizabeth Barron, Miss North Carolina of 1963, played piano selections. Others appearing on the program were Mr. Carroll Stegall of Wake Forest College, baritone; Miss Beth Troy of Salem College, pianist; Mrs. John B. Russell of Greensboro, soprano, accompanied by Mr. Phillip Morgan of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; and Miss Emily Vinson of East Carolina College, pianist.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh on December 5 with the morning session devoted to reports and the election of directors. Officers were re-elected by the directors at an afternoon meeting of the board. They are Dr. Joseph Sloane of Chapel Hill, President; Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., Vice-President; Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Treasurer; and Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Executive Secretary. The last three officers are all of Raleigh. Five artists received awards in the 1962 North Carolina Artists' Exhibition—the awards of \$100 each being provided by the Art Society through a grant from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. Recipients were Mr. Russell Arnold of Wilson, Mr. Robert Howard of Chapel Hill, Mr. James Bumgardner of Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Grant Joslin and Mr. W. Herbert Jackson, Jr., both of Raleigh. Citations for outstanding contributions to the visual arts were awarded by Dr. Sloane to Mrs. Ola Maie Foushee of Chapel Hill, Mrs. Lois B. Tracy of Asheville, Mrs. W. T. Thorpe, Jr., of Rocky Mount, Miss Jeta Pace of Greensboro, Mr. Peter B. Young of Raeford, Mrs. H. P. Bell, Jr., of Currie, Mrs. Ruth Faison Shaw of Chapel Hill, Mrs. Louis V. Sutton of Raleigh, and Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. A posthumous citation was given for the work of the late Clemens Sommer of Chapel Hill. An address by Dr. McNeil Lowry of New York, Director of the Ford Foundation Program in the Humanities and the Arts, was the highlight of the evening meeting which was held in the Highway Building Auditorium. Later a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Exhibition was held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a dinner meeting on December 5 at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. The Association sponsored

an invitational members' show at the Erdahl-Cloyd Union Building at North Carolina State College which was open throughout Culture Week. Officers of the Association are Mr. William C. Fields of Fayetteville, President; Mr. James E. Tucker of Greensboro, Vice-President; Mrs. Mackey Jeffries of Raleigh, Secretary; and Mr. Edward N. Wilson of Durham, Treasurer.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its thirty-second annual session in Raleigh on December 6. Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville presided at the morning business meeting at which restoration reports were made by Mr. Edmund Harding on Bath, Mrs. A. G. Engstrom on Hillsboro, Mr. Tucker Littleton on Swansboro, Mr. Ralph P. Hanes on Old Salem, and Dr. E. Lawrence Lee on Old Brunswick Town. The Society approved a project to survey the historic houses and buildings of North Carolina. Mrs. Tally stated that the School of Design at North Carolina State College would co-operate in making the study which will eventually be recorded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Officers re-elected at the business session are Mrs. Tally, President; Mr. Dan M. Paul of Raleigh, Vice-President; Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines, honorary presidents. Mr. Charles F. Peterson, Architect of Philadelphia, spoke at the luncheon on "An Architect Looks at Historic Preservation." The Raleigh Woman's Club entertained members of the Society with a historical tour followed by a tea. During the evening the Dramatic Arts Department of Wilmington College presented "The Prince of Parthia" by Thomas Godfrey, first play written in America. Mr. Douglas W. Swink directed the play. Cannon Awards were presented to Mr. J. H. Knox of Salisbury for his work in the Setzer School restoration project, to Mr. Donald Carrow of Bath for his work on the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses, and to Mr. Sam T. Snowdon of Laurinburg for his work in the restoration of the Old Temperance and Literary Society Hall and the John Charles McNeill Memorial Gardens both near Wagram in Scotland County. The Fayetteville Woman's Club received the award presented annually by the Society to the woman's club in the State which does the best work in historic preservation. A reception for members and guests concluded the meetings of the Society.

The sixty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on December 7. Mr. Henry J. MacMillan of Wilmington presided at the morning business session at which time Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, spoke on "A History Building for North Carolina." Mr. J. A. Chaney of Raleigh, Book Editor of *The News and Observer*, reviewed North Carolina fiction for 1961-1962. Dr. Robert N. Elliott of North Carolina State College presented the R. D. W. Connor Award given by the Historical Society of North Carolina to the author of the article (published in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in the four issues ending with that of July) in the field of North Carolina history or biography. Dr.

Otto H. Olsen, Professor of History at Old Dominion College, Norfolk, Virginia, received the 1962 Connor Award for his article, "The Ku Klux Klan: A Study in Reconstruction Politics and Propaganda." Mr. W. S. Tarlton, representing the American Association for State and Local History, presented Awards of Merit to Mr. Jonathan Daniels for his book, *The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace*; State Department of Archives and History for the preservation of local records (accepted by Rear Adm. A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist, Local Records Section); Salisbury City Schools for the restoration of the Setzer School (accepted by Mr. Harold E. Isenberg, Principal of the J. H. Knox Junior High School, and Mr. Claude E. Pickett, history teacher); Historic Bath Commission for restorations in Bath (accepted by Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Commission); and the United States Navy for salvage work on the "Modern Greece" (accepted by Commander Victor M. Davis of the United States Naval Training Station in Wilmington). Mr. L. S. Blades, Jr., of Elizabeth City presided at the subscription luncheon when Dr. C. Hugh Holman of Chapel Hill gave a review of North Carolina nonfiction for 1961-1962. Mr. Henry W. Lewis of Chapel Hill presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mrs. Helen Bevington of Durham for *When Found, Make a Verse Of*. The American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award was won by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill for *Rifles at Ramsour's Mill: A Tale of the Revolutionary War*. Mrs. Cecil Gilliatt of Shelby made the presentation. Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilkesboro presided at the dinner meeting at which time Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson of Davidson College gave his presidential address. Dr. Davidson was in charge of the evening meeting at which the featured speaker was Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Dean of the School of General Studies of Columbia University. His topic was "Localized History in the Age of Explosions." Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill, Governor of the North Carolina Colony of Mayflower Descendants, presented the Mayflower Society Award for nonfiction, 1961-1962, to Mr. William P. (Bill) Sharpe, Editor of *The State* magazine and the series, *A New Geography of North Carolina*. The award was made for Mr. Sharpe's contribution to the history of the State over a period of years rather than for a specific volume. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, presented the Sir Walter Award for fiction, 1961-1962, to Mr. Reynolds Price, a member of the English faculty at Duke University, for *A Long and Happy Life*. A reception for members, guests, and recipients of the various awards was held immediately following the evening meeting.

The fifty-first annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held on the afternoon of December 7 with President Richard Walser of Raleigh in charge of the meeting. Miss Jean Moser, teacher and band director at Brevard College, gave a slide lecture, "Norwegian Folk Musical Instruments"; Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson of Chapel Hill spoke on *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763*, his book published recently by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. Dr. Dan Brock, guitarist, and Miss Guerry Matthews of the University of North Carolina

sang ballads of the colonial period. Madison County native Obray Ramsey, banjoist and singer, sang songs of the French Broad River, accompanied by Mr. Tom Hunter, guitarist. Oil paintings, depicting "North Carolina Folk Heroes" by Mr. Artus M. Moser of Swannanoa, were exhibited at the meeting. In a brief business session the following officers were elected to serve during the Golden Anniversary year of the Society: Dr. E. H. Hartsell of Chapel Hill, President; General John D. F. Phillips of Raleigh, First Vice-President; Miss Ruth Jewell of Raleigh, Second Vice-President; and Dr. Hudson, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast meeting on December 8 in honor of Mr. William P. (Bill) Sharpe, winner of the 1962 Mayflower Award. Dr. Sturgis Leavitt of Chapel Hill is Governor of the North Carolina Society; Mrs. W. G. Allen of Raleigh, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided at the meeting.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held their twenty-first annual meeting in Raleigh on December 8. Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro, who was re-elected President, presided. Mrs. S. R. Prince of Reidsville gave a report on the various historical tours held in the State during 1962. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill presented the Hodges High School Award to Miss Donna Graham of Hubert for her article on the history of Swansboro which was published in the *Jacksonville Daily Times*. Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City was presented the Smithwick Newspaper Award by Mr. Charles Dunn of Durham. Mr. Salisbury, who had previously won the Smithwick Award, had his article on Carteret County newspapers published in a special edition of the *Carteret News-Times* on February 23. Mr. T. H. Pearce of Franklinton won second place in the Smithwick competition; Mr. Perry Young of Asheville and Mr. Howard Jones of Warrenton tied for third place. Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone gave an address, "The Teaching of Local History—A Report." Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator, both of the Department of Archives and History, spoke briefly on the Junior Historian program. Other officers re-elected at the business session were Mr. S. T. Peace, Henderson; Mrs. Musella W. Wagner, Chapel Hill; and Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., all Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro, Secretary-Treasurer. The luncheon meeting featured the Mockingbird Combo of Henderson, led by Mr. S. T. Peace. Miss Iris Beckham performed a Spanish dance accompanied by Mr. Jerry Oberton, guitarist. Others on the program were Miss Margaret Brown and Mrs. Gaither Greenway.

On November 25 the Person County Historical Society unveiled a Historical Highway Marker in honor of William Robert (Sawney) Webb, native of the County and a famous schoolmaster for whom the Webb School in Bell Buckle, Tennessee, is named. Mr. Byrd I. Satterfield, President of the Society, was in charge of the program. Other participants

were the Rev. George Webb, Mrs. C. W. Stanford, Dr. William C. Friday, Mr. W. E. Webb, Sr., Daniel Clary Webb III, and Rev. L. P. Martin.

The Alexander County Historical Society met on January 19 in the County Courthouse.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President, presided at the January 19 meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association. Dr. Kenneth B. Lee of Lenoir Rhyne College was the guest speaker.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, December, 1962, has an article, "History of Lowell Methodist Church," by Kate Hovis; an article on the genealogy of the Hand family by Mrs. Lottie Hand Mussman, and some old cemetery records of Gaston County compiled by the late Mrs. M. B. Wales. The feature story on the Rev. Mr. Dubbert was continued from the July issue.

The *Rowan Museum News Letter* for January, 1963, contains an article on the presentation to the Museum of the flag which flew over the Confederate Prison at Salisbury during the Civil War. The flag was presented by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, on an indefinite loan. It was returned to the State last summer by the Governor of Indiana for the first time since it was captured by the Ninety-First Regiment, Indiana Infantry, at the end of the Civil War. The *News Letter* also contains a report on the Antiques Show, recent acquisitions, and several letters. Mrs. Edward T. Taylor, on November 15, was named Assistant to the Director, Mrs. Gettys Guille.

On January 21 the Wilkes County Historical Society met with President T. E. Story presiding. A report on the sales of the history of the County by Judge Johnson J. Hayes was made and Mrs. Gaylord Hancock and Mrs. Edd Gardner gave a program on the tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663.

On January 26 the Western North Carolina Historical Association met in Asheville with Admiral Ligon Ard presiding. Mr. James A. Duffy read a paper, Miss Myra Champion presented an exhibit of North Carolina, and plans for the November meeting of the Southern Historical Association to be held in Asheville were discussed.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on January 28 with President Silas Whedbee presiding. Plans were discussed for the celebration in the County of the tercentenary of the signing of the Carolina Charter. Every church in the County was asked to plan commemorative services for March 24. Mrs. C. R. Holmes, Mrs. Mildred Whitley, and Mrs. S. P. Jessup were in charge of the program. Mr. David Cox exhibited a collection of Confederate money.

Mr. Voit Gilmore of Southern Pines and Washington, D. C., spoke to members of the Hillsborough Historical Society on January 28. Mr. Gilmore is head of the federal agency formed by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges to promote travel abroad and in the United States. The Hillsborough Society has a long-range program to preserve and promote Hillsboro as a historic shrine. "News-Letter," No. 6, official publication of the Hillsborough Society, notes that the present membership of the group is 234. Other items in the bulletin include a report on the request to the General Assembly that a Historic Hillsboro Commission be appointed; a list of grants and gifts; a short note on the success of charter member Richard McKenna's book, *The Sand Pebbles*; plans for the spring pilgrimage and odds-and-ends sale to be held April 27-28; and a report on the House on Lot 45 recently purchased by the Society. *Historic Hillsborough*, compiled by the Society, was released in February. The publication contains a large map to be used for a walking tour which lists 65 points of interest as well as tourist accommodations. A history of Hillsboro, seat of Orange County, and excellent sketches of sites, houses, and gardens complete the brochure which is available from the Hillsborough Historical Society, Inc., c/o Dr. Charles H. Blake, President, Box 613, Hillsboro.

The Durham-Orange Historical Society met on January 31 to hear a progress report on the history of Durham County. Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., of Duke University, one of the authors, spoke briefly as did Mr. H. C. Bradshaw of Durham, who is writing the chapters on the social life of the County. Others collaborating in preparing the history of Durham are Dr. W. B. Hamilton, co-editor, Dr. Richard Leach, Dr. Charles E. Landon, and Dr. Edgar Thompson, all of Duke University; Dr. Warner Wells of the University of North Carolina; Hon. R. O. Everett of Durham; and Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College. Mr. Wyatt T. Dixon, newspaperman and Secretary of the Society, received a citation for his outstanding contribution in stimulating interest in the history of Durham. The Hon. A. H. "Sandy" Graham, Vice-Chairman of the Society, served as master of ceremonies; the Hon. R. O. Everett is Chairman.

The Lincoln County Chamber of Commerce, Lincolnton, has issued an illustrated 18-page booklet, *Many Interesting Places to See in Lincoln County*. The Historical Highway Markers located in the county are explained and points of interest to visit are noted. The First National Bank, the First Citizens Bank and Trust Company, *The Lincoln Times*, the Lincolnton Savings and Loan Association, and the Clark Corporation united to sponsor publication of the pamphlet.

The Chatham County Historical Society met on January 9 for the first time in more than a year. Mrs. Harry Horton, Vice-President, presided, and Mr. Jason B. Deyton, Superintendent of Chatham County Schools, was guest speaker. On February 5 Mrs. Edward Holmes of Pittsboro was elected President of the Society. Other officers for the coming year are

Mrs. W. B. Carroll, Siler City, Vice-President, and the following, all of Pittsboro: Miss Eliza Bynum, Secretary; Mr. John London, Treasurer; and Mr. William B. Morgan, Historian. The Society made plans to inventory family and public cemeteries; a committee was appointed to direct this project for which Mr. Lemuel Johnson will prepare a map.

The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin* for February contains the message of President Randolph L. Gregory, an article, "Cape Fear River Boats," by Mr. Henry J. MacMillan, a notice of the recently issued brochure on the Wilmington Historic Area, a brief article on the Louis T. Moore Memorial Fund, and a report on the development of Fort Fisher.

The Burke County Historical Society met on February 12 with Mr. Stanley Moore, President, in charge of the meeting. Dr. Edward W. Phifer of Morganton, former president of the Society, spoke on "Broadening Concepts of Local History"; a panel discussion followed the talk.

A meeting of the Pitt County Historical Society was held on February 13 with Miss Elizabeth Copeland, President, in charge of the meeting. Plans for Pitt County's participation in the tercentenary celebration of the Carolina Charter of 1663 were revealed. Miss Copeland, Mrs. W. I. Wooten, Judge Dink James, Dr. Charles Price, Dr. Herbert Paschal, and Dr. James Butler served on the planning committee.

The Swansboro Historical Association was recently presented two new collections for its museum. The first, mostly relics, was given by Mr. W. D. Norris of Swansboro and Mr. J. A. Norris of Washington, N. C. The second, more than 200 documents, was collected by Mr. Francis K. Williams, also of Swansboro. When space becomes available, these items will be displayed.

A campaign to increase the membership of the Greensboro Historical Museum to 2,000 and to raise \$100,000 in cash and pledges was begun on January 31. The first 600 new members each received a free copy of Ethel Stephens Arnett's history of Greensboro, which originally sold for \$6.00. The books were donated by the Chamber of Commerce to assist in the fund raising-membership drive. Mrs. John K. Brewer, Chairman of the membership committee, was in charge of the project. When the campaign began there were fewer than 300 members. Mr. Carl F. Cannon, Jr., Director of the Museum, stated that most of the funds raised would be spent on exhibits to be placed in what is now the Greensboro Public Library after the Library moves into its new building, which is under construction at Greene and Gaston Streets.

The Pasquotank County Historical Society met on February 26 at Christ Episcopal Church in Elizabeth City.

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

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review*, but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the 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.

