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# The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1963

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Albion W. Tourgée, in a sketch done by O. Henry when he was fourteen years old, is shown leaving Greensboro for Raleigh. The mat from which the cartoon was reproduced was supplied by the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*. For an article on Tourgée, see pages 434-454.

# The North Carolina Historical Review

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OUR LIVING AND OUR DEAD:  
A POST-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA MAGAZINE  
OF LITERATURE AND HISTORY

BY RAY M. ATCHISON\*

When the four tragic years of the Civil War drew to a close, writing and publishing were quickly revived in the South. Defeated in battle, southerners wished to establish a literature of their own divorced from northern sentiment and prejudice. One major medium of publication was the numerous literary-historical magazines which sprang into existence throughout the South in the years immediately after Appomattox.<sup>1</sup>

North Carolina was a leading State not only in the number published but also in the quality of these periodicals devoted to the Lost Cause.<sup>2</sup> One of the best of these made its initial appearance in New Bern on July 2, 1873, bearing the somewhat odd name *Our Living and Our Dead*.

The complete title explains what Stephen D. Pool, the Editor,<sup>3</sup> had

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\* Dr. Atchison is Professor of English, Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama.

<sup>1</sup> Literary historians have practically ignored these magazines as important depositories of southern thought and attitude during the post-bellum period. For a brief but scholarly treatment, see Jay B. Hubbell, *The South in American Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954), 716-726. A comprehensive study is Ray M. Atchison's "Southern Literary Magazines, 1865-1887" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1956), hereinafter cited as Atchison, "Southern Literary Magazines."

<sup>2</sup> See Atchison, "Southern Literary Magazines," *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> During the Civil War Stephen D. Pool was first a captain and later a colonel in charge of North Carolina artillery troops. After the War he settled in New Bern as Publisher and Editor of the *Weekly Journal of Commerce*, as well as the daily *New-Bern Journal of Commerce*. He was a charter member of the North Carolina Press Association and attended the first meeting in Goldsboro in May, 1873. Pool was one of the first Democrats elected to a State office after the War, serving from 1875 to 1876 as Superintendent of Public Instruction. The New Orleans, Louisiana, city directories list his name in the issues 1877 through 1887, indicating that he moved to New Orleans from Raleigh, and that his death probably occurred shortly after the latter date. Stephen D. Pool, Jr., and other relatives were associated with the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana). In addition to editing *Our Living and Our Dead*, Stephen D. Pool was Editor of the *Southern Historical Monthly*, established in Raleigh, January, 1876, and the *North Carolina Journal of Education*; see *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (November, 1875), back cover, and IV (March, 1876), 126. For additional biographical information, consult R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina:*

in mind when he established this periodical: *Our Living and Our Dead; or, Testimony from the Battle Fields, A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the War Record of North Carolina*. Attractively printed, it was a large four-page folio, with a subscription price of \$2.00. Advertisements, occupying six to eight columns, carried notices of southern educational institutions, magazines, products of business firms, and other enterprises of interest to southern subscribers. The paper announced in its first issue a circulation of 1,500.

The early issues of this magazine carried no political essays, but there were in abundance miscellaneous sketches, letters from correspondents, State news, war diaries of young ladies, war reminiscences, registers of North Carolina troops, and verse. General Daniel Harvey Hill and Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, prominent North Carolinians, were listed as contributors. Reprinted material was selected not from the popular British magazines, as was then fashionable, but from southern periodicals. Campfire and battlefield anecdotes copied from "The Haversack" of General Hill's *The Land We Love* (Charlotte, 1866-1869) were frequent offerings.<sup>4</sup>

Poetry was given considerable attention, having devoted to it a column entitled "Selected Poetry," which became "Southern War Poetry" in the second issue. The Editor's announced intention was to publish such poetry "as is commemorative of events which occurred during the War, or of the sentiments and feelings of those who participated in it, and memorial sketches in verse of gallant officers and men who fell in battle, or signally distinguished themselves."<sup>5</sup> With the exception of a few original poems by S. D. Bagley<sup>6</sup> and Appleton Oaksmith,<sup>7</sup> both North Carolinians, Editor Pool of necessity resorted to eclecticism. He reprinted well-known lyrics composed during the heat of conflict by Henry Timrod, George W. Bagby, John R. Thomp-

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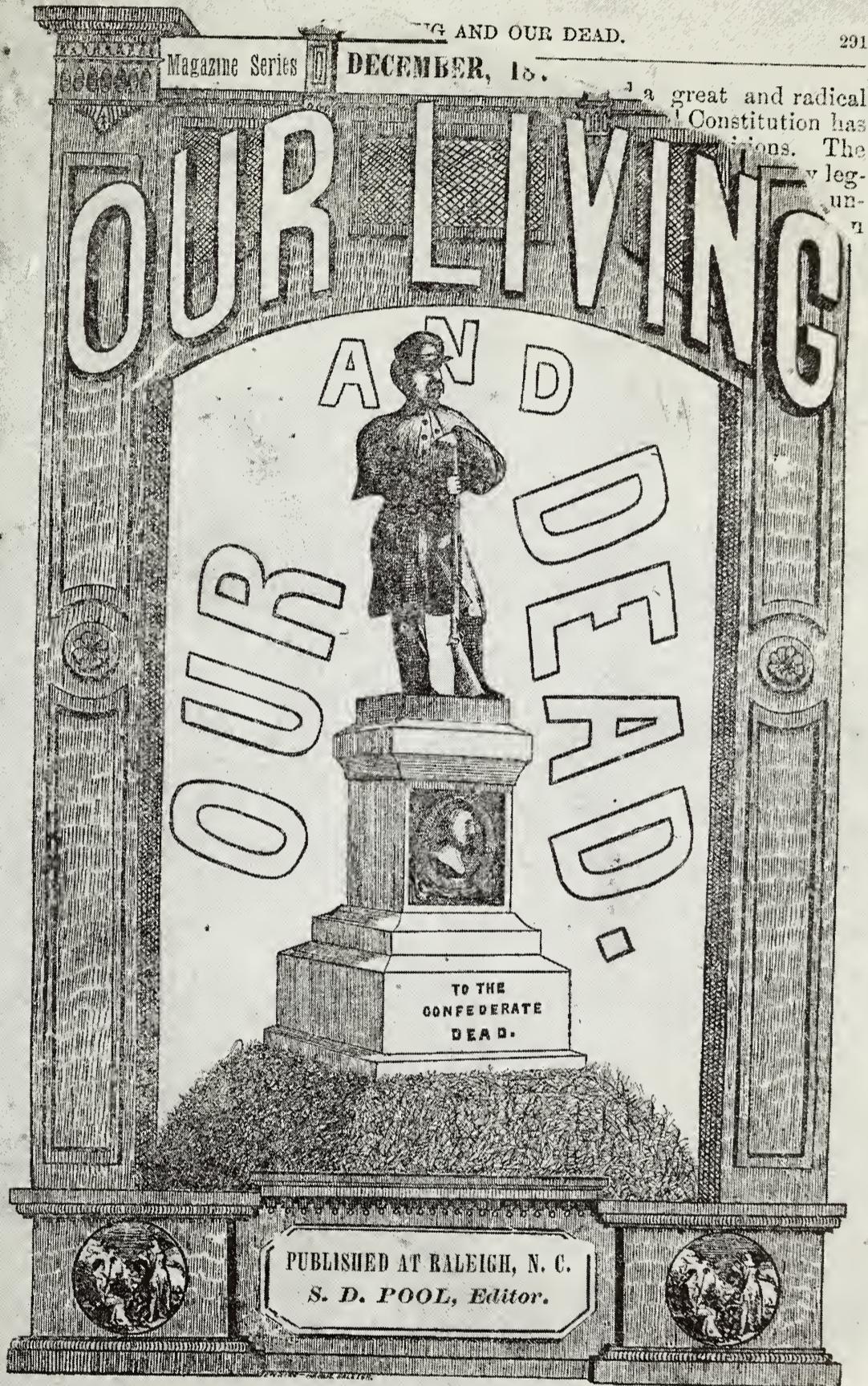
*Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 391; and J. G. de Rouhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, Volume III of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Rouhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 362.

<sup>4</sup> For a critical and analytical sketch of General Hill's magazine, see Ray M. Atchison, "The Land We Love: A Southern Post-Bellum Magazine of Agriculture, Literature, and Military History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (October, 1960), 506-515.

<sup>5</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (July 9, 1873), 1.

<sup>6</sup> According to information in a letter from S. D. Bagley to T. B. Kingsbury, the former was in 1891 the President of Louisburg Female College, April 17, 1891, Theodore Bryant Kingsbury Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>7</sup> The periodical listed Oaksmith as a resident of Carteret County; "Forget Me Not," in I (December, 1874), 331, carries the notation "By Appleton Oaksmith, of Carteret." See also, John J. TePaske. "Appleton Oaksmith, Filibuster Agent," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXV (October, 1958), 427-447.



Front cover for the December, 1874, issue.

1875. Important Announcement--Read! 1875.

--PROSPECTUS OF--

**Our Living and Our Dead;**

A North Carolina Monthly Magazine of 128 Pages, Published at Raleigh, N. C., at Three Dollars a Year.

**S. D. POOL, Editor.** | T. B. KINGSBURY, | Associates.  
| JAMES H. POOL, |

The success of our enterprise has been such as to authorize us in stating that **one thousand new subscribers for the year 1875** will place it on a permanent basis, and make it one of the established institutions of the State. It has met with wide favor in every section of the State, and is rapidly extending in circulation and influence. Among our subscribers are the leading men of the East, the West and the Centre, and many a brave soldier who offered himself freely in defence of his people is upon our mail-books.

We take pleasure in announcing that our plans, for the year 1875, are complete, and we are able to offer unusual attractions to our readers. The Magazine has been enlarged to **128 pages monthly**, and at \$3 per annum is cheaper than any Northern publication containing as much matter. The Magazine will contain

**Four Distinct Departments:**

- |                                     |                     |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. The Historical and Biographical. | 3. The Literary.    |
| 2. The Descriptive and Statistical. | 4. The Educational. |

In the **FIRST** Department will be accounts of battles, historic facts, sketches of individual character, anecdotes of the war, personal reminiscences, memorial sketches, war poetry, &c.

In the **SECOND** Department will be gathered descriptive and statistical information from every section of North Carolina. The climate, soil, productions, timber, minerals, and topography of the State--its commercial, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and other interests will be represented in its pages. Tables of **Necrology and Important Events** will be published each month. The history of counties, villages, towns and cities will find a place. **Reminiscences of the Bar** will also be found in this Department.

The **THIRD** Department will contain stories by gifted writers, criticisms, essays, travels, sketches, &c.

The **FOURTH** Department will be devoted to the subject of Education in all its ramifications, and will contain addresses, essays, lectures, discussions, &c., by practiced writers and eminent teachers.

We will begin, in the January number, the publication of a

**SERIAL STORY**

from the pen of **Miss Frances C. Fisher** ("CHRISTIAN REID"), who stands at the head of all Southern writers of fiction, and whose merits are popular in every section of the United States. The title of the story will be "**A SUMMER IDYL**," the scene of which will be laid in the mountains of Western North Carolina.

**Mrs. Cicero W. Harris**, of Wilmington, to whom we are indebted for the pleasant story in the December number, will also contribute a Serial Novel, which will be of North Carolina web and woof, and must prove highly entertaining to all. She is a lady of talents, and will do her work well.

**Gov. Vance**, whose recent "**SKETCHES OF NORTH CAROLINA**" have been so much admired, will contribute some of his best productions to our Magazine.

Many other writers of literary skill and ability will favor us.

We shall strive to improve with each issue, and appeal to our people for a generous support of our undertaking. An average of twelve (only twelve) **new** subscribers from each county in the State will place the Magazine on a firm basis. Who will be the first to move in our behalf, and from what county will come the first response? Ladies of North Carolina, give us your influence and material aid. Address,

**S. D. POOL, Raleigh, N. C.**

son, Abram J. (Father) Ryan, Henry Lynden Flash, Paul H. Hayne, and others.

In October, 1873, *Our Living and Our Dead* became the official organ of the North Carolina Branch, Southern Historical Society. Eleven months later it was removed to Raleigh, where, as a monthly, it was published fairly regularly until its final suspension after March, 1876.

A few changes were made when the periodical began publication in Raleigh, but these were chiefly in format, not in tone and emphasis. The magazine continued to be highly provincial, that is, a glorification and vindication of North Carolina history.

Theodore Bryant Kingsbury<sup>8</sup> and James H. Pool, the Editor's brother, joined the staff as associate editors. In a form more suitable for binding, the periodical became a single-column octavo of 96 pages enhanced by extra large print.<sup>9</sup> The subscription price was increased and a decorative cover designed by Kingsbury appeared in July, 1875.<sup>10</sup> In the new magazine form, three volumes and one issue of a fourth were published. Financial difficulties prevented the editors from printing more than a few engravings, including the following: Orphan Asylum (Oxford); Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (Raleigh); Carolina Military Institute (Charlotte); Peace Institute (Raleigh); and General George Burgwyn Anderson.<sup>11</sup>

One major problem that plagued the editors in Raleigh, as it had in New Bern, was that of securing original material from talented

<sup>8</sup> Theodore Bryant Kingsbury (1828-1913), author, magazine editor, journalist, minister, and literary critic, has been called North Carolina's "most accomplished litterateur." Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), I, 356. He attended the University of North Carolina but did not graduate. Instead, he became a merchant and published, meanwhile, the *Leisure Hour*, an Oxford literary weekly. In 1859 he was elected to the Chair of Literature at Trinity College (now Duke University), but he declined this honor and became a minister. From 1866 to 1869 he was pastor of the First Baptist Church at Warrenton. After July, 1869, Kingsbury left the ministry and joined the staff of the *Sentinel* in Raleigh, which was published during this period as a daily, semi-weekly, and weekly newspaper. Throughout the remainder of his life he was associated with the following newspapers: *The Morning Star* (Wilmington) as editorial writer; *The Wilmington Messenger* as Editor; and *The News and Observer* (Raleigh) as contributor. Kingsbury was the author of a few books, including one on baptism and a guidebook to the Philadelphia Centennial. In addition to the biographical sketch of Kingsbury in Ashe, cited above, other information appears in Elizabeth Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 423; and Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 80-81.

<sup>9</sup> A few issues contained as many as 140-odd pages, but a gradual reduction in the number of pages per issue gave clear evidence of the editors' financial struggle.

<sup>10</sup> The centerpiece was an exact copy of the Confederate monument at Wilmington. Kingsbury explained the meaning in "Our New Cover," *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (July, 1875), 145.

<sup>11</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (October, 1874); I (November, 1874); I (February, 1875); III (September, 1875).

authors. S. D. Bagley and Appleton Oaksmith continued to send poems, and "Christian Reid" (Frances C. Fisher Tiernan of Salisbury) contributed a novelette and one poem. Mrs. Cicero W. Harris,<sup>12</sup> later Editor of the *South-Atlantic* (Wilmington and Baltimore, 1877-1882), submitted a serial and a poem. Readers were promised that the popular Governor Zebulon B. Vance would send to the magazine some of his best writings. Only one of his essays was published, however, and this was an address which had been delivered before the Southern Historical Society at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, on August 18, 1875.<sup>13</sup>

Associate Editor T. B. Kingsbury wrote a large number of the essays. Not a profound thinker, he nevertheless knew his English and American authors fairly well. Occasionally he wrote with a degree of insight on such topics as education, southern textbooks, plagiarism, and poetasters. He was one of the better informed southern literary critics of the period, but he did not review many books in detail. Perhaps Kingsbury felt that he should not attempt to evaluate a book which he had not read and studied thoroughly.

Authors of original and selected material included those listed below, some of whom preferred pseudonyms or initials.

Lieutenant John G. Albright; "An Amateur Scribbler"; S. D. Bagley; Captain Thomas B. Bailey; Colonel L. S. Baker; General Rufus Barringer; General C. A. Battle; Dr. Jeremiah Battle; Honorable Kemp P. Battle; Honorable William H. Battle; J. H. Becton; Captain W. T. R. Bell; Professor H. B. Blake (Wilmington); T. D. Boone; General Braxton Bragg; General L. O'B. Branch; Robert W. Brown; John D. Cameron; General Thomas Lanier Clingman; J. R. Cole; General R. E. Colston; J. A. Cooper; W. A. Curtis; Colonel W. L. DeRossett; Susan Dimock (Washington, North Carolina); "Dixie"; Professor W. C. Doub (Greensboro Female College); Fanny Murdaugh Downing; William C. Elam (Fayetteville); Henry Lynden Flash; Major B. W. Frobel; Edwin W. Fuller; Seaton Gales; Lieutenant-Colonel G. I. Gordon; Captain J. A. Graham; Captain Everard Hall; Lee Hampton; General Wade Hampton; Will Loftin Hargrave; Reverend Francis L. Hawks; General A. P. Hill; General Daniel H. Hill;

<sup>12</sup> The writer of this article has been unable to find a detailed biographical sketch of Mrs. Harris. Florence E. Blakely, Head, Reference Department, Duke University Library, and William S. Powell, Director, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, assisted in the search, but they have also been unsuccessful. One source gives the following information: "For some years prior to 1879, Mr. and Mrs. Harris, who were of Oxford, N. C., were conspicuous in Wilmington for their literary attainments. Mr. Harris was for some time editor of the *Star*, and Mrs. Harris, who was a woman of most attractive personality and of remarkable energy, published a magazine, the *South-Atlantic*, which might have prospered but for the financial depression of the times." James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River; Being Some Account of Historic Events on the Cape Fear River* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1914), 523-524.

<sup>13</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (November, 1875), 612-628.

Colonel James W. Hinton; Colonel W. J. Hoke; Honorable Joseph W. Holden; Reverend W. Hooper; General Bradley T. Johnson; Eleanor M. Jones; Johnstone Jones; Theophilus F. Kluttz; "A Lady of Granville"; General James H. Lane; Reverend A. W. Mangum (Edenton Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Raleigh); Alexander McIver; Major J. C. McRae; Stephen F. Miller; J. Emory Moore; Major John W. Moore; Professor T. J. Morgan; E. M. Nadal; John W. Norwood; Reverend John Paris; Joshua Potts; Margaret J. Preston; James Ryder Randall; John E. Rhiem; Kate Mason Rowland; Reverend William Henry Rufner (Virginia); Abram J. Ryan; S. S. Satchwell; Professor D. Schable; Randolph A. Shotwell; Professor W. G. Simmons (Wake Forest College); Cornelia Phillips Spencer; John R. Thompson; G. F. Towle; General I. R. Trimble; John E. Tyler; Honorable Abram W. Venable; Mrs. Susan H. Waddell; Severn Teackle Wallis; John Hill Wheeler; John G. Whittier; Richard Henry Wilde; L. Cary Wilder; Reverend C. H. Wiley; Walter P. Williamson; "W. J. G."; Bartlett Yancy; Major Richard W. York; and Louis G. Young.

As advertised in the prospectus, the contents of *Our Living and Our Dead*, monthly edition, were neatly classified and arranged in four distinct departments, a unique feature of southern post-bellum literary magazines. In addition to these four departments—Historical and Biographical, Descriptive and Statistical, Literary, and Educational—there was an editorial section conducted by Kingsbury. And "Our Camp Chest," avowedly an imitation of General Hill's "The Haversack," appeared in November, 1874, and irregularly thereafter.

The Historical and Biographical Department was one of the best features of the magazine, although it embodied fewer biographical sketches than had been promised in the prospectus. In this department appeared accounts of battles, historic facts, personal reminiscences, memorial sketches, addresses of generals on anniversaries of battles, extracts from correspondence, diaries, sketches of regiments, and official proceedings of the North Carolina Historical Society. Most of the material was related to North Carolinians and the Civil War, but some items recorded ante-bellum North Carolina history. Representative examples included the following: "Official Proceedings of the First Meeting of The North Carolina Historical Society"; T. B. Kingsbury, "North Carolina at Gettysburg"; Colonel W. J. Hoke, "Sketch of the 38th Regiment N. C. Troops"; John Hill Wheeler, "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"; and Johnstone Jones, "Evidences of the Mecklenburg Declaration."<sup>14</sup>

Wheeler and Jones cited a number of personal testimonies of eye-witnesses, contemporaneous publications, and writings by North Caro-

<sup>14</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (July, 1875), 62-65; I (November, 1874), 193-197; I (February, 1875), 545-551; I (January, 1875), 418-427; III (August, 1875), 187-199; III (December, 1875), 720-728.

linians in their effort to prove that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, did renounce their allegiance to King George III of England on May 20, 1775, thereby antedating the National Declaration of Independence.<sup>15</sup>

In recording North Carolina State and southern history, the editors revealed a marked displeasure at the widespread circulation of northern textbooks and histories in the postwar South. For example, Kingsbury's editorials, "The South Must Write Its Own Histories"<sup>16</sup> and "History Perverted,"<sup>17</sup> expressed strong resentment against prejudiced northern historians. In tone and content these essays are to be compared with ones written by other editors, notably Albert Taylor Bledsoe (*Southern Review*, 1867-1879), William Hand Browne (*Southern Magazine*, 1871-1875), and Anthony Butler Stark (*Home Monthly*, 1866-1870). Perhaps no other southern magazine editors of the period were more concerned about this subject than were these four men. Their essays, if collected, would well express vigorous, conservative thinking on a topic which was much discussed long before as well as after the Civil War.<sup>18</sup>

The Descriptive and Statistical Department gave information about North Carolina's climate, soil, timber, minerals, topography, and various aspects of commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests. *Turner's North Carolina Almanac* was the source of numerous reprints. One typical original article was "On the Trade of Wilmington, N. C., May 1st, 1815," by Joshua Potts.<sup>19</sup> Stephen F. Miller (1805- ?), author, editor, and lawyer,<sup>20</sup> contributed a valuable series entitled "Recollections of Newbern Fifty Years Ago." The magazine advertised these sketches appropriately as "somewhat rare in extent and variety, embracing more than fifty occupations and topics, with about three hundred names of residents of Newbern."<sup>21</sup>

The Literary Department as a separate section was not established until the fourth issue, December, 1874. Kingsbury announced that in

<sup>15</sup> For a modern, scholarly discussion of the Mecklenburg Declaration, consult Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 191-192, 195, 203, 388, 603.

<sup>16</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (May, 1875), 300-305.

<sup>17</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (April, 1875), 170-175.

<sup>18</sup> See Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," in David Kelly Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd by Members of the Americana Club of Duke University* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 175-220.

<sup>19</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (September, 1874), 50-55.

<sup>20</sup> A brief sketch of Miller appeared in *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (November, 1874), 239. Born in North Carolina, he moved to Georgia in early youth. Later, in Alabama, he was Editor of the *Monitor*, a Whig journal published at Tuscaloosa.

<sup>21</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (November, 1874), 239.

order for his new department to be successful he would need contributions from "our practiced writers."<sup>22</sup> He stated also that authors who lived in States other than North Carolina should feel free to submit material. First place, however, was reserved for the literary men and women of the Old North State. Writers were instructed to send "short sketches whether of character or travel, brief essays, criticism, choice-*ana*, poetry, literary anecdote, reminiscences, and other matter that will make this department enjoyable and edifying."<sup>23</sup>

The ambitious plan for making the Literary Department an outstanding feature of *Our Living and Our Dead* never reached maturity. Kingsbury was compelled to write much of the material, aided by Christian Reid, Mrs. C. W. Harris, S. D. Bagley, and Appleton Oaksmith. Two novelettes, several short stories, poetry (chiefly reprints), a few book reviews in a section entitled "Authors and Publishers," some literary criticism, and proverbs—these were the pieces that Kingsbury managed to publish.

Christian Reid's *A Summer Idyl*, a serial with North Carolina mountains as the setting, was the most attractive offering of the Literary Department. As a novelist Miss Reid was constantly praised for, among other traits, her graceful, limpid style and lifelike pictures of southern society.<sup>24</sup> A second serial, *Margaret Rosselyn*, came from the pen of Mrs. Harris.<sup>25</sup> The most artistic brief fiction was "Buried Alive," a Poe-like tale by Theophilus F. Kluttz.<sup>26</sup> Other stories included "The White Doe Chase; A Legend of Olden Times," by Mrs. "M. M.,"<sup>27</sup> and, by Mrs. Harris, "A Shadow of the Past; A Sketch from Real Life."<sup>28</sup>

A majority of the poems were reprints of southern authors, but these shared space with some European and northern poems. Original poetry, as might be expected, usually paid tribute to some phase of North Carolina history. Representative examples may be cited: J. Emory M., "Over the Grave of Colonel Sol. Williams"; Jo. W. Holden, "Hatteras"; Wm. C. Elam, "The Mecklenburg Declaration, May 20, 1775"; Appleton Oaksmith, "Forget Me Not"; and Mrs. C. W. Harris, "Edith Moore."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (November, 1874), 256.

<sup>23</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (November, 1874), 256.

<sup>24</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (September, 1875), 398.

<sup>25</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (January, 1875), 481-490; III (November, 1875), 645-659.

<sup>26</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (May, 1875), 347-350.

<sup>27</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (December, 1875), 753-771.

<sup>28</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (December, 1874), 353-362.

<sup>29</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (October, 1874), 138; I (November, 1874), 253; III (July, 1875), 20-21; I (December, 1874), 331; III (December, 1875), 772-779.

Literary criticism was almost exclusively the work of Kingsbury. Many of his essays are rather modern in tone and pleasing in style, and they exhibit a wide range of interest. "Vicious Literature," for example, was one of Kingsbury's tirades against the illustrated literature of the North. In addition, he warned his readers against "Wilkie Collins, Miss Braddon, *et id omne genus*."<sup>30</sup> "Vicious Taste," also, was directed at the sensational novels and newspapers of the age.<sup>31</sup> Books that were "safe" reading for southerners were discussed in "Living Novelists."<sup>32</sup> Included were Dinah Maria Mulock's *John Halifax, Gentleman*, Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd*, and Charles Reade's *Peg Woffington*. *Robinson Crusoe* and *Sandford and Merton* were recommended for boys and girls in "Books for the Young."<sup>33</sup> "Plagiarism Among Authors" deprecates literary theft, though actual cases are not cited.<sup>34</sup> "The Rhyming Age" exhorts poets to be skillful.<sup>35</sup>

In a number of essays Kingsbury wrote favorably of English and continental authors, among them Sainte-Beuve,<sup>36</sup> George Eliot,<sup>37</sup> and Tennyson.<sup>38</sup> The latter was commended for his originality and perfect workmanship; the *Idylls of the King* was named the greatest epic since the time of Milton.

For the Education Department Kingsbury and his contributors wrote sketches of schools and gave their opinions on topics of current interest, including, of course, coeducation. Kingsbury's viewpoint was conservative, for he did not believe that young ladies should attend school with men. It is not wise, he maintained, for a young woman at a formative period to be closely associated with young men, "many of whom are rude, susceptible, and unprincipled."<sup>39</sup> Another problem of the time, segregation, engaged the attention of the Reverend William Henry Rufner, of Virginia. He stated rather adamantly that there should not be coeducation of the white and Negro races. Some of his words remind one of the current integration controversy: "Power may destroy slavery, but it cannot destroy the social inequality which attended slavery, and which was founded not only upon an inequality

<sup>30</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (January, 1875), 515-520.

<sup>31</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (December, 1874), 398.

<sup>32</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (June, 1875), 509-512.

<sup>33</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (April, 1875), 256-258.

<sup>34</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (February, 1875), 621-623.

<sup>35</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (December, 1874), 365-367.

<sup>36</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (June, 1875), 477-488; III (September, 1875), 380-392.

<sup>37</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (February, 1875), 651.

<sup>38</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (December, 1874), 362-364; II (April, 1875), 228-240.

<sup>39</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, II (March, 1875), 127.

of condition but upon subjective differences equally great.”<sup>40</sup>

The Education Department contained other articles of interest to North Carolina readers. Representative examples are these: W. G. Simmons, “The Relations of the Churches to Public Education”; Johnstone Jones, “The Carolina Military Institute”; and W. H. Battle, “An Address Delivered at Chapel Hill on the Occasion of the Re-Opening of the University, the 15th September, 1875.”<sup>41</sup>

*Our Living and Our Dead* ceased publication primarily because its subscribers could not or would not pay. Moreover, it never attained a wide circulation, although it advertised in February, 1875, a monthly distribution of 2,040 copies in seventeen States. Repeated pleas, of which the following is an example, brought scanty support from North Carolinians:

We regret to say [stated the editors] our former earnest appeals have been responded to by only a very few. Not six persons in all North Carolina have ever favored us by canvassing in our behalf, and not six persons have sent us any subscriptions *other than their own*.<sup>42</sup>

A last desperate call in March, 1876, for 1,000 subscribers to help sustain the magazine apparently was unheeded. The editors were unable to complete, as they had planned, a comprehensive historical record of their native State.

Although *Our Living and Our Dead* managed to survive only a few years, it nevertheless deserves recognition. For one reason, it embodies many ideas of Theodore Bryant Kingsbury, a native author. Kingsbury's future biographers cannot afford to overlook this magazine. Further, any serious student of North Carolina history should want to familiarize himself with its contents. *Our Living and Our Dead*, like *The Land We Love*, published war memories and in this respect antedated the more widely circulated “Battles and Leaders Series” of the *New York Century Magazine*. Finally, its provinciality is unequalled by any other southern post-bellum magazine, though all of them were mainly State rather than sectional periodicals—that is, aimed primarily at readers in one State rather than the entire South. Editor Pool had written that his primary object in founding the periodical was “to make a fair and impartial record of my native State, and of her gallant sons,— of the living, maimed or able-bodied, as well as the dead, whose remains filled every cemetery, reposed beneath the sod of almost every battle-ground, or in the enclosure of every hospital and Confederate cemetery, and of every prison pen at the North.”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (December, 1874), 379. The article was reprinted from *Scribner's Monthly*.

<sup>41</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (September, 1874), 70-74; I (February, 1875), 625-628; III (November, 1875), 675-692.

<sup>42</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (July, 1875), back cover.

<sup>43</sup> *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (December, 1875), 824-825.

# ALBION W. TOURGÉE: CARPETBAGGER

BY OTTO H. OLSEN\*

This little tale is the narrative of one of Folly's failures. . . .  
The Wise Men looked on and laughed.

*A Fool's Errand*<sup>1</sup>

During the early 1880's Albion W. Tourgée achieved national acclaim and international recognition with his fictional portrayals of the Reconstruction South, and one of his accounts, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools*, was the best seller of its day. But the political and racial attitude of the entire nation changed in the following years, and Tourgée's novels, as well as his exciting experiences as a Carpetbagger, were soon relegated to undeserved obscurity. A return to the career of this member of a much maligned species, the Carpetbagger, casts revealing light into the still-abstruse recesses of Reconstruction and helps clarify Tourgée's fictional treatment of that era.<sup>2</sup>

Albion W. Tourgée spent his youth in the Berkshire Mountains and the Western Reserve and absorbed a good measure of that well-known New England religious and reformist idealism, a heritage which was reflected less in self-righteousness than in his unyielding faith in the ultimate triumph of equality and democracy. Tourgée's devotion to romantic literature and the intense rivalry among students that he encountered at Kingsville Academy in Ohio and the University of

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\* Dr. Olsen is Associate Professor of History at Old Dominion College, Norfolk, Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Albion Winegar Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1879), Preface, hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand*.

<sup>2</sup> For an unsympathetic biography containing little on Tourgée's career in the South, see Roy F. Dibble, *Albion W. Tourgée* (New York: Lemcke and Buechner, 1921), hereinafter cited as Dibble, *Tourgée*. More detailed, especially on the South, is Otto H. Olsen, "A Carpetbagger: Albion W. Tourgée and Reconstruction in North Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1959), *passim*. The best short sketches are those in John Hope Franklin (ed.), *A Fool's Errand by Albion W. Tourgée* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), vii-xxviii; Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), XVIII, 603-605; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: J. T. White and Company, 14 volumes, 1892-1906), VII, 324; and Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 440-450.

Rochester was undoubtedly more decisive, however, in molding a character marked by unusual idealism, gallantry, and pride. Furthermore, his interest in such writers as Scott, Byron, and Burns increased his interest in society and human welfare, and the Carpetbagger Tourgée would display not only the conceit, bravado, and quixotic exaggeration but also the lofty goals and ideals of Cervantes' worthy knight.<sup>3</sup> Tourgée's interest in literature also fostered an early interest in becoming a "writer of note," and initially encouraged by his apparent skill in narration and by the praise of his classmates and teachers, he pursued his literary activities throughout the tumult of Civil War and Reconstruction with a dedication paving the way to eventual success.

Young Tourgée displayed a great deal of ability and successful ambition. He was well liked and respected by his comrades and his superiors, and he gained popular recognition as an exceptional student, an able debater, a class poet, a song writer for the Glee Club, a fraternity leader, and a hearty prankster. He also displayed characteristics that would contribute to the achievement and maintenance of his controversial position in the South. Possessing an ability and originality which encouraged independent opinions and a frankness and pride which hindered their curtailment, Tourgée was independent to the point of rebelliousness. He was not one to be easily cowed, even in a strange and hostile environment.

There are also some signs of subconscious contributions to Tourgée's unusual independence, but in this area the historian's efforts remain extremely speculative. Certainly Tourgée disliked and rebelled against his stepmother, but also his literary heroes preached independence and pride; and self-reliance was a quality that Tourgée's father strove to instill in his son. Then too there were Tourgée's blind eye and his lifelong suffering, with occasional paralysis, from a spinal injury received during the retreat following the Battle of Manassas, both of which may have encouraged a striving for manly assertion and accomplishment. Or perhaps Tourgée's eye along with his relative poverty as a student and his service as an enlisted man contributed to his sympathy for the underdog. But always there is a full measure of reasonableness in these positions to balance against any irrational

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<sup>3</sup> Details of Tourgée's early life are based primarily upon the Albion W. Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York, hereinafter cited as Tourgée Papers. See also Dibble, *Tourgée*, 11-31; Tourgée, *The Story of a Thousand: Being a History of the Service of the 105th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in the War for the Union from August 21, 1862 to June 6, 1865* (Buffalo, New York: S. McGerald and Son, 1896); Charles Bryant Fairchild, *History of the 27th Regiment N. Y. Vols. . . .* (Binghamton, New York: Carl and Matthews, 1888), 3-4.

impulse. Tourgée's independent resistance to authority was, however, frequent and clear—in his revolt against parental discipline, in his proud conflicts with college professors, in his leadership of a controversial student organization in its conflict with the University, in his clash with army superiors, and in his political independence during Reconstruction.

Entranced by poetry and prose and scholarship, Tourgée long remained rather isolated from the turbulence of national politics. He was devoted to the finer things, he boasted in the fall of 1860, and neither knew nor cared a thing about politics. With a dilettante's disdain he scoffed at the national crisis and bantered his pretty fiancée for having become "quite a rabid little petticoated Black Republican of late," but shortly thereafter excitement and ideals enticed the twenty-two year old Tourgée into the sectional controversy. His indignant response to secession and his immediate enlistment in the Union Army reflected both patriotism and the promise of adventure, but wartime propaganda and military experiences (which included impressive contacts with abolitionists and escaped slaves) soon convinced this receptive idealist that the War was primarily a holy crusade against slavery. Following his serious injury at Manassas and discharge from the army, the crippled Tourgée enthusiastically wrote, lectured, and recruited for "Liberty" and painfully struggled toward a physical recovery enabling him to re-enter the army as an infantry lieutenant. He endured an exciting second term of service on the western front, being again wounded, spending several frustrating months in Confederate prisons, and being discharged in 1863 because of the recurring effects of his initial war injury.

The Civil War's impact upon Tourgée was quite decisive. It had directed his thinking toward the present, stimulated his interest in the South, and significantly altered his approach to literature. Turning from an earlier desire to write sixteenth-century historical romance, he began writing poetry and prose which analyzed contemporary events. His narratives of the problems of freed slaves and of various wartime incidents, though still immature, marked the beginning of interests and activities which would culminate in his popular and perceptive depictions of the Reconstruction era.<sup>4</sup>

The anti-slavery and anti-Confederate beliefs which Tourgée absorbed during the war affected his future experiences in the South, but they do not appear to have motivated his move to that section. To all appearances unaware of the approaching political turbulence of

<sup>4</sup> Various manuscripts, Tourgée Papers.

Reconstruction, Tourgée migrated, as had his father and most Americans, in honest search of economic opportunity. He also assertedly sought a climate soothing to the continued effects of his spinal injury, and in settling at Greensboro, North Carolina, Tourgée rejected discouragements offered by northern business circles while accepting the warm welcome and enticements extended by W. W. Holden, Governor of the State.<sup>5</sup> Nor did this Carpetbagger arrive without substance, but brought with him two college degrees, an Ohio law license, a wife, Emma L. Kilbourne, whom he had married during the war, two sometimes troublesome in-laws, \$5,000 in capital, and two business partners.

Tourgée was almost completely preoccupied with legal and agricultural business activities during his first year in the South, but an increasing interest in local affairs was only natural, and certain conflicts between this proud Yankee and his new environment easily lured him into the political maelstrom. This entrance into politics was not motivated by personal gain, since it occurred at a most unpropitious time and contributed to a business failure which left Tourgée with little more than memories of the sharp business practices of his new neighbors.<sup>6</sup>

Principles of politics and race had impelled Tourgée on his new course, almost precisely in the manner portrayed in his autobiographical Reconstruction novels. Tourgée was much disgruntled over the continued predominance of Confederate leaders in the South and exasperated by the prevalent denunciation and persecution of southern Unionists, and this matter was prominently kept before him because it was a postwar political issue in the State and nation.<sup>7</sup> Also he became personally involved in the case of a North Carolinian, a Union veteran who had returned to his home State in 1865 and was sentenced to be hanged for a minor burglary committed while he had been fleeing the Confederacy, whereas two of his accomplices, who had been captured at the time of the crime, had been released without

<sup>5</sup> Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée July 26, 1865; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, July 20, 22, 25, 27, 1865; William W. Holden to Albion W. Tourgée, June 16, 1865; Emma K. Tourgée to editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 21, 1908, Tourgée Papers.

<sup>6</sup> Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée, October 7, 1866, and business manuscripts, Tourgée Papers.

<sup>7</sup> For the intensity of the Unionist issue, see the 1866 issues of the *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Daily Sentinel*; 1866 issues of the *Tri-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Tri-Weekly Standard*; D. F. Caldwell to Jonathan Worth, July 31, August 9, 1866, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), II, 713-715, 736-738, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*. For Tourgée's attitude see Notebook, April, 1866, and Tourgée and Kuhn Daybook, n.d., Tourgée Papers; Tourgée speech, *Tri-Weekly Standard*, September 4, 1866.

punishment upon their enlistment in the Confederate Army.<sup>8</sup> To Tourgée, this was a strange conclusion to the Union's victory.

While Unionism particularly prompted Tourgée's initial involvement in North Carolina politics, two other annoyances, the status of the Negro and the state of democracy in the South, had a more significant influence. Following emancipation, the habits and beliefs of the South as well as the desire to control Negro labor and to maintain social stability encouraged the continuation of the prejudices and practices of slavery, and the resultant treatment of the Negroes violated Tourgée's conception of free labor and human equality. He was constantly irritated by a conspicuous prejudice which ranged from the milder requirements for Negro behavior through expressions of vicious racism and the denial of civil equality to callous manhandling and even murder.<sup>9</sup> Tourgée's compassion for the plight of the Negro was intense, and the problem of race relations contributed to his ardent Republicanism, became the dominant theme of his literary interpretations of Reconstruction, and remained a prominent concern until his death.

Tourgée's interest in the Negro reflected an equalitarianism which also contributed to his discontent with the political structure of North Carolina, one that definitely lagged behind the democratic wave of that day.<sup>10</sup> The disadvantages of this lag appeared proven to Tourgée by the continued political domination of a recently Confederate and slaveholding gentry. Furthermore, the denial of suffrage to the Negro conveniently united the issues of democracy and Negro equality, not only to reformers such as Tourgée but also to the conservative-minded residents of the State.<sup>11</sup>

During 1866 and early 1867, Tourgée was independently and unprofitably a minority radical who opposed the State's two major poli-

<sup>8</sup> Letters to Second Military District, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; General (E.R.S.) Canby to General U. S. Grant, November 14, 1867, and J. W. Clous to Albion W. Tourgée, April 17, 1867, Letters from Second Military District, National Archives; various letters in the Papers of Governor Jonathan Worth, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>9</sup> The postwar position of the Negro can be seen in the local records of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives; the vicious attitude of the southern press, for example, the *Greensboro Patriot* during 1866; the private papers of southern leaders, for example, Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, September 11, 1865, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, I, 417-418, and M. C. Avery to a friend, February 21, 1866, Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. For Tourgée's concern, see Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée, October 7, 1866, Tourgée Papers.

<sup>10</sup> Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 59-79, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*; Notebook, April, 1866, and Tourgée and Kuhn Daybook, n.d., Tourgée Papers.

<sup>11</sup> Illustrative of the issue of democracy, see the oath of the Loyal Reconstruction League, 1866, Tourgée Papers.

tical organizations, the Union and Conservative parties.<sup>12</sup> The former was an outgrowth of a peace movement which had operated legally within the Confederacy; it urged the complete acceptance of federal postwar demands as a means of quick and easy restoration to the Union, and it championed democratic reform. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were more representative of consistent Confederates or "latter day war men," and they opposed federal demands and internal reform and catered to the traditional upper-class leadership of the State. Tourgée accused both these parties of consisting of ex-Confederates, and he supported only Unionists "of the straitest sect," that is those who had never recognized the Confederacy. He also desired a thorough Congressional Reconstruction guaranteeing political rights and power for the straitest sect, and although initially supporting only qualified Negro suffrage, he soon supported full Negro suffrage as a means of attaining such a "loyal" State government. In pursuit of these ends, Tourgée edited two small weekly newspapers and organized an independent Loyal Reconstruction League in the State. He was supported in his endeavors primarily by native white Unionists, who were often poorer yeomen with equalitarian and reformist propensities.<sup>13</sup>

Not only did Tourgée's affiliation with the straitest sect affect his political attitude (as can clearly be seen in his novels), but these contacts also inspired his first substantial literary creation, the "Lagby Papers," a series of poems modeled after Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, which presented the thoughts of an elderly, illiterate southern yeoman. Greatly encumbered by dialect, the poems achieve a thoughtful and incisive but intensely partisan picture of the early postwar period. "Jehu Lagby Unioneer" denounced the Confederate gentry for their neglect of the common welfare and for having led the South into a futile and costly war: "But now we kno right well, sence all's been dun an sed, / Thet evry polytishin'd dun more gud, ef 'stead / Uv puttin 'Cotton' in the ears uv all the South, / He'd jest a staid at hoam,

<sup>12</sup> Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, the standard account, is not entirely sympathetic toward the Union Party position. The following account is based primarily on the *Tri-Weekly Standard* and *Daily Standard* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Daily Standard* (giving the viewpoint of the Union Party) and the *Daily Sentinel* (reflecting the Conservative Party position), 1865-1867.

<sup>13</sup> Tourgée edited and published the *Red String* (Greensboro) and *The Union Register* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *The Union Register*. Several issues of the latter are available in the Tourgée Papers, and *The Union Register* was frequently quoted in other newspapers, for example, *Tri-Weekly Standard*, November 10, 1866, and March 23, 1867. For "straitest sect" activities, see P. S. Benbow to editor of *The Union Register*, January 29, 1867, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot*, September 1, 1866; February 22, 1867; manuscript speech for 1866 Southern Loyalist Convention at Philadelphia, Tourgée Papers.

an put it in his mouth." Jehu favored a radical reconstruction and reform:

Now thar's my nighest nabor, Godsaninted Phue,  
Who thinks the world was made for his espeshil crew,  
An' that a thousan' pawpers died thet he might live,  
An' rule an' guidance to his needy fellers give.  
He's one uv them ar lucky ones thats born tu rule,  
Jes' as it seems I wuz, to be their thing an tool;  
Thet thinks pore men an' niggers haint no vested rite,  
In enything, unles it be tu help them fite. . . .

He fit fur Suth'un Rights an' hates a sneakin coward,  
He wuz'ent ever whipped, but jes' was overpowerd;  
Thet when they all surrendered, mung 'em, him an' Lee,  
They didn't yield "State Rights" nor "Soverinty."  
They jes' give up ther arms, an held to all the rest,  
Tu say an' du with, 'zactly ez they thot it best.  
Thet Cungress haint no right tu offer enny terms  
But jest must take em back with open arms;  
An' ought tu be content tu du it jest tu git  
A few brave "gemmen" wunst more inter it;  
Thet twenty-six states haint no right to shet out 'leven,  
More'n Satan hez to shet good Christians out uv Heaven.<sup>14</sup>

Tourgée's boldness and bluntness understandably inspired resentment. Initially, however, his publication, *The Union Register* (Greensboro), was received with some kindness by a number of Conservatives (principally because of *The Register's* attacks upon the Union Party),<sup>15</sup> but Tourgée's continued radicalism soon provoked a lasting hostility, one irate reader concluding that "all such men ought to be hung or shot whenever they have the impudence to open their mouths. Your sheet is generally used for Bung paper at this office and nothing else. . . . Go back home you dam Yankee & stay there."<sup>16</sup> The frequency of attacks such as this merely convinced Tourgée of the lack of freedom and necessity for reform in the South.

The opportunity for Tourgée's more prominent political career was provided by the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, which enabled the Union Party to unite with radicals like Tourgée, who were partially placated by these Acts, and with Negroes, who were admitted to political participation, to form the North Carolina Republican Party. The Union Party was thus continuing its policy of supporting whatever demands were made by the federal government for restoration,

<sup>14</sup> Proof copies of three poems, January 1, 10, 1867, and n.d., Tourgée Papers.

<sup>15</sup> *Greensboro Patriot*, January 11, 1867; *Daily Sentinel*, January 5, 23, 1867.

<sup>16</sup> Unsigned letter to *The Union Register*, n.d., Tourgée Papers.

and, in fact, that Party had predicted Negro suffrage as the inevitable result of the State's rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment the previous fall.<sup>17</sup> As the new Republican Party took up the banner of Radical Reconstruction, Tourgée's idealism increasingly became a central part of political rivalry within the State. Conservatives, who were irritated by military defeat, economic losses, the unfamiliar conditions of emancipation, and the failure of their half-hearted attempt to secure Negro support, were inclined to exaggerate the dangers of democracy and the intentions of the Republicans. They soon bitterly opposed the democratic reform and the Negro civil and political equality which southern Republicans championed. The intense political rivalry which followed reflected basic interests and convictions on each side, and it was largely because of their political, economic, and racial beliefs that the Conservatives centered their political program upon racist demands.<sup>18</sup>

As has been suggested, Tourgée was already identified with the stereotype of the odious Carpetbagger, but it would be inaccurate to conclude that his viewpoints were excessively foreign to the South. Most of the specific reforms that he supported had long been sought in ante-bellum North Carolina; and following the Civil War, political rivalry in the State had revolved about the question of democratic reform.<sup>19</sup> It is true that Negro civil and political equality was a new and decisive factor (although Negroes had once voted in the State), but this had been established by federal authority and was accepted by Negroes and tens of thousands of white North Carolinians. Nor can Tourgée be viewed as an agent of the North during his adventures in the South, although he would have welcomed such a role. He opposed the Reconstruction Acts precisely because they lacked effective federal implementation and were dependent upon southern Republican strength, and in 1867 he predicted that the mass of poor, uneducated, and inexperienced Negro and white Republicans would not long succeed against the wealth, ability, and power which opposed them.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Tri-Weekly Standard*, September 29, 1866.

<sup>18</sup> Complete treatment of this political rivalry is beyond the scope of this paper, but for the Conservative attitude see Jonathan Worth to W. Clark, February 18, 1868, and Jonathan Worth to A. M. Tomlinson and Sons, April 11, 1868, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1,155-1,156, 1,185; and *Daily Sentinel*, July 18, 30, 1867, and February 4, 5, 10, 11, 18, 1868.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 33-36, 59-64, 73-79; proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1866, *Tri-Weekly Standard*, June-July, 1866; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 172-176.

<sup>20</sup> "Letter from Wenkar" (a variant of Tourgée's middle name, Winegar), *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), October 10, 1867, hereinafter cited as *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

But where else could Tourgée turn? He took up the banner of Reconstruction with the expectation of ultimate defeat and thus consciously became the Fool.

Tourgée's gloomy expectations failed to mar his activities and accomplishments. As a Republican he was at his best as a combatant and propagandist. An energetic thinker and debater, Tourgée exerted a momentous influence at the height of Republican success, proving that his radicalism could be eminently successful. Under less favorable conditions he was able to maneuver tactfully to save or gain limited ends, and like almost all Republicans, he compromised on the explosive issue of Negro equality. Reflecting some combination of pragmatism and prejudice, Republicans had never pushed complete equality and had accepted a questionable but expedient combination of equal rights and segregation.<sup>21</sup> This concession failed to lessen Conservative reliance upon the race issue.

Tourgée was frequently too sincere and too candid to fit well into a political machine, but his public record was a successful one. During 1867 he agitated for extensive State political reform, and he was elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1868 on a program advocating political equality, more elected officials, penal reform, free schools, a small or no poll tax, the abolition of local war debts, ad valorem taxation, and conditional amnesty. This program represented the radical wing of North Carolina Republicanism, which, contrary to Conservative accusations, was hardly making extremist demands.<sup>22</sup> Much of Tourgée's analysis of Reconstruction was formulated in a series of articles for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* during the campaign of 1867, and these thoughts, together with an anti-poll tax song written for the campaign, were later incorporated into his Reconstruction volumes.<sup>23</sup>

In the important Constitutional Convention of 1868, probably no other delegate exerted more influence in open debate than Tourgée, who persistently pressed a reformism which was supported more strongly by western white yeomen than by Negroes or Carpetbaggers and which contributed to many humanitarian reforms, including the

<sup>21</sup> Republicans refused to write segregation provisions into the Constitution, but they did not attack segregation and, in fact, openly endorsed it in a convention resolution. Tourgée offered to endorse constitutionally-ordained school segregation if equal facilities were guaranteed, a proposal Conservatives rejected. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of North Carolina at its Session, 1868*, 473, 483-488, 342-343, hereinafter cited as *Convention Journal, 1868*; *Daily Standard*, March 7, 1868.

<sup>22</sup> Election circular of A. W. Tourgée, October 21, 1867, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot*, September-November, 1867.

<sup>23</sup> *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 10, November 9, December 14, 1867, and January 4, 1868.

fulfillment of all but one of Tourgée's campaign pledges. He was instrumental in preparing the new democratic system of local government, in framing and winning acceptance of the judiciary reform, and in establishing a retroactive homestead law favorable to the yeomanry, but his unique contribution consisted of securing the abolition of the State's antiquated dual system of legal procedure. This change was accomplished despite opposition from the majority of the prominent Republicans and the majority of the Carpetbaggers, both of whom were reluctant to undertake innovations that had not been long demanded in the State. Ultimately, however, this legal reform and most of the reforms that Tourgée helped secure were to prove successful, popular, and lasting. The new system of local government provoked strongest opposition and was abolished by the Redeemers of 1875, but only to be, in effect, restored by the agrarian reform movement of the 1890's; and although Tourgée's retroactive homestead law was eventually negated by the United States Supreme Court, it had provided nine years of welcome relief from postwar debt.<sup>24</sup>

Tourgée's prominence in promoting reform and denouncing the past continued to inspire resentment, as did a certain ruthlessness he displayed in his anxiety to guarantee the success of Reconstruction. Fearful of Conservative opposition, he advised congressional chicanery to secure acceptance of the Reconstruction constitutions throughout the South; he championed repudiation of the old State debt to relieve the new Republican State of a heavy burden; and he urged the political proscription of ex-Confederates who refused to accept the civil and political equality of the Negro.<sup>25</sup> Through these measures he sought victory, not vengeance, but his more idealistic and orthodox allies rejected such unrestrained guarantees.

During the Constitutional Convention Tourgée was appointed one of three code commissioners to revise the law and legal procedure of North Carolina, and in the spring elections of 1868 he was elected a State Superior Court judge. Trained in the code system of the North, Tourgée was unusually well acquainted with the new codified system; and he was certainly one of the most qualified attorneys among the

<sup>24</sup> The account is based primarily upon the *Convention Journal, 1868*, the *Daily Sentinel* and the *Daily Standard* convention accounts (January 14-March 17, 1868), and items in the Tourgée Papers. See also Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 253-288, and Kenneth Edson St. Clair, "Debtor Relief in North Carolina During Reconstruction," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (July, 1941), 223, 227, 230.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, January 31, February 15, 17, 22, 1868; *Daily Standard*, February 1, 25, 1868; manuscript speech for the 1868 convention, Tourgée Papers; Albion W. Tourgée to B. F. Wade, February 13, 1868, James A. Padgett (ed.), "Reconstruction Letters from North Carolina: Other Letters," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 247.



The three North Carolina code commissioners, 1868. Left to right, William B. Rodman, Victor C. Barringer, Albion W. Tourgée. Photograph from Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York.

limited supply of educated Republicans. As code commissioner he assisted two competent North Carolinians, Victor C. Barringer and William B. Rodman, in the preparation of an excellent code of civil procedure; and Tourgée led the successful struggle to win acceptance and approval of the Republicans' legal reform from an initially hostile bar and judiciary. Tourgée also wrote a large part of the legislation passed by the Republicans between 1868 and 1870, but he failed in his efforts to secure a complete codification of the State's law.<sup>26</sup> Codification thus ended at the procedural level, and it had proceeded that far primarily because of the explicit constitutional provision that Tourgée had secured.

Despite his youth and lack of experience in the North Carolina courts, Tourgée proved a capable judge. His first court addresses in

<sup>26</sup> Victor C. Barringer, William B. Rodman, Albion W. Tourgée (commissioners), *The Code of Civil Procedure of North Carolina to Special Proceedings, 1868-1871* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1868); *Documents of Code Commission, 1868-1871* (a bound volume in University of North Carolina Library). For appraisals of code reform, see Walter Clark, *The Code of Civil Procedure of North Carolina with Notes and Decisions to July, 1900* (Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, third edition, 1900), Preface; Robert Watson Winston, *A Century of Law in North Carolina* (n.p., n.d.); James Willard Hurst, *The Growth of American Law: The Law Makers* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), 71.

the fall of 1868 revealed a conciliatory spirit and humility, which his political opponents ignored, and his judicial decisions do not suggest incompetence, irresponsibility, or marked prejudice. Concerning the controversial subject of Negro criminal activity, Tourgée recognized a special problem among freed slaves and inflicted harsh punishment to stamp out this and other postwar crime. His behavior did at times reflect his political prejudices, but hardly in an evil manner, as may be seen in his insistence upon equal justice for Negroes, his establishment of stoves in the local jails to prevent suffering during the winter, his maintenance of racially mixed juries (which he accomplished without provoking any significant outcry), and his decision (overruled by the higher court) which sought to enhance the degraded status of tenants and sharecroppers.<sup>27</sup>

This Carpetbagger's many local activities also revealed a sincere and helpful interest in his new home. Tourgée promoted public education in Guilford County, and he helped the Methodist Episcopal Church found the very successful Bennett College for Negroes and the short-lived High Point Seminary.<sup>28</sup> A variety of lesser accomplishments included the establishment of a city fire fighting unit, election as Grand Master of a reputable Masonic Lodge, and the publication of local historical items in the Greensboro press.<sup>29</sup> Rather than exploiting, this Carpetbagger assisted the State—through his initial business investment, his articles encouraging industrial development, and his launching of one of the State's first wood-turning industries (which provided labor for scores of men). By such activities as encouraging systematic Negro education and advancement and successfully representing the first woman to seek admission to the North Carolina bar, Tourgée also managed continuously to implement his idealism.<sup>30</sup>

Although primarily occupied with legal and judicial duties during his judgeship, Tourgée remained an active Republican, and on oc-

<sup>27</sup> For Tourgée's judicial career see *North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, 1869-1876*; William A. Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger," *The Torch*, XVII (April, 1944), 16-19, 21, hereinafter cited as Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger"; R. C. Lawrence, "Judge Albion W. Tourgée," *The State*, XII (January 20, 1945), 6-7, 16-18; *Senate Report No. 1, Forty-Second Congress, First Session, Part II*, 39-48; *Haskins v. Royster*, 70 N. C. 601 (1874); manuscript court addresses and Albion W. Tourgée to Lucy J. Rider, March 2, 1869, Tourgée Papers.

<sup>28</sup> *Greensboro Patriot*, June 17, July 8, 1869; *Daily Standard*, July 27, 1868; *Minutes of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . 1871* (Philadelphia, 1872), 7, hereinafter cited as *Methodist Church Minutes* with appropriate year; *Methodist Church Minutes, 1878* (Greensboro, 1878), 11.

<sup>29</sup> *Greensboro Patriot*, January 18, 1872, September 10, 1873; *New North State* (Greensboro), September 3, 1873, hereinafter cited as *New North State*; Early Winfred Bridges, *Greensboro Lodge No. 76, A. F. and A. M.* (Staunton, Virginia: Privately printed, 1951), 81-82, 261.

<sup>30</sup> *New North State*, January 10, 24, March 7, 1878; clipping from *Current Thought*, February, 1878, Tourgée Papers.

casian he attracted prominence by his involvement in minor political disputes and his vociferous denunciations of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that was particularly active in his judicial district. In 1874, his term as judge having expired, Tourgée vainly sought a congressional nomination, and his opportunity to renew his judgeship was sacrificed when the Republican Party decided to support a moderate Conservative in what proved to be a futile attempt to defeat an extremist opposition candidate. The handicap of being a Carpetbagger had been telling in the defeat of Tourgée's aspirations. But the following year he achieved another and final popular political triumph by being elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1875 from Guilford County.<sup>31</sup> In that convention, Republicans failed in their strenuous attempt to nullify a slight and fraudulently obtained Conservative majority, but Tourgée led his Party's partially successful efforts to minimize the amount of constitutional revision. The Redeemers succeeded, however, in establishing a degree of political centralization which contributed enormously to the subsequent disintegration of the Republican Party in the State.

The ability, accomplishment, and courage of Albion W. Tourgée amid the tempers and trials of Reconstruction eventually won much admiration and friendship. Political foes frequently noted his abilities and on occasion defended him against the more atrocious slanders, and some Conservative attorneys considered Tourgée the best judge under whom they had ever practiced.<sup>32</sup> Often social relations were friendly and close, especially after Republican power declined and, consequently, political tension faded.<sup>33</sup> Tourgée encouraged further friendship by his own understanding of and compassion for the South. During the 1870's his Memorial Day addresses, which lauded the heroism of Unionist and Confederate but appealed for an end to the rancor born of war, prompted praise; his "excellent advice" to Negroes was applauded; and during Tourgée's last years in the State his anony-

<sup>31</sup> For this convention see, *Journal of the Constitutional Convention . . . 1875* (Raleigh, 1875); Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 631-643; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, Volume III of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 185-187; William Durham Harris, "The Movement for Constitutional Change in North Carolina, 1868-1876" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1932), hereinafter cited as Harris, "Movement for Constitutional Change"; *Report . . . on the Robeson County Contested Election Case* (Raleigh, 1875), *passim*; and the *Daily Sentinel*, the *Daily Constitution* (Raleigh), and the *New North State*, September-October, 1875.

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Standard*, December 29, 1868; John W. Norwood to Albion W. Tourgée, May 5, 1869, Tourgée Papers; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 415n.

<sup>33</sup> Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, January 4, 6, 12, 1873, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot*, April 22, 1869, February 2, 1871; clipping from *Goldsboro Messenger*, n.d., Tourgée Papers.



Albion W. Tourgée. Photograph from Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York.

mous "C" letters, a series of clever tracts promoting division within the Democratic Party, received wide acclaim.<sup>34</sup> Illustrative of Tourgée's accomplishments, when he left North Carolina he was flooded with complimentary letters of regret from those of all political shades, and upon his death in 1905 he was intriguingly praised by one of the State's leading newspapers. More recently the lasting admiration for this Carpetbagger was expressed by a retired Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, William A. Devin.<sup>35</sup>

This brief survey of the accomplishment and praise which accompanied Tourgée's career in North Carolina might suggest that he was never classed in the notorious Carpetbagger category, but such was not the case. Frequently it was Tourgée's very ability and success that made him a special target for abuse. "Tourgée the infamous—Tourgée the sepulchral—Tourgée the Cain-marked" was maligned at every step of his southern career with an intensity beyond description. In his role as editor, politician, code commissioner, judge, husband, and citizen, he was denounced as vindictive, dishonest, incompetent,

<sup>34</sup> *Greensboro Patriot*, January 4, 1872, May 14, 21, 1873; *The Morning Star* (Wilmington), quoted in the *North State* (Greensboro), July 25, 1878.

<sup>35</sup> Various letters to Albion W. Tourgée, 1879, Tourgée Papers; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 28, 1905, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger," *passim*.

ignorant, unfaithful, evil, corrupt, and partisan until he became one of the most detested men in the State. Tourgée's initial political activities had inspired the hatred of the moderate Governor Jonathan Worth, who freely described him as "this vile wretch Tourgée," "the meanest Yankee who has ever settled among us," and "a wretch . . . who stinks in the nostrils of all men of honor." To the press, in 1868 Tourgée was "a shallow-brained revengeful yankee judge," and in 1869 "a partisan judge upon the bench—administering laws made by partisans for partisan purposes." In 1870 he was publicly described as "venal and vicious as a man; undignified, partial, and unlearned as a judge; [one] who would, without hesitancy, prostitute the powers of his official station to the purposes of party or of personal revenue"; and that same year he was assailed by a State legislator "as the cause and origin of all the [Ku Klux] trouble in the county of Orange."<sup>36</sup> So it continued year after year, increasing or dwindling in accordance to existing political needs, until 1879, when he left the State amid descriptions as "a miscegenationist" and "about as unprincipled and obnoxious a carpet-bagger as ever cursed this or any other state. . . ."<sup>37</sup> These denunciations had been accompanied by threats, planned assaults by the Klan, fisticuffs, and ostracism and insult for his entire family.<sup>38</sup>

Not only Tourgée's Republicanism, but also his youth, his status as a Yankee conqueror, and his hostility toward the Confederacy inspired resentment, and in certain respects he contributed unnecessarily to his difficulties. Similar to many of his aristocratic opponents, Tourgée was proud and assertive and considered the frank expression of his beliefs a matter of personal and national honor. At times he was loud and blunt, even aggressive and self-righteous, in his speech and behavior; and his tendency to exaggerate in his enthusiasm gave some basis for certain complaints against him. He did not display an abundance of tact, patience, or self-restraint, but principles and courage were involved in his activities as well as foolishness and pride; and it was never easy to draw a line between propriety, recklessness, and surrender during an era as explosive as Reconstruction. In final

<sup>36</sup> Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 776, 1,120, 1,123; *The Times* (Greensboro), April 9, 1868; *Greensboro Patriot*, August 26, September 2, 9, 1869; *North Carolinian* (Tarboro), February 1, 1870, clipping, Tourgée Papers; *Daily Standard*, February 1, 1870.

<sup>37</sup> C. H. Belvin to Secretary of Interior, March 23, 1877, and W. M. Robbins, to Secretary of Interior, April 9, 1877, Appointments Division, Department of Interior Records, National Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Angie Kilbourne to Emma K. Tourgée, May 17, 1867; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, March 20, 1870; Albion W. Tourgée to Angie Kilbourne, September 5, 1870; confessions of Willis C. Truit and William M. Troy, March, 1870, all in Tourgée Papers; Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina, the County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 400.

irony, it may well be that Tourgée's unflinching boldness enhanced his reputation among some of his gallant foes.<sup>39</sup>

Although slanderous accusations against Tourgée were widespread and enduring, investigation invariably reveals them to have been distorted or false. Many of these criticisms had absolutely no basis in fact, and many others merely magnified minor faults or errors, such as Judge Tourgée's lateness to some of his first courts, which was scathingly denounced and quickly remedied.<sup>40</sup> The criticism of most substance appeared some time after the period of greatest malignment and involved \$3,500 which Tourgée had received from two notorious railroad manipulators (Milton S. Littlefield, a Republican Carpetbagger, and George W. Swepson, a native Conservative-Democrat). Although never repaid, assertedly because of Tourgée's financial collapse in the crash of 1873, this was a straight-forward loan for the purchase of a house and was secured by interest-bearing notes.<sup>41</sup> No collateral was pledged, but Tourgée's credit was undoubtedly good, with his handsome salary of \$5,000 per year as judge and code commissioner, and railroad manipulators were anxious to secure the good graces of highly placed men. There is no trace of Tourgée's influence having been secured for any purpose by this or any other means. To the contrary, he helped restrict State aid to railroad projects.<sup>42</sup>

Hatred for the Carpetbagger Tourgée had been created primarily by the effective but dishonest tactics of the Conservative press. The stereotype of the Carpetbagger Tourgée and of Reconstruction in his area was not a true image but a political weapon inspired by differences over matters of politics and race. This hostile view has also en-

<sup>39</sup> For example see the obituary notice in *The News and Observer*, May 28, 1905: "His was a striking personality, and none the less so because of the fact that he was for many years the most thoroughly hated man in North Carolina. The consensus of testimony from these sources shows that he was not a mean man. He was open, bold, determined, fearless, and self-reliant. He neither asked nor gave quarter. He never betrayed his party nor sold a friend. He was neither a toady nor a humbug. He had convictions, and with them the courage and the resources with which to proclaim and maintain them. He was clean handed and clean of life."

<sup>40</sup> Many such cases have been studied; compare the false accusations of the *Greensboro Patriot*, September 2, 1869, with the copied pages from the Superior Court Record Book, and Tourgée to *The Union Register*, September 6, 1869, both in Tourgée Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Albion W. Tourgée to George W. Swepson, September 17, 20, 27, 1868, February 20, April 7, May 30, 1869, and four notes dated May 22, 1869, George W. Swepson Papers, State Department of Archives and History; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, May 10, 1869, Tourgée Papers; Tourgée's letter in the *Sun* (New York), December 9, 1880. Compare Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 430-431, and William L. Royall, *A Reply to "A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools"* (New York: E. J. Hale and Son, Second edition, 1881), 87-95.

<sup>42</sup> Albion W. Tourgée to Governor William W. Holden, May 11, 1869, copy in Tourgée Papers.

dured, and one eminent North Carolinian recently recalled Tourgée as the worst Carpetbagger that the State had ever seen.<sup>43</sup>

The persistence of this evil, and soon traditional, image of Reconstruction eventually convinced Tourgée that he could never be anything but an alien in the Redemption South. After fourteen years in North Carolina, which he had come to love in many, many ways, he returned North in 1879.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps it was a fortunate choice. His personal success was undoubtedly threatened by his political past, and Republicanism was dying as a vehicle for reform. But although Tourgée would spend the remainder of his life outside the South, he would never escape the impact of that region. Not only had he been indelibly impressed by his southern experiences, but the phenomenal success of his autobiographical novel, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools*, launched him upon a literary career which nurtured and exploited his Reconstruction memories.

As suggested earlier, Tourgée had retained his literary interests during Reconstruction and had produced an intermittent flow of speeches, articles, and poems analyzing social and political conditions. He also kept records of his political, legal, business, and personal experiences as a source for future literary efforts; and in 1874 he published, under a pseudonym, a first novel, *Toinette: A Tale of the South*.<sup>45</sup> While expressing his revisionist views on slavery and on the southern aristocracy and yeomanry, the major theme of this novel was one which would thereafter dominate Tourgée's writings—the illogic and injustice of race prejudice. Similar to most of Tourgée's fiction, this tale was derived directly from his personal experiences, in this instance from a freed slave woman and her daughter who were employed and befriended by the Tourgée family. The heroine, Toinette, despite her remarkable beauty, training, and ability, is cruelly ostracized and victimized because of a slight touch of Negro ancestry. Through *Toinette*, Tourgée sought to suggest that the critics of slavery had hitherto exaggerated the physical cruelties of that system while neglecting the more pervasive and equally atrocious racism which slavery had fostered. The implications of Toinette's experiences were carried to their logical but ludicrous end in a later novel, *Hot Plow-*

<sup>43</sup> Judge Robert W. Winston, quoted in Harris, "Movement for Constitutional Change," 100-108.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Tourgée, quoted in the *New York Herald*, September 3, 1879.

<sup>45</sup> Henry Churton, *Toinette: A Tale of the South* (New York: J. B. Ford and Company, 1874), revised and republished under Tourgée's name as *A Royal Gentleman* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1879), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *A Royal Gentleman*.

*shares*, wherein another young woman suffers similarly because of a completely erroneous assumption of Negro ancestry.<sup>46</sup>

The success of *Toinette* was negligible, but the next novel, *A Fool's Errand*, published shortly after his departure from North Carolina, was a literary triumph, due in no small part to the fact that it drew thoroughly from Tourgée's experiences and dealt with the fascinating Reconstruction epoch in its entirety. The success of this novel enabled and encouraged Tourgée to devote the remainder of his life to a long-desired literary and journalistic career.

Tourgée's most significant and successful writing dealt with Reconstruction and the Negro, and he was the only Carpetbagger and important participant in southern Reconstruction politics who wrote pertinent literature dealing with these topics.<sup>47</sup> His fiction is not only a valuable testimonial of the views of such a participant but noticeably benefits from his firsthand knowledge and experience, while also suffering from the political prejudices acquired or strengthened through that experience. In Tourgée's typical blend of tendentious analysis and romanticized, too often contrived, plot, his two Reconstruction novels and probably most important works, *A Fool's Errand* and *Bricks Without Straw* interpret Reconstruction from an openly equalitarian point of view. Despite this partisanship, however, Tourgée's novels are characterized by realism and understanding and keenly portray various significant Reconstruction types—the illiterate but able Negro leader, the white yeoman Unionist and Republican seeking benefits for himself, the gentleman southern Republican guided by his intellect and an enlightened attitude toward the Negro, the able and respectable Conservative motivated so decisively by racist beliefs, the typically race-conscious southern white, and the idealistic but northern-oriented

<sup>46</sup> Tourgée, *Hot Plowshares* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1883).

<sup>47</sup> Tourgée's major Reconstruction novels are *A Fool's Errand*; *Bricks Without Straw: A Novel* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1880), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *Bricks Without Straw*; and *Eighty Nine; or The Grand Master's Story* (New York: Cassell, 1888), published under the pseudonym Edgar Henry. A less critical view of the South is found in his *John Eax and Mamelon; or, the South Without the Shadow* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1882), which endorses certain romantic traditions associated with the gentry; and "Zouri's Christmas," a short story included in some editions of his *A Royal Gentleman*, which analyzes the kindly relations between an ex-slaveowner and his Negro tenants. Tourgée's *Hot Plowshares* is an insignificant portrayal of the prewar sectional dispute; his *Pactolus Prime* (New York: Cassell, 1890), an unusual treatment of the race problem, is a mediocre novel; and his *The Veteran and His Pipe* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1886), consists of the fictional reminiscences of a Union veteran. Tourgée's major non-fictional works include *An Appeal to Caesar* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1884), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *An Appeal to Caesar*, an interpretation of sectionalism, Reconstruction, and race relations; and "The Invisible Empire," a study of the Ku Klux Klan included in some editions of Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand*. In addition, Tourgée wrote many articles and columns in magazines and newspapers. For a more complete bibliography, see Dibble, *Tourgée*, 149-153.

Carpetbagger. Sketching rather than developing these primarily political types, Tourgée depicted Reconstruction in the South as essentially a struggle of Republican political equality and reform versus Conservative reaction, racism, demagoguery, and force. Indicative of Tourgée's historical realism, almost every character and incident in *A Fool's Errand* can be directly identified with an individual or event encountered in North Carolina.

Tourgée also attained an unusually balanced view of the national crisis of Civil War and Reconstruction. With a somewhat deterministic emphasis, he ventured that these two tragedies largely originated in mutually unrecognized differences between two essentially disparate civilizations—a North guided by the political and economic ideas of the modern world, especially freedom and democracy, and a South welded to an anachronistic slavery which had fostered racism and caste. According to Tourgée, the victorious, optimistic, and spreading civilization of the North undertook the task of Reconstruction with an inadequate understanding of a South embittered and hurt by defeat, destruction, emancipation, and poverty and still tied to an ante-bellum culture, which the simple act of emancipation could not destroy. Policies considered lenient and just by the North were insult and degradation and appeared to be vengeance to the vanquished South.<sup>48</sup>

This broad concept was supplemented by much detailed and perceptive analysis and portrayal, especially of the southern scene; and Tourgée pioneered in the destruction of various myths about the South, as in his portrayals of the sturdy southern yeomanry (including likeable slave overseers) or of the fluidity of ante-bellum slave society. While persistently abhorring his opponents' racial and political beliefs, Tourgée also depicted the origins, strengths, and sincerity of these beliefs with understanding and compassion. He recognized Conservative honesty and ability and paternal interest in Negro welfare, although he also considered this paternalism unacceptably limited by its insistence upon the permanent inferiority of the Negro; and accompanying Tourgée's contempt for the cruel and cowardly atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan was an admiration for the Klan's courageous and successful defiance of a recent conqueror.<sup>49</sup> Nor did Tourgée hesitate to criticize his own allies, and he especially emphasized the North's mutual responsibility for the existence of slavery and sole responsibility for the Reconstruction tragedy. The sincerity of his efforts even evoked

<sup>48</sup> See Tourgée's *Bricks Without Straw*, 35, 109-110, 147, *A Fool's Errand*, 125-134, and *An Appeal to Caesar*, 24-28.

<sup>49</sup> Tourgée's *An Appeal to Caesar*, 96-98, *Bricks Without Straw*, 177-189, and *A Fool's Errand*, 286-291.

praise from one of North Carolina's most determined opponents of Reconstruction, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, who concluded that *A Fool's Errand* was

the only book on South & North that presents a true picture. He has done it very well—& tells the truth as nearly as a c-bagger & a Tourgée could possibly be expected to do. I think he has *tried* to be fair.<sup>50</sup>

There are, however, many serious limitations to Tourgée's writings. For example, his heavy reliance upon his own experience limits the validity of the picture he presents. His judicial district was not typical of North Carolina, and its resemblance to the South as a whole is unclear. A more serious criticism is that despite the significance of the characters and problems which he did emphasize, Tourgée neglected pertinent topics and types and created political stereotypes rather than human beings. The complex totality of character and events is lacking in his work. There is no adequate consideration of the behavior of Conservative planters in terms of issues other than race; and throughout his novels there is only a glimpse of the insincere Republican, or the moderate Conservative, or of such problems as the railroad fiasco. In exaggerating slavery as the origin of southern peculiarities, Tourgée also tended to minimize the extent of racism in the North and the progress of democracy in the ante-bellum South. These factors were all touched upon, but Tourgée concentrated unduly upon material which verified his interpretation and neglected material which qualified that interpretation. In presenting too pat an argument, he may have done more to undermine himself than did any general inadequacy of his basic thesis. Despite these limitations, Tourgée's novels on the South are a substantial accomplishment in realism and remain one of the most perceptive and interesting accounts of Reconstruction available. Only since the 1940's have they begun to receive proper appreciation, and revisionism has inclined to verify much of Tourgée's analysis.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Cornelia Phillips Spencer to Charles Phillips, March 3, 1880, Cornelia Phillips Spencer Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>51</sup> Especially significant is Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1962), 529-548. See also, Russel B. Nye, "Judge Tourgée and Reconstruction," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, L (April, 1941), 101-114; George J. Becker, "Albion W. Tourgée: Pioneer in Social Criticism," *American Literature*, XIX (March, 1947), 59-72; Ted N. Weissbuch, "Albion W. Tourgée: Propagandist and Critic of Reconstruction," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, LXX (January, 1961), 27-44; Monte M. Olenick, "Albion W. Tourgée: Radical Republican Spokesman of the Civil War," *Phylon: The Atlantic Review of Race and Culture*, XXIII (Winter, 1962), 332-345; Theodore L. Gross, "Albion W. Tourgée: Reporter of the Reconstruction, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1959), *passim*; Martin E. Hillger, "Albion W. Tourgée: Critic of Society" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1959), *passim*.

The clash between Tourgée and the traditional South had been sharp and, though clouded by hate and imperfection, was often mutually beneficial. The personal faults of this Carpetbagger, no matter how many, were undoubtedly secondary considerations, and the basic dispute had been one of principles and ideas. Tourgée made a number of positive contributions to the South and had been repaid with material for a successful literary career and the awakening of a lasting critical concern with society. Following his departure from the South, Tourgée extended his critical reformism into anti-Negro prejudice in the North and a growing comprehension of the problems of industrial society, the latter best illustrated by his novel, *Murvale Eastman: Christian Socialist*. But a commitment to Negro equality occupied the center of the writer's attention until his death in 1905, and was expressed in his writing and lecturing, his authorship of an Ohio anti-lynch law, his involvement in organized Negro activity, and his participation as an attorney in the famous *Plessy v. Ferguson* case.<sup>52</sup> The decision in this case, endorsing the myth of "separate but equal," typified the constant frustration Tourgée encountered in his fight for Negro equality during the years that the position of the Negro in the United States descended to a new low. But in the face of despair and defeat, Tourgée made a mark that would not be easily erased. He undoubtedly contributed to Justice John Marshall Harlan's significant dissent from the doctrine of "separate but equal." In addition, Tourgée's work was influencing younger generations who would continue the struggle after his death, and it was fitting that the hand of the Fool was directly felt in the Brown decisions of 1954 and 1955.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The Tourgée Papers are replete with such material.

<sup>53</sup> The author is indebted to C. Vann Woodward and Paul A. Freund for the letter from Justice Robert H. Jackson to Ernest Cawcroft and Walter H. Edson, April 4, 1950, discussing Tourgée's role in the Plessy case. See also W. E. B. Du Bois to O. H. Olsen, June 4, 1956, in recipient's possession. See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U. S. 483 (1954) and 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

## JOSEPH HEWES AND INDEPENDENCE: A SUGGESTION

BY ALLAN J. MCCURRY\*

In any study of the Second Continental Congress and the movement for independence, the writings of John Adams are a major source of information. Adams played a prominent role in the struggle, and his views of the other individuals involved have thrown much light on the proceedings. He was one of the leaders of the aggressive group which supported the policies that resulted in independence. The sensitive Adams regarded any divergence from his point of view as indication of the existence of an organized group within the Congress completely opposed to the idea of independence. Quite naturally, he placed the supporters of his ideas in the advance camp which led the way to freedom.

John Adams' writings have thus created the impression that there were two distinct factions within the Second Continental Congress, one consisting of the advocates of energetic action leading to independence and the second composed of those delegates who hesitated to vote for such measures. This second group is described as the "cold party" or the "followers of Mr. Dickinson's system." (John Dickinson of Philadelphia was a leading conciliationist.) Any member of Congress who opposed the program suggested by Adams was relegated to the "cold party."<sup>1</sup>

Another impression that may be drawn from Adams' account, although perhaps a less important one, is that the success of the final vote on independence depended on the sudden decision of Joseph Hewes of North Carolina in favor of independence. Adams wrote to William Plumer in 1813, "For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day, was

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\* Mr. McCurry is a member of the faculty, Social Sciences Division, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 10 volumes, 1850-1856), II, 407-410, 503, 506, 510; III, 17, 31-35, hereinafter cited as Adams, *Works of John Adams*.

speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both of his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out, 'It is done! and I will abide by it.'"<sup>2</sup>

In 1819 Adams repeated the statement that the vote of Joseph Hewes was decisive. To Thomas Jefferson he wrote that "the genuine sense of America at that moment was never so well expressed before, nor since. Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hewes, the then representatives of North Carolina in Congress, you knew as well as I, and you know that the unanimity of the States finally depended on the vote of Joseph Hewes, and was finally determined by him."<sup>3</sup>

It will be noted that Adams' views emphasizing the importance of Hewes' vote were written years after the events they describe. It is also clear from the tone of the letters that Adams considered Hewes to be one of the members of the "cold party." Despite the fact that Hewes' vote was not decisive,<sup>4</sup> the views and actions of Hewes bear investigation because the Adams division of the Congress into two factions has now been challenged.

Studies dealing with the Second Continental Congress have generally followed the Adams view of the divisions within the Congress. Recently, however, the historian Curtis Nettels, in his *George Washington and American Independence*, has offered a different interpretation. Nettels states that there may be discerned *three* divisions within the Second Continental Congress. These groups were not organized parties but were collections of individuals with a similar point of view. The Nettels designation includes groups labeled conciliationists, moderates, and militants. All were united in defense of American rights but differed with respect to the methods to be pursued and in

<sup>2</sup> John Adams to William Plumer, March 28, 1813, Adams, *Works of John Adams*, X, 35.

<sup>3</sup> John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 22, 1819, Adams, *Works of John Adams*, X, 381. Jefferson's reply did not treat Hewes in quite so decisive a fashion. He described Hewes as "very wavering, sometime firm, sometimes feeble, according as the day was clear or cloudy. . . ." Lester J. Cappon (ed.), *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia], 2 volumes, 1959), II, 544.

<sup>4</sup> See the Jefferson account of the voting on the independence resolve in Julian P. Boyd and Others (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 16 volumes and indexes, 1950—), I, 309-315.

their expectations of the outcome of the struggle. The conciliationist element, small in number, was strongly opposed to the ideas of independence and strove to restore the imperial relationship of the period before 1763. These leaders supported the creation of the Continental Army but expected it to be used primarily as a defensive weapon. Their chief reliance was on petitions, pleas, and economic boycott in an effort to secure a guarantee of American rights. A change of course by the English ministry was their hope. Nettels cites John Dickinson, John Jay, James Duane, and Robert Livingston as conciliationists.<sup>5</sup>

At the opposite pole stood the militants, also small in number. In the Nettels classification, this group was closest to the idea of independence. The militants had little faith in petitions or a possible change of course by the English ministry. Consequently they believed that a protracted war was in prospect. These individuals either favored independence for its own sake or realized that independence was an essential condition if American rights were to be attained. Independence might serve to unite the colonies or to bring in foreign aid, since it was evident to many militants that England would not retreat. Offensive action with all available strength was their goal. Nettels includes John and Samuel Adams among the leaders of this group.<sup>6</sup>

Since the largest number of the delegates to the Congress was attached to the third, or moderate, division, the position of this group was of especial importance. On some issues these delegates sided with the conciliationists; on others they voted with the militants. They disavowed any idea of independence but they had little faith in petitions and peaceful pleas and believed that only a strong show of force would bring recognition of American rights by England. Vigorous military action, they believed, might bring a change of heart or of ministry in England, leading to a settlement favorable to the American colonies. Nettels names James Wilson, John Rutledge, and Benjamin Harrison as moderates, and he has also placed Joseph Hewes of North Carolina in this category.<sup>7</sup>

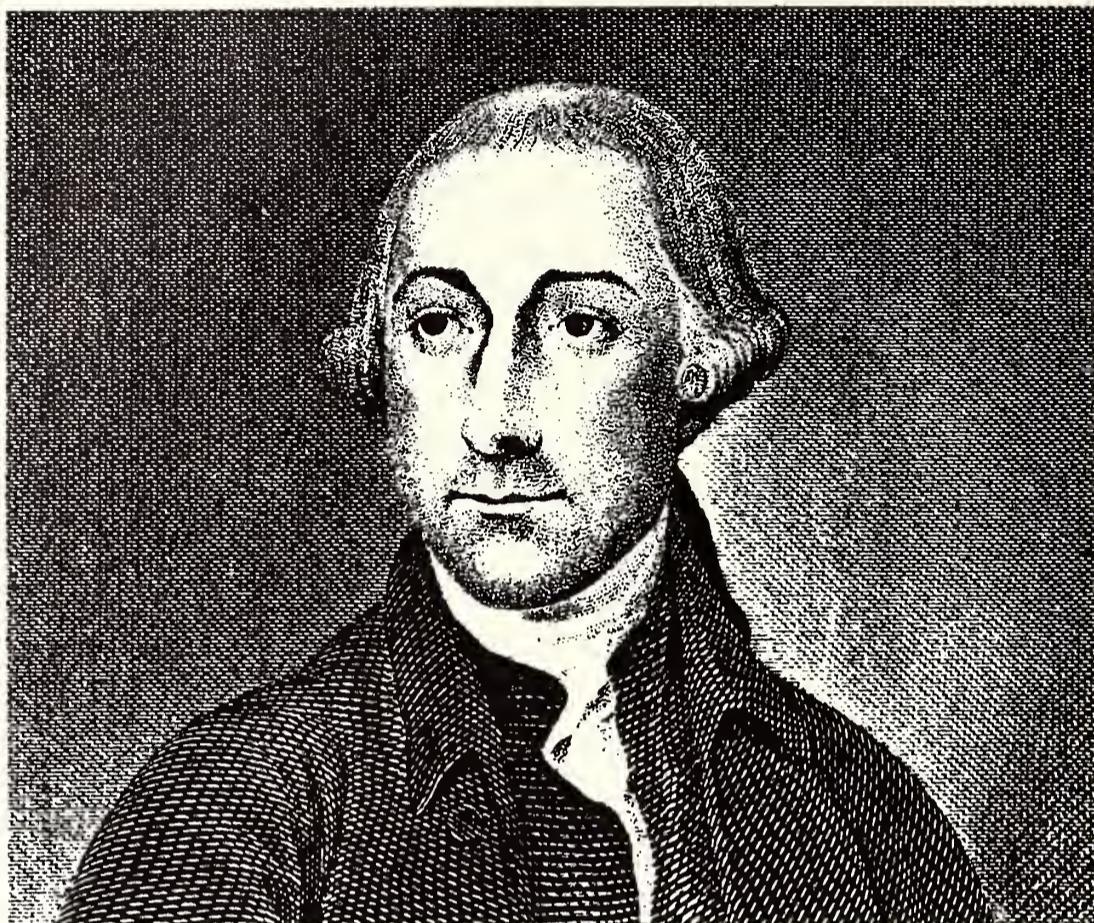
Was Joseph Hewes in the "cold party" or was he "moderate"? A closer look seems appropriate.

Joseph Hewes was born near Kingston, New Jersey, in 1730. In the 1750's he moved to Philadelphia where he was apprenticed to a merchant. After receiving a start in the world of trade, Hewes moved

<sup>5</sup> Curtis P. Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), 100-103, hereinafter cited as Nettels, *Washington and Independence*.

<sup>6</sup> Nettels, *Washington and Independence*, 106-111.

<sup>7</sup> Nettels, *Washington and Independence*, 111-114.



Joseph Hewes. From the files of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

to Edenton, North Carolina, where he quickly became one of the leaders in the mercantile and shipping business in the later 1760's. He was a member of the firm of Hewes, Smith, and Allen. His prominence in the colony is attested to by his service in the colonial Assembly, commencing in 1766. Hewes became a member of the Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and the following year served as one of North Carolina's delegates to the First Continental Congress. As a member of that body he assisted in the drafting of the statement of colonial rights.<sup>8</sup>

When the Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in May, 1775, Joseph Hewes appeared again as one of the delegates from North Carolina. The instructions from the North Carolina Provincial Congress contained no hint of independence but instructed the delegation to work for a redress of grievances from England. In general the instructions from the various colonies directed the delegates to strive for the recovery of American rights and liberties, to

<sup>8</sup> Accounts of Hewes' life may be found in Walter Sikes, "Joseph Hewes," *The North Carolina Booklet*, IV (September, 1905), 25-36; Eben Putnam, *Lieutenant Joshua Hewes: A New England Pioneer and Some of His Descendants* ([New York]: Privately printed, 1913); Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), VIII, 601-602.

advance the welfare of the colonies, and to agree to all measures which might accommodate the differences between the colonies and England upon a constitutional foundation.<sup>9</sup> With such views prevailing, the early action by the Congress contained no hint of independence. The Americans in arms outside Boston were adopted as a Continental army to defend American rights. A *Declaration of Causes of Taking Up Arms*, which denied the idea of independence, was issued.

The conciliationists relied on the idea of petitioning the King as the proper mode of obtaining a redress of grievances. Such a petition was only reluctantly accepted by the militant element. If the militants were to move to more advance measures, the petition method had to be discredited. They were convinced that it would receive scant attention in England. As Franklin wrote, "We have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them forever."<sup>10</sup>

During this period the letters of Joseph Hewes indicate his interest in the defense of American rights. He urged very strongly that North Carolina be placed in a state of defense and that the inhabitants acquaint themselves with military discipline. He expressed uneasiness, however, as to whether the people or the country would meet the heavy burden imposed upon them. As for himself, he felt no compunction for the role he had taken. In fact, Hewes was anxious to visit the camp of the American army outside Boston.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Hewes was vehemently opposed to independence at that early date. In a letter written late in July, 1775, and generally attributed to him, any thought of independence is denied. "We do not want to be independent; we want no revolution, unless a change of Ministry

<sup>9</sup> Worthington Chauncey Ford and Others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), II, 13-21.

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Priestly, July 7, 1775, Albert H. Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin . . .* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 10 volumes, 1905-1907), VI, 408.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, May 23, June 5, 1775, Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 8 volumes, 1921-1938), I, 97, 112-113, hereinafter cited as Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*; Hewes to Johnston, July 8, 1775, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), X, 86, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

and measures would be deemed such.”<sup>12</sup> The hope of reconciliation was uppermost in his mind.

England's response to the American petition was a blow to the cause of the conciliationists; the petition was ignored and the colonies were declared to be in a state of rebellion, a statement indicating that full power would be used to crush the revolt. This news from England in the fall of 1775 created doubts in the minds of many moderates about the possibility of a reconciliation. On November 9 Hewes wrote to Samuel Johnston that “we have but little expectation of reconciliation. I assure you from all the accounts we have yet received from England we have scarcely a dawn of hope that it will take place.”<sup>13</sup> Despite these doubts, Hewes did not jump to the camp of the militants on the independence issue. He only faced the possibility, reluctantly and anxiously, that unless the English ministry changed its course independence might be the result of the constitutional struggle.<sup>14</sup> He continued to differ with the militants on the question of independence, but he also continued to give support to their aggressive program.

The militants moved gradually for the adoption of measures which savored of independence. They favored the establishment of colonial governments independent of British authority. A navy should be outfitted to carry the war aggressively on the high seas; such a step would widen the scope of the conflict and make a reconciliation more difficult. A more permanent confederation should be established. American ports should be opened to all nations, thus violating, or better, ignoring, the Acts of Trade and Navigation. The Congress should solicit foreign aid. Drastic action must be undertaken against the loyalists. Once adopted, these steps would lead the way to independence, the militants believed.

Joseph Hewes was an active supporter of much of the militant program. As a merchant he was experienced in maritime affairs. Consequently he was a strong navy man. He became an energetic member of the committee for fitting out armed vessels and later served as chairman of the Committee of Marine. In addition to his work for the navy, Hewes also served on the committee to draft new regulations designed to strengthen the army and to provide for more discipline.

<sup>12</sup> “Letter from a Gentleman in North Carolina and One of the Delegates of the Congress to a Principal House in Edinburgh, July 31, 1775,” Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives . . . a Documentary History of . . . the North American Colonies . . .* (Washington, D. C.: Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force [Published for the United States Government], 6 volumes [Fourth Series], 1837-1853), II, 1,757.

<sup>13</sup> Hewes to Johnston, November 9, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 315.

<sup>14</sup> Hewes to Johnston, December 1, 1775, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, I, 267.

Preparation for a long struggle seemed necessary, and committee actions were taken in line with the views of Washington and the militants. From time to time Hewes reiterated his willingness to defend the American position even to the point of taking the field himself.

It was the news concerning England's response to colonial opposition that turned Hewes' thoughts toward independence. The hiring of German mercenaries by England and the interdiction of American trade by the Prohibitory Act played into the hands of the militants. Their appraisal of England's position seemed to have been more accurate and so they continued to push along the path to independence. Hewes' reaction to the news was one of discouragement. He saw no hope of a reconciliation and expected a fight to the finish. In this event he foresaw difficulties from the shortage of arms, ammunition, and money, and from lack of unanimity in Congress. He wrote on March 20 that "some among us urge strongly for Independency and eternal seperation, others wish to wait a little longer and to have the opinion of their constituents on that subject. You must give us the sentiment of your province when your convention meets."<sup>15</sup>

This letter indicates a change of approach on the part of Hewes. Although supporting the aggressive measures, Hewes had been unwilling to consider the question of independence. By the spring of 1776 the militants were attempting to secure positive instructions in favor of independence from the individual colonies, instructions that would open the gates for them in Congress. Hewes recognized this fact and seemed to be looking for guidance.

By the spring of 1776 the opinion was growing that England would not yield or grant concessions to the Americans. Actually the question at this time had been reduced to whether the colonies should become independent or remain tied to Great Britain. The delegates within Congress could either approve or reject the resolves leading to independence. At this point those conciliationists and those moderates who still maintained a hope of reconciliation pursued delaying tactics. To the questions of a confederation and a foreign alliance, now necessary prerequisites to independence, they answered that Congress should await the arrival of the peace commissioners provided for in the

<sup>15</sup> Hewes to Johnston, March 20, 1776, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XI, 288-289, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

English Prohibitory Act,<sup>16</sup> and that the people should be followed, not led. Their program was one of obstruction, delay, slow retreat, and a seizure of almost any thread of hope for reconciliation.

Despite this opposition, positive steps toward independence were adopted. Early in April, 1776, the ports of the colonies were opened to all nations of the world. In one stride the Congress completely overthrew the English Acts of Trade and Navigation. In was an act of independence minus the declaration. Hewes seemed reluctant to take this point of view. He informed a correspondent a few days later that the action on trade was not "looking toward independency."<sup>17</sup> Yet it was a positive step forward.

If Hewes was afraid to commit his home colony to the idea of independence, his responsibility was lessened by the receipt of new instructions from North Carolina. On April 12 North Carolina took the lead by empowering its delegates in Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign alliances. . . ." <sup>18</sup> While these instructions did not permit the North Carolina delegation to propose independence, they did authorize a vote in favor of such a proposal if it should be presented to Congress. Any doubts as to how his colony expected him to act in that event should have been removed from Hewes' mind. Nonetheless, the decision rested with the delegation, and Hewes still showed reluctance to move into the independence camp. As the only delegate from North Carolina in attendance at the moment, he presented these instructions to Congress of May 27. On the same day the Virginia instructions authorizing its delegation to propose independence were brought forward.

Richard Henry Lee, in accordance with the Virginia instructions of May 27, presented the resolution for independence on June 7. Hewes, still the only delegate present from North Carolina, carried the weight of that colony on his shoulders. The independence resolve was again

<sup>16</sup> Hewes spoke of these commissioners but expected that little would be gained from such a meeting: ". . . many people do not believe it, those [*sic*] who do have but little expectation from it, they are to treat under the confluence of a mighty Fleet & Army. What are we to expect from the mouth of a Cannon or the point of a Bayonet. . . ." Hewes to Johnston, February 11, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 447; see also, Clark, *State Records*, XI, 288-289.

<sup>17</sup> Hewes to Johnston, April 9, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, I, 417. Earlier Hewes had an interesting comment on the appearance of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. He wrote, "The only pamphlet that has been published here for a long time I now send you: it is a Curiosity: we have not put up any to go by the Waggon, not knowing how you might relish independency." Hewes to Johnston, February 11, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 447. His comment is another indication of his uncertainty on independence, but it opened the door for a reply on that subject.

<sup>18</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 512.

discussed on June 10. Finally, consideration of the resolve was postponed for three weeks. On June 28 Hewes wrote the following lines: "On Monday the great question of independency and total separation from all political intercourse with Great Britain will come on. It will be carried, I expect, by a great majority, and then, I suppose we shall take upon us a new name."<sup>19</sup> On July 1 the independence resolution was carried in the affirmative by the votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina. Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted in opposition, Delaware was divided one to one, while New York did not vote. The following day, July 2, all concurred except New York which again did not vote.<sup>20</sup>

Adams was perhaps closer to the truth when discussing the reluctance of Hewes to accept independence. But a closer look at Hewes indicates that his decision may not have been so sudden a one, nor that he was so "cold." At the opening of Congress he emphatically opposed independence, but the measures pursued by the English ministry led him to doubt the possibility of a reconciliation. He was energetic in defense of American rights and played an important role on several significant committees. He did not hang back when aggressive action was proposed. The vote of North Carolina is verification of this fact. Throughout the spring of 1776 his correspondence indicates his conviction that independence was on the way. In asking for positive instructions from North Carolina on this subject, he indicated his willingness to follow the decision of his home colony. When the final vote on independence was cast, Hewes, along with John Penn, placed North Carolina on the affirmative side.

Three weeks after independence had been proclaimed, Hewes revealed his thoughts on the subject in a letter to Samuel Johnston.

Much of our time is taken up in forming and debating a Confederation for the United States . . . a plan for Foreign Alliances is also formed and I expect will be the subject of much debate before it is agreed to. These two Capitol points ought to have been settled before our declaration of Independence went forth to the world. This was my opinion long ago and every days experience serves to confirm me in that opinion.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Hewes to James Iredell, June 28, 1776, Griffith J. McRee (ed.), *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell: One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: P. Smith, 2 volumes, 1857-1858), I, 326.

<sup>20</sup> Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 12 volumes, 1904-1905), I, 28-32. Jefferson mentions the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina as the reluctant colonies.

<sup>21</sup> Hewes to Johnston, July 28, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, II, 28.

While this statement tends to support the Adams contention concerning Hewes' reluctance to vote for independence, this in itself should not throw him into the "cold party." Certainly his other actions and statements indicate that he was not as lukewarm as Adams suggests. He seemed committed to the idea of independence but felt that the time was perhaps not ripe. He had received instructions from his home colony to concur in declaring independence. The tendency of Adams to establish a sharp, distinctive division is unwarranted. An individual who backed most of the program of the militants cannot be classified as "cold" simply because he delayed in coming over to the side of independence. Nor can he be classified as a complete conciliationist when there were basic disagreements as to the course to be pursued in seeking a reconciliation with England. Consequently, the example of Joseph Hewes demonstrates that until the time when independence became the leading issue the Nettels divisions may be closer to the truth. Certainly this divergence of opinion points to the need of a more intensive study of the individuals involved.

# NORTH CAROLINA AND FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: PUBLIC REACTION TO THE BLAIR BILL, 1881-1890

BY WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.\*

The challenge of Soviet Russia has again focused attention upon the question of federal aid to education in the United States. Many Americans today believe that "education is a more powerful weapon of greater importance to our national defense than military hardware" and that only federal assistance to public schools can guarantee the "quality education" necessary to satisfy "our world demands and national needs." The federal aid question is by no means new; in fact, it has periodically been the subject of lively debate since the Civil War. It was an important issue in the 1880's and immediately after World War I. More recently the question received significant consideration in the Eighty-Sixth Congress and the presidential campaign of 1960. The appearance of acute, extraordinary demands on the national scene seem to have prompted the most serious discussions of the question. But regardless of the stimulus, the federal aid idea has invariably raised fundamental problems regarding federal-state relations and at times has become entangled in economic, political, and racial issues. At no time was this better demonstrated than during the period from 1881 to 1890.<sup>1</sup>

During this period federal aid to common schools elicited widespread interest among the people of North Carolina, and justly so in view of the existing educational conditions in the State. At the time North Carolina enjoyed the unenviable distinction of possessing the greatest degree of illiteracy in the Union. With more than 48 per cent of its population unable to write, the State expended less than \$500,-

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\* Dr. Gatewood is Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount.

<sup>1</sup> *The New York Times*, November 7, 1960; National Education Association, *Policies on Education and the 1960 Elections* (Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1960); National Education Association, *Federal Legislative Policy* (Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1960); F. J. Seidner, *Federal Support for Education: The Situation Today* (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1959); Walter W. Heller, *It's Up to Congress: Education Is a National Responsibility* (Washington: National Education Association, 1959).

000 on its public schools in 1881 and provided an average school term of only nine and a half weeks. Among the factors responsible for these unhealthy educational conditions were the economic plight of the people, the uneasy race relations, and the entanglement of the schools in political affairs.<sup>2</sup> The refusal of many to accept education as a civic obligation also helped to produce a public opinion which was indifferent to educational progress. The Scotland Neck *Democrat* in 1887 admitted that it was "desperately opposed to taxing one man to educate another man's son." The same newspaper declared: "Education has ruined a great many more people than it has made useful men. To educate a fellow, black or white, above the station he moves in or the position that he has created ruins his value as a citizen and destroys his usefulness as a member of society."<sup>3</sup> Other journals expressed the sentiments of numerous white taxpayers when they opposed taxing the white man to educate the Negro. The notion that educating a Negro merely "ruined a field hand" still had many adherents. The persistence of such views underlay much of the educational stagnation in North Carolina during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The improvement of public schools in the State obviously required a basic change in public opinion. This change was affected in part by the widespread discussion of federal aid to public education in the eighties which if nothing else focused attention on the sad plight of the State's educational system. Few questions were so thoroughly aired in the various media of communication. Editors, politicians and stump speakers, academic groups, and civic organizations debated the issue. Rare indeed was the North Carolinian in the eighties who possessed no opinion on the question of "national aid to common schools."

During the decade Congress considered various federal aid bills. Some created a public school fund from taxes on liquor; others set

<sup>2</sup> *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, 1881-1883*, 2-4, 61-62, hereinafter cited as *Biennial Report*, with appropriate dates; Hugh T. Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (New York: The Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 4 volumes, 1956), II, 645-648, hereinafter cited as Lefler, *History of North Carolina*; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, Volume III of *History of North Carolina* by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 210-215.

<sup>3</sup> *The Democrat* (Scotland Neck) quoted in *The Eastern Reflector* (Greenville), October 26, 1887, the former paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Democrat* and the latter as *The Eastern Reflector*.

<sup>4</sup> *The Chatham Record* (Pittsboro), November 6, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The Chatham Record*; *The Morning Star* (Wilmington), February 5, 1883, hereinafter cited as *The Morning Star*; *The Wilson Advance*, January 5, 1883; *The Weekly Caucasian* (Clinton) quoted in *The Morning Star*, February 6, 9, 1883.

aside the proceeds of public land sales. These bills embodied several different plans for the distribution of federal aid among the States. The rate of illiteracy, total population, and school age population were the most popular criteria for distribution.<sup>5</sup> Of all proposals during the eighties the so-called Blair Education Bill stayed most constantly in the limelight. Its author, Henry W. Blair, Senator from New Hampshire, was an orthodox Republican on tariff, money, and pension matters; but he took an advanced position on many social questions. He figured prominently in the woman suffrage and prohibition movements, but during the eighties his name became synonymous with federal aid to public schools.<sup>6</sup> In 1881, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, Blair introduced a bill which represented a new departure in federal aid legislation. Different versions of this Bill passed the Senate in 1884, 1886, and 1888. None ever passed the House, and the Senate too rejected the measure in 1890. The various Blair bills called for a direct appropriation from the national treasury, to be distributed to the States on the basis of illiteracy. In the course of the decade there was considerable variation in the size of the appropriation, the duration of the financial aid, and the amount of federal supervision embodied in the measures. The Bill of 1881 provided for an appropriation of \$120,000,000 over a period of ten years. In order to receive federal aid under this plan each State was to (1) provide a system of free public schools for all children without distinction of race, although separate schools for whites and Negroes were "not to be considered a violation of this condition"; (2) spend within a specified time an amount for schools equal to that received from the national treasury; and (3) submit to the Secretary of the Interior annual reports that described the operation of its school system and showed that federal funds had been expended in accordance with legal requirements.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *The Economist* (Elizabeth City), January 31, 1882, hereinafter cited as *The Economist*; Gordon Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid: A History of Attempts to Obtain Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 1870-1890* (New York: Columbia University, 1949), 88-89, hereinafter cited as Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid*.

<sup>6</sup> Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), II, 334-335.

<sup>7</sup> The most comprehensive treatment of the federal aid question and the Blair Bill is found in Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid*. Other works which deal with the Blair bills include Davis Dewey, *National Problems, 1885-1897* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907); Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927); Daniel Robinson, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935); and Rayford Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir: 1877-1891* (New York: Dial Press, 1954). Professor Allen Going has produced an excellent study entitled, "The South and the Blair Education Bill," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (September, 1957), 267-290. The reception of the Blair Bill in North Carolina is treated briefly in Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, II, 648-650.

Federal aid to public schools first became an issue in North Carolina early in 1882. Quite naturally the educational forces were among the most vocal elements in the discussion. Local teachers' associations passed resolutions favoring the passage of the Blair Bill; schoolmen circulated petitions in behalf of the cause; and the North Carolina Teachers Assembly, the State-wide teachers' organization established in 1882, almost annually heard speakers champion federal aid. The State Association of County Superintendents endorsed the idea at its annual session in 1882. Two years later a poll by the *Raleigh State Chronicle* revealed that a "vast majority" of the county superintendents favored national aid to education "but with numerous restrictions." Their restrictions generally aimed at retaining local control of schools. Federal aid was also a popular topic among collegiate circles. It was the subject of a lively discussion at Wake Forest College in 1886; the following year the Hesperian Literary Society at Trinity College sponsored a similar debate. Editorials in *The University Magazine* at Chapel Hill recognized the merits of federal assistance to public schools but expressed concern that it "might invade the rights of localities and states."<sup>8</sup>

Both State Superintendents of Public Instruction during the eighties, John C. Scarborough and Sidney M. Finger, heartily endorsed the federal aid idea embodied in the Blair Bill. In 1883 Scarborough participated in the Inter-State Educational Convention in Louisville which drew up a plan for federal aid. The following year he appeared before the House Committee on Education in Washington where he spoke strongly in favor of the Blair Bill and particularly its "matching principle." In his opinion federal assistance ought to be "a stimulant rather than an intoxicant"; it ought to help those States willing to help themselves.<sup>9</sup> His successor, Major Finger, was equally enthusiastic

<sup>8</sup> *The North Carolina Teacher*, III (May, 1886), 385; IV (October, 1888), 82-83; *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the State Association of County Superintendents, 1882*, 15-16; *The State Chronicle* (Raleigh), quoted in *The Alamance Gleaner* (Graham), May 1, 1884, the former paper will hereinafter be cited as *The State Chronicle* and the latter as *The Alamance Gleaner*; *The Wake Forest Student*, V (March, 1886), 263; V (May, 1886), 319; Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1883-1889, Duke University Library, Durham; *The University Magazine*, New Series, V (March, 1886), 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Biennial Report, 1883-1885*, 41-42; House Reports, Forty-Eighth Congress, First Session, No. 495, 29-31; John C. Scarborough to Thomas J. Jarvis, December 22, 1884, Letterbook "G," Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; J. C. Scarborough to County Superintendents, April 11, 1882, March 14, 1884, Calvin Henderson Wiley Papers, II, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; "Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, February 12-14, 1884," *Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education*, No. 1 (1884), 44, 106-110.

in his support of the Blair measure and stumped the State in its behalf. For him "all arguments about its constitutionality" were ridiculous and only served as a camouflage for those who opposed the public school principle.<sup>10</sup>

One of the most articulate spokesmen for federal aid among North Carolina educators was Robert Bingham, principal of the Bingham School in Asheville. His most popular treatment of the subject was an address delivered in 1884 at the National Educational Association entitled "The Educational Needs and Status of the New South." Newspapers reprinted the full text; pamphlet editions appeared throughout the State. In this address Bingham began by insisting that regardless of the plan of federal aid, "the two races in the South *must be dealt with separately*. . . . We could educate our own people with our own means," he continued, "but we cannot educate our own children even, when three-sevenths of the money raised in North Carolina must go to educate the blacks whom the United States Government armed with the ballot without making any provision for giving them the intelligence to use it." According to him, the federal government alone was equal to the task which clearly fell within its constitutional domain. Since the South had contributed as much proportionately as any other section, he argued, it should share in the treasury surplus and be trusted to expend federal funds equitably between the races. Bingham was convinced that federal aid should be spent only for teachers' salaries and be granted only to States which matched federal money with an equal amount from their own resources. "With national aid for ten years," he concluded, "we can manage illiteracy . . . but if we continue the unequal struggle for these most germinant ten years . . . , our people will be discouraged, and there is a danger that a darkness that will, sooner or later, make itself felt will envelop a people who need only *temporary* aid to put them where they can and will provide for themselves."<sup>11</sup>

The various federal aid proposals of the eighties also received comprehensive treatment in the educational journals of the State. *The North Carolina Educational Journal* opened its crusade for some form of federal assistance for public schools in January, 1882; by early

<sup>10</sup> *Biennial Report, 1885-1887*, 8-9; Josephus Daniels, *Tarheel Editor* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 294, hereinafter cited as Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*; *The Morning Star*, January 8, 1887.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Bingham, "The Educational Needs and Status of the New South," *The Journal of Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1884* (Boston, 1885), 76-95. For similar views of another eminent North Carolina educator, see J. Allen Holt, "National Aid to Education—A Reply," *The Century Magazine*, XXVIII (May, 1884), 156-157.

summer it had endorsed the Blair Bill as the most feasible plan.<sup>12</sup> *The North Carolina Teacher*, official organ of the Teachers Assembly, also strongly endorsed the Blair Bill. Its editorials insisted that if the treasury surplus could be used for pensions to Union Army veterans, then surely the South was entitled to aid in rebuilding its school system which had been destroyed by the Civil War. By 1887 *The North Carolina Teacher* was claiming that "federal aid to education means, in North Carolina, five months schools and fifty dollars a month teachers' salaries."<sup>13</sup> Finally, the Blair Bill received editorial support from *The Schoolteacher* which opened its columns to A. D. Mayo, a nationally prominent advocate of federal aid who sought to combat the charge that the measure would be injurious to the South "in the long run."<sup>14</sup>

The discussion of federal aid to public schools was by no means restricted to educational circles. Both political parties were extremely vocal on the subject; in fact, the most spirited debates occurred in the political arena and party-affiliated newspapers. The Republicans in North Carolina<sup>15</sup> stood almost solidly in favor of the Blair Bill. As advocates of the high tariff, they obviously saw in the treasury surplus a threat to the maintenance of such a tariff. Certainly, the existence of the surplus enhanced the arguments of those who favored tariff reduction. Therefore, with an eye toward reducing the surplus rather than the tariff, many Republicans advocated spending the surplus for education. Quite naturally, however, they emphasized the humanitarian aspects of their federal aid project.<sup>16</sup>

At any rate, the Republicans capitalized on the Blair Bill in every major political campaign in North Carolina between 1881 and 1890. Frequently the State Republican platform was more specific in its support of federal aid than the national party platform. In the early 1880's Republican politicians endorsed the idea of federal aid financed either

<sup>12</sup> *The North Carolina Educational Journal*, II (January 15, 1882), 98; II (February 15, 1882), 10; II (June 20, 1882), 38; IV (May 1, 1884), 79.

<sup>13</sup> *The North Carolina Teacher*, IV (December, 1886), 197; IV (January, 1887), 254; V (October, 1887), 101; V (November, 1887), 125; V (January, 1888), 231; VI (May, 1889), 464; VII (December, 1889), 213.

<sup>14</sup> *The Schoolteacher*, I (February, 1887), 42; II (July, 1888), 166-167.

<sup>15</sup> Professor Daniel Whitener concludes that between 1876 and 1894 "the Republican Party [in North Carolina] made little or no important contribution to public education." See Whitener, "The Republican Party and Public Education in North Carolina, 1876-1900," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVIII (July, 1960), 382-396.

<sup>16</sup> North Carolina Republicans obviously did not publicize the intimate relationship which for them existed between the high tariff and the Blair Bill. Occasionally their association of the two projects was revealed in public announcements. For example, the Forsyth County Republican Convention of 1888 urged its congressman "to do all in his power to secure the passage of the Blair Educational Bill and to resist any measure looking toward Free Trade." *The Union Republican* (Winston), May 8, 1888, hereinafter cited as *The Union Republican*.

by an appropriation of the liquor taxes or the proceeds from public land sales. Republican candidates for Congress in 1882 accepted the former plan. Two years later, the State Republican Party officially endorsed Blair's proposal for distributing the surplus among the States for educational purposes; and its gubernatorial candidate, Tyre York, made quite an issue of federal aid in his campaign. He declared that he would continue "to advocate . . . the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, . . . the repeal of the Internal Revenue Taxes and the support of the General Government mainly from the tariff." He charged that the Democrats, recreant to their pledges, were hostile to federal aid and would try to prevent its implementation. The Republicans claimed that the State Democratic Convention refused to renominate Scarborough for the State Superintendency in 1884 because of his enthusiasm for the federal aid idea.<sup>17</sup>

Throughout the State the Republicans charged that the failure of the Democratic leaders to work actively for the Blair Bill provided ample evidence of their opposition "to the education of the masses." In 1883 Patrick H. Winston, Jr., deserted the Democratic Party to become a Republican ostensibly on the grounds that the Democrats hindered "intellectual growth" by interposing their dogma of State Rights against federal aid. "The Democratic leaders," Winston charged, "not only fail to educate our children but refuse to let others furnish the money."<sup>18</sup> This in general was the party line in the State political campaigns during the eighties. In 1888 Oliver H. Dockery, the Republican candidate for governor, appeared as the champion of federal aid to schools and maintained that the Blair Bill had been repeatedly thwarted by a Democratic-controlled House of Representatives.<sup>19</sup> During the same period several Republican congressmen from the State sponsored federal aid bills; others tried in vain to bring the Blair Bill to a vote in the House. Republicans in the State legislature figured prominently in the passage of resolutions which instructed North Carolina congressmen to support federal aid to education.<sup>20</sup>

Republican newspapers, all the while, waged a vigorous campaign in behalf of the Blair Bill. Their editorials not only described in detail the appalling rate of illiteracy and sorry condition of public schools,

<sup>17</sup> *The Union Republican*, June 22, 1882, May 8, July 3, 1884, October 28, 1886; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 3, 8, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; *The Asheboro Courier*, October 1, 1884.

<sup>18</sup> *The Union Republican*, September 13, 1883, August 21, 1884.

<sup>19</sup> *The Union Republican*, October 9, 1884, May 31, July 12, September 19, 1888.

<sup>20</sup> *The Union Republican*, January 3, 1884, June 13, 1887, May 31, June 7, 1888; *The Greensboro North State*, March 1, 1888; *The News and Observer*, December 12, 1883, January 23, 1885; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 437; *The Congressional Record*, Fiftieth Congress, First Session, XIX, 224.

but emphasized that North Carolina would receive one of the largest shares of federal money under the Blair plan. Republican editors depicted the bill as a magnanimous effort to provide long-overdue federal relief to the South and insisted that "no punctilious considerations of state pride should intervene to deter us from accepting" this benevolence.<sup>21</sup> To those who criticized the Blair Bill on constitutional grounds, *The Statesville American* replied: "Never mind the constitutionality of the measure; let us educate the people so that in the coming years they can intelligently discuss the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the measure."<sup>22</sup> To others who feared that federal aid would destroy individual self-reliance and initiative, the Republican press answered: "Is it not a bad thing then to accept the generous donations of . . . George Foster Peabody? Or is it not bad to endow colleges so worthy men may be educated free of charge?"<sup>23</sup> Republican journals also manifested considerable interest in Negro education which they hoped would be greatly improved through federal aid. But the Republicans were always careful to insist upon separate schools for whites and Negroes.<sup>24</sup>

One of the leading Republican organs in the State, *The Union Republican* of Winston, was a vociferous advocate of federal aid. Between 1883 and 1890, this weekly published twenty-one full length editorials on the question. In its opinion the Blair Bill would erase illiteracy and create an "enlightened society" in the South. To assure its readers of the constitutionality of the bill, *The Union Republican* pointed to the lavish federal expenditures for rivers and harbors as sufficient precedent for the measure. "If the federal government has a right to exist," the Republican journal concluded, "it has a right to protect its existence. In fighting illiteracy, it is moving against a danger that more than all others menaces its perpetuity."<sup>25</sup> Despite this rather lofty approach, *The Union Republican* possessed an interest in the Blair Bill which was not concerned with the educational welfare of North Carolina's children. As a strong advocate of the high tariff, it was convinced that the "protective system" was necessary for "industrial progress" and so long as a treasury surplus existed, this instrument of progress was in jeopardy.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *The Durham County Republican* (Durham), October 7, 14, 21, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The Durham County Republican*; *The Union Republican*, December 13, 1883, May 8, 1884, January 25, February 26, 1885, January 12, September 14, 1888.

<sup>22</sup> *The Statesville American* quoted in *The Morning Star*, April 15, 1884.

<sup>23</sup> *The Union Republican*, January 26, 1888.

<sup>24</sup> *The Union Republican*, January 25, February 15, 1883, April 17, 1884.

<sup>25</sup> *The Union Republican*, January 29, 1885, January 7, 1886, October 6, 1887.

<sup>26</sup> *The Union Republican*, November 1, 1884. This Republican journal insisted that sooner or later the South would realize that "our salvation lies in the encouragement . . . of manufactures. The North has grown rich by protection." *The Union Republican*, September 11, 1884.

Despite assertions that federal aid was a non-political question, it was utilized in the rankest partisan manner by both political parties in North Carolina. Depending on the occasion, *The Union Republican*, for example, insisted that the Blair Bill was "not a party bill in any sense" or that it was "a Republican measure." Republican editors reiterated the charge of their politicians that the Democrats were hostile to federal aid to schools in particular and to public education in general. Party organs proclaimed that the only hope of achieving educational progress was "the triumph of the Great Republican Party."<sup>27</sup> "Ignorance is the handmaiden of Democratic ascendancy," chirped *The Durham County Republican*.<sup>28</sup>

The Republican charge of Democratic hostility to federal aid was bolstered by the fact that on three occasions the Blair Bill passed a Republican Senate and died in a Democratic House. In 1884 Republican editors repeatedly asserted that "the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 11 with only 2 Republicans voting against it." A favorite target of their scorn was a leading Democratic opponent of the Blair measure, Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama, whom they described as the South's "monumental mummy." However, the fact that both North Carolina Senators, Zebulon B. Vance and Matt Ransom, voted for the bill considerably weakened the effectiveness of the Republican propaganda. The situation was less clear-cut in the House where the measure never reached a vote. The Republican press soft-pedaled the activities of several Democratic congressmen from North Carolina in behalf of the Blair Bill; it merely emphasized that "a Democratic-controlled House committee" had "smothered the measure."<sup>29</sup> *The Greensboro North State* declared that the only way to win support for the Blair Bill among Democrats was to allow them to control the federal school fund and "dispose of it through their party machinery."<sup>30</sup>

Negroes in North Carolina, like the Republican Party with which many of them were affiliated, figured prominently in the discussion of federal aid to public schools. In a sense the education of southern Negroes was the crux of the matter in the eighties. Many advocates of

<sup>27</sup> See *The Union Republican*, August 28, October 9, 1884, February 26, 1885, February 25, March 11, 18, April 22, May 6, June 24, 1886, February 23, September 27, 1888; *The Greensboro Patriot*, October 30, 1884; *The Durham County Republican*, October 14, 21, 1884; *The North Carolinian* (Elizabeth City), May 16, 1888, hereinafter cited as *The North Carolinian*; *The Greensboro North State*, February 25, 1886, March 8, 1888; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 15, 1886.

<sup>28</sup> *The Durham County Republican*, October 14, 1884.

<sup>29</sup> *The Union Republican*, August 28, 1884; *The Greensboro North State*, February 18, 1886; *The North Carolinian*, May 16, 1888.

<sup>30</sup> *The Greensboro North State*, February 18, 1886.

the Blair Bill claimed that its primary purpose was to grant federal assistance for the education of an illiterate people recently freed from slavery by the federal government.<sup>31</sup> In any case, Negroes in the State, led by the colored teachers' associations, were almost solidly in favor of the Blair proposal. North Carolina congressmen received numerous petitions signed by hundreds of Negroes urging action on the measure.<sup>32</sup> James E. O'Hara, a Negro Republican congressman from North Carolina who endorsed Blair's plan, introduced a companion bill in the House in 1886. It, like others, died in the committee.<sup>33</sup> Few friends of federal aid in the State were more active than Charles N. Hunter, a Negro educator and editor. In an effort to secure the passage of federal aid legislation, he corresponded with several Republicans of national prominence including Blair and Senator John A. Logan of Illinois who favored federal aid distributed to the States on the basis of their total population.<sup>34</sup>

Largely through Hunter's influence Senator Blair attended the Negro Fair in Raleigh on November 11, 1886.<sup>35</sup> In an address there the Senator emphasized that "land and education" were the special needs of Negroes in the South and that his federal aid bill which would enable them to make intelligent use of the ballot would assure them of assuming their responsible position in American society. "The first quality of a freeman," he concluded, "is knowledge, for knowledge is power."<sup>36</sup> The Senator's visit to the Negro Fair received scant attention in the press; but one Democratic organ did remark that his comments "contained much good advice" and "were free from political bias."<sup>37</sup>

The high degree of unanimity exhibited by educators, Republicans, and Negroes in favor of federal aid to public schools was conspicuously

<sup>31</sup> *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 28, April 30, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), March 18, 1886, hereinafter cited as *The Carolina Watchman*; *The Montgomery Vidette* (Troy) quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 25, 1886, the Troy paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Montgomery Vidette*; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 291-293; Lee, *The Struggle For Federal Aid*, 151.

<sup>32</sup> *The News and Observer*, February 13, 1883; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 3,777; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 805, 5,390.

<sup>33</sup> *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 437.

<sup>34</sup> John A. Logan to Charles N. Hunter, December 7, 1885; Henry W. Blair to Charles N. Hunter, April 13, 1889, Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Hunter Papers.

<sup>35</sup> Henry W. Blair to George Wassom, August 30, 1886, Hunter Papers; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 294-295; *The News and Observer*, November 11, 1886; Frenise A. Logan, "The Colored Industrial Association and Its Fair of 1886," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (January, 1957), 58-67.

<sup>36</sup> *The Union Republican*, November 25, 1886; *The News and Observer*, November 12, 1886; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 294-295.

<sup>37</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 12, 1886.

absent among Democratic spokesmen. Their disagreement over the question precipitated a debate within Democratic ranks that at times became more heated than the argument between the two parties. Evidence indicates that until the latter half of the eighties a majority of Democrats, indeed a majority of all North Carolinians, favored some form of federal assistance to public schools.<sup>38</sup> Although it is difficult to determine a sectional pattern in the Democratic split over federal aid, more opposition seems to have emanated from the eastern counties with large Negro populations. It is also interesting to note that usually if a town, regardless of its location, possessed two Democratic newspapers, one supported the Blair bill and the other opposed it.<sup>39</sup> Despite party discord, Democrats generally agreed on one aspect of the federal aid question—that Republicans espoused the issue for political and economic reasons solely.<sup>40</sup> The increasingly widespread acceptance of this partisan view helps to explain why even the staunchest Democratic advocates of federal aid had become almost silent by 1889.

Nevertheless, the Democratic politicians, who represented the majority party in North Carolina, were largely responsible for the various official actions taken on federal aid in the State. Every regular session of the Democratic-controlled legislature during the eighties passed resolutions which urged North Carolina congressmen to support an appropriation for public schools from "the overflowing national treasury." The resolution of 1881 requested that all federal money be applied "to primary schools exclusively." The resolutions adopted by the four succeeding legislatures included provisions designed to prevent federal control of schools from following federal money. The General Assembly of 1883 specifically stated that nothing in its resolution should be "construed to favor the retention of the internal revenue or the protective tariff."<sup>41</sup> Each of these resolutions elicited considerable debate

<sup>38</sup> Even those hostile to federal aid frequently admitted that a majority of North Carolinians favored it. The widespread popularity of the Blair Bill was attested to by (1) the almost unanimous support given it by congressmen, educators, and Negroes in the State; (2) its endorsement by a majority of newspapers until at least 1888; and (3) by the resolutions passed by five consecutive legislatures urging its passage. See also, *The State Chronicle*, May 11, 1888.

<sup>39</sup> For example in Charlotte *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* denounced the Blair measure, *The Daily Charlotte Observer* lauded it; in Wilmington *The Morning Star* opposed it, *The Daily Review* endorsed it. A similar situation prevailed in Goldsboro, Asheville, Statesville, and Raleigh. The latter Wilmington paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Daily Review*.

<sup>40</sup> Democratic State Executive Committee, *Democracy vs. Radicalism: Handbook of N. C. Politics for 1888* (Raleigh, 1888), 36-38, hereinafter cited as *Democracy vs. Radicalism*.

<sup>41</sup> Unnumbered resolution in *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session of 1881*, 627-628, hereinafter cited as *Laws and Resolutions*, with the proper year; *Laws and Resolutions*, 1883, 607; *Laws and Resolutions*, 1885, 680-681; *Laws and Resolutions*, 1887, 763; *Laws and Resolutions*, 1889, 524.

among the legislators and was passed over the objection of a small, though vociferous, minority.<sup>42</sup>

The Democratic governors of North Carolina during the eighties publicly endorsed the federal aid idea. In 1883 Governor Thomas J. Jarvis spoke strongly in favor of using the federal surplus for public school improvement. "I do not feel," he stated, "that I am assuming the attitude of a suppliant or in any way humiliating the State. I feel . . . we will only be getting back our own, and the United States Government will be but doing its duty." Jarvis claimed that the federal government had given the ballot to the Negro without equipping him to use it intelligently. Furthermore, the government's maintenance of "an odious system of internal revenue taxation" and an "oppressive and unequal tariff" had made the South financially unable to perform the task. In his opinion federal aid to schools would fulfill two federal duties, the education of southern Negroes and the restoration to an impoverished people of a portion of the taxes "unjustly wrung from them."<sup>43</sup> This view was shared by Jarvis' successor, Alfred M. Scales, who had championed federal aid earlier as a congressman.<sup>44</sup> By 1888 when Daniel Fowle was elected governor, Democratic support of federal aid was clearly on the decline. Fowle's position was that "if the Blair Bill were properly amended, he favored passing it."<sup>45</sup>

The State Democratic conventions which selected the gubernatorial candidates also drafted platforms that endorsed federal aid to public schools. Some believed that unless the Democrats officially supported federal aid, they would be defeated at the polls: "Thousands of teachers and educators and humanitarians in North Carolina . . . with no party predilections, but warmly devoted to the [Blair] bill," so the argument went, "will vote against any party that omits to endorse the measure."<sup>46</sup> Others believed that the Democrats were forced to endorse federal aid, since the Republicans had used it to woo Negroes and poor

<sup>42</sup> The legislators who opposed federal aid raised several objections: (1) It would bring federal control of public schools; (2) it was clearly "unconstitutional"; and (3) support for federal aid was tantamount to acquiescing in the maintenance of the high tariff and internal revenue system. *The News and Observer*, January 7, 13, 1883, January 23, 1885, January 8, 1887.

<sup>43</sup> "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents of the State of North Carolina, 1883*, Document No. 1, 31-32, hereinafter cited as *Executive and Legislative Documents* with the proper year.

<sup>44</sup> Governor Scales insisted that federal aid to education should never require additional taxation and should "be given and disbursed by the states in their own way." "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1885*, Document No. 4, 7-8. See also, *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 339, 3,439, 3,532.

<sup>45</sup> *The News and Observer*, August 30, 1888.

<sup>46</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 18, 1884.

whites.<sup>47</sup> At any rate, the drafting of the plank on federal aid in the State Democratic Convention of 1884 pointed up the party discord on the matter. Without question this plank, described as a "firebrand," elicited more discussion than any other that year. The leading opponent of federal aid in the convention was W. H. Kitchin, Editor of the *Scotland Neck Democrat* and a power in State Democratic politics.<sup>48</sup> Despite the opposition, the convention agreed on a resolution that requested the federal government to distribute its surplus money for school purposes, "provided always that the same shall be disbursed by state agents and not be accompanied by any objectionable features. . . ."<sup>49</sup> The Democrats asserted that they, "having all along sought to do everything possible here at home for our schools," now endorsed temporary aid from the federal government out of a desire to lift educational standards to a respectable level. They charged that the Republicans had refused "to put their own shoulders here at home to the wheel" and supported federal aid primarily as a means to retain the high tariff and internal revenue taxes. The Democrats consistently maintained that federal assistance should be temporary; the Party's handbook in 1888 emphasized that they desired "to distribute this surplus . . . and not to permit another to accumulate."<sup>50</sup>

With one exception North Carolina Democrats in Congress, overtly at least, supported federal aid particularly the plan embodied in the Blair Bill. By their votes and utterances in the Senate both Zebulon B. Vance and Matt Ransom were counted among the friends of the Bill; but neither exhibited an exceptionally strong stand in its behalf. Vance's crusade against the internal revenue system probably dampened his ardor for a measure that would eliminate the surplus, and thereby remove a potent argument for the abolition of the internal revenue.<sup>51</sup> His position on federal aid was probably best stated in 1884 during a Senate debate on the Blair Bill when he declared: "We will help ourselves if you [Republicans] will take your hands off us. . . . If you will quit taxing us to support your factories in the North, we will help ourselves."<sup>52</sup> Vance maintained that federal money

<sup>47</sup> *The Montgomery Vidette* and *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 26, 1886, and April 30, 1886, respectively.

<sup>48</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 27, 1884; *The Hillsboro Recorder*, January 5, 1888.

<sup>49</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 27, 1884.

<sup>50</sup> *Democracy vs. Radicalism*, 37-38.

<sup>51</sup> See *The News and Observer*, January 30, 1882, March 27, 1884.

<sup>52</sup> *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Eighth Congress, First Session, XV, 2,209-2,210; *The Asheville Citizen*, April 16, 1884; *The News and Observer*, March 25, 1884; *The Union Republican*, September 11, 1884; *The Lenoir Topic*, April 2, 1884; Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897), 411-423.

was not needed for the education of whites in his State, but only for the large illiterate Negro population. Senator Ransom's main contribution to the Senate discussion of the bill was to object strenuously to any provision which gave the Secretary of the Interior "discretionary power" over reports which the States were to submit in order to show that federal money had been spent "in accordance with the acts of Congress."<sup>53</sup> Although Ransom and Vance argued that North Carolina needed federal assistance only because of its illiterate Negroes, both vehemently opposed the so-called Allison Amendment to the Blair Bill which would have divided federal funds between the races on the basis of the illiteracy of each.<sup>54</sup>

Several North Carolina Democrats were among the staunchest friends of federal aid to education in the House of Representatives. These included Clement Dowd, William H. H. Cowles, John S. Henderson, and James W. Reid, all of whom spoke convincingly on the subject, presented numerous petitions in its behalf, and introduced federal aid measures of their own. They also actively participated in movements to bring a federal aid bill to a vote in the House. As a member of the Committee on Education, Reid in particular played an important role in these maneuvers; he worked closely with Representative A. S. Willis of Kentucky, the strategist of the federal aid forces in the House.<sup>55</sup> Their task was to get favorable action by an

<sup>53</sup> *The Morning Star*, March 3, 1886; *The News and Observer*, March 9, 1886; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 4, 1886. It is difficult to determine the position of Vance and Ransom regarding the Blair Bill; they seemed to have been all things to all men on the issue. Certainly, there was a noticeable discrepancy in the journalistic interpretation of their attitude toward the Bill. In some quarters, it was believed that both senators actually opposed the federal aid idea, but supported it because of its popularity among their constituents. Yet, Vance loudly proclaimed the constitutionality of the measure, saying that it was more legitimate than federal aid "for sick calves in Kansas." *The Eastern Reflector*, March 17, 1886. In 1890, when both North Carolina senators were "paired" in the vote on the Blair Bill, *The Union Republican*, March 27, 1890, declared that this was a "dodging tactic" which revealed their real opposition to the project. As early as December 24, 1887, the *Wilmington Morning Star* stated: "We hope Senator Vance will continue to fight it [Blair Bill] with his powerful brain to the bitter end." In an interview with Vance concerning the Blair proposal, a reporter of *The Carolina Watchman* stated that Vance declared that he "had no choice in the matter, that he was only carrying out home instructions in voting for the bill. He also said that he had no doubt but that there was a change of sentiment on the subject." *The Morning Star*, June 3, 1886.

<sup>54</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 3, 9, April 10, 1886; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 5, 1886.

<sup>55</sup> See *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 439, 3,396, 3,439, 3,532, 3,587, 3,624, 3,626, 3,665, 3,737, 3,899, 3,924; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 2,573, 4,859. For the strong stand in favor of the Blair Bill which was taken by Clement Dowd see *The Daily Journal* (Charlotte), December 21, 1882, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal*. It is also interesting to note that beginning in 1886 the most numerous petitions sent to North Carolina congressmen in behalf of the Blair Bill came from local chapters of the Temperance Union. This organization's primary concern, the enactment of national prohibition laws, was one of the favorite causes of Senator Blair, the chief architect of the federal aid idea.

unsympathetic Committee on Education, persuade a hostile Speaker to allow a House vote on a federal aid bill, and overcome the opposition of diehard State rights advocates and high tariff Democrats.<sup>56</sup>

Since the Education Committee continually postponed action on the Blair Bill, Reid introduced a resolution in 1886 designed to force the measure from the committee. When this failed to achieve results, he and Willis convened a meeting of House members friendly to federal aid. The outcome was the introduction of a new bill by Willis which embodied the principal features of the Blair Bill and a measure previously sponsored by Reid. Then, according to pre-arranged plans, Willis and Reid succeeded in having the new measure referred to the Committee on Labor which was thought to be more sympathetic to federal aid.<sup>57</sup> One North Carolina Democrat, Risdén T. Bennett, voted against this procedure and thereby gave credence to the widespread view that he was hostile to the Blair Bill and its companions.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately for the federal aid advocates, the Labor Committee rejected the Willis Bill and presented a substitute measure of its own which made it virtually impossible to get House action on a federal aid bill before Congress adjourned. Thus, the House had again killed the project "by starvation rather than murder."<sup>59</sup> Reid resigned from

<sup>56</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 17, 18, April 1, 1886; *The Smithfield Herald*, May 6, 1886. While North Carolina Republicans claimed that the Democrats had killed the Blair Bill in 1884, the Democrats in the State laid the responsibility at the feet of Frank Hiscock, a New York Republican and leader in the House, who had "objected when unanimous consent was requested to refer the Blair Bill to the Education Committee in 1884." *The News and Observer*, September 23, October 1, 11, 1884; *The Asheboro Courier*, October 1, 1884; *The Greensboro Patriot*, October 30, 1884.

<sup>57</sup> *The Congressional Record*. Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII. 439. 2,410; House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 153, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session. 1-2; *The News and Observer*, March 17, 18, 25, 30, April 1, 11, 1886; *The Smithfield Herald*, May 6, 1886; *The Danbury Reporter-Post*, March 25, 1886.

<sup>58</sup> *The News and Observer*, April 1, 1886. Risdén T. Bennett, a so-called "watchdog of the treasury," introduced a resolution to divide the surplus in the treasury as of June 1, 1886, among the States on the basis of illiteracy. The resolution required that all appropriations and outstanding debts be paid prior to the distribution. The amount left would constitute an educational fund to be allotted to the States "without any strings attached" except that at least one-tenth of the amount received by each State had to be used in school construction. *The Congressional Record*. Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 4,859. Although Bennett was the only North Carolina congressman overtly opposed to federal aid in general, there were several others who were suspicious, if not hostile, to the Blair Bill specifically. In 1884 William R. Cox and Wharton J. Green were opposed to the Blair measure "as it passed the Senate." Within a year both endorsed the Bill. R. M. Armfield of Statesville, a member of Congress in 1882, believed that his early opposition to the Blair Bill had "weakened" his availability for governor in 1888. *The Goldsboro Messenger*, April 17, 1884; *The News and Observer*, January 24, 1885; *The Morning Star*, January 19, 1888.

<sup>59</sup> After some "badgering" from Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, the Labor Committee rejected the Willis Bill and finally reported a substitute measure which provided an educational fund to be derived from public land sales and to be distributed on the basis of the school age population of each State. Reid in vain sought to save the federal aid measure by getting the original Blair Bill on the calendar. *The Progressive Farmer*, I (May, 1886), 5; *Orange County Observer* (Hillsboro), March 20,

Congress shortly thereafter because of his alleged involvement in a Rockingham County political scandal.<sup>60</sup> After 1886 North Carolina had no champion of federal aid in Congress comparable to him; and with the failure of the Reid-Willis strategy in that year the chances for the success of federal aid bills in the House thereafter diminished considerably.

In North Carolina the debate over federal aid to education reached its greatest intensity in Democratic newspapers which of course reflected party discord over the issue. Journals which favored the project carefully explained that their support was compatible with Democratic traditions, particularly the protection of State rights. Their editorials continually asserted that federal assistance in no way presumed federal control of public schools. Their view was that the Blair Bill provided the temporary help necessary to tide the South over its "critical period." No Democratic newspaper, however, argued that the federal government ought to levy taxes for schools; federal aid was to be derived from the treasury surplus which the Democrats insisted had been created through excessive taxation under the Republicans. Therefore, the excess revenue should be returned to the people "with no strings attached."<sup>61</sup> The Democratic editors vigorously maintained that their support of federal aid in no manner indicated their acquiescence in the internal revenue or tariff; just the opposite, these should be adjusted in order to prevent the accumulation of another "embarrassing surplus." The Democratic journals that favored federal aid justified their position by various historical precedents, notably the Northwest Ordinance and the land grant college act. Much was also made of the fact that ante-bellum public schools in North Carolina had been financed in part through federal funds distributed during the administration of Andrew Jackson. These editorial spokesmen claimed that unless the South gained a generous share of the surplus for education, all excess money in the national treasury would be doled out to Union veterans as pensions.<sup>62</sup> "Shall we decline to receive

May 8, 1886; *The Union Republican*, May 20, 1886; *The News and Observer*, April 22, 25, 28, 29, 1886; *The Morning Star*, March 20, April 1, 1886.

<sup>60</sup> Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 340.

<sup>61</sup> *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, May 22, December 25, 1884, December 24, 1885, April 8, 1886, March 1, 1888; *The Daily Journal*, December 14, 1882, January 18, 1883; *The Landmark* (Statesville) quoted in *The Smithfield Herald*, July 1, 1886, the Statesville paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Landmark*; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 2, 1884, February 20, 28, 1886; *The News and Observer*, March 20, April 13, 1882, January 10, 1883, February 20, March 25, April 25, 1884, January 13, 1885, December 23, 1887, January 8, 1888.

<sup>62</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 12, 26, April 9, 1884; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 21, 1886; *The Economist*, January 31, 1882; *The News and Observer*, January 10, 1883, February 10, March 2, 1884, April 28, May 21, November 16, 1886, June 7, 1887; *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, January 15, 1885, May 20, 1886; *The Goldsboro Messenger*, April 3, 1884, February 4, 1886.

a pittance," they asked, "to help educate the children of the poor boys who wore the Gray."<sup>63</sup>

Despite elaborate justifications for their position, many Democratic newspapers never seemed wholly comfortable in the company of the Blair Bill. Its identification as a "Republican measure" and questions about its constitutionality and compatibility with Democratic principles were causes for their uneasiness. There was also the fear that an elimination of the surplus might endanger attempts to revise the internal revenue and tariff. In some cases, therefore, Democratic editors friendly to federal aid but not wholly satisfied with the Blair Bill supported it *faute de mieux*; they believed that the acute situation in the South demanded immediate remedy and left little room for "constitutional stickling." Nevertheless, many of these journalists maintained an interest in the establishment of a federal school fund derived from the proceeds of public land sales and distributed on the basis of illiteracy. This procedure, they reasoned, was less likely to arouse antagonism within the party and was more nearly in line with precedents.<sup>64</sup>

One of the most influential Democratic organs which endorsed the Blair Bill was the *Raleigh News and Observer* edited by Captain S. A. Ashe. Always insisting that the measure was consistent with Democratic principles, *The News and Observer* hammered away at the dire need of federal assistance for North Carolina schools in dozens of editorials throughout the 1880's. It asserted that the project was not designed to give "federal officers control of our schools" and would in fact leave public education "unhampered by federal supervision." In its opinion there was no danger under the Blair measure of North Carolina children being taught that "old John Brown was a saint or that Lee and Jackson were evil men." *The News and Observer* admitted that it could support the bill "more easily because the Southern States will get a larger share of the funds." This alone was undoubtedly sufficient reason for many Democratic journals to endorse the measure.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 1, 1884.

<sup>64</sup> *The Economist*, January 31, 1882; *The News and Observer*, January 31, 1882, March 27, April 29, 1886; *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, January 5, 1888; *The Goldsboro Messenger*, March 31, April 3, 10, 14, 17, 1884, February 4, March 11, May 6, 20, 1886. By late 1886 when the prospects for the Blair Bill had begun to dim, *The News and Observer* began to suggest as an alternative a distribution of the federal surplus among the States according to their population in a manner similar to that employed during the Jackson administration. *The News and Observer*, November 16, 19, 1886, June 7, July 16, 1887.

<sup>65</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 20, April 13, 1882, January 10, March 20, September 12, 1883, February 12, 20, March 2, 16, 19, 25, April 5, June 1, December 20, 1884, January 13, 24, 1885, February 13, March 7, 27, April 2, 3, 10, 17, 23, May 1, November 16, 17, 1886, January 9, 14, December 23, 1887, January 6, 8, 9, 27, February 10, 1888, June 26, 1889. See also, *The Newton Enterprise*, January 26, 1888.

The views on federal aid expressed in Captain Ashe's paper were shared by other prominent journals in the capital city, especially *The State Chronicle* and the *Raleigh Register*.<sup>66</sup> Walter Hines Page and Josephus Daniels, successive editors of *The State Chronicle* in the 1880's, were among the ablest editorial champions of federal aid. Earlier as Editor of *The Wilson Advance*, Daniels had taken up the cause of the Blair Bill and insisted that its passage was necessary "to wipe out illiteracy" even though it "might militate against our notions of State Rights." He later presented a paper on the subject to the Watauga Club in Raleigh, an influential group interested in the educational improvement of the State. In preparing this paper Daniels consulted William L. Saunders, a Democratic elder statesman and Confederate veteran, whose endorsement of federal aid to public schools was all the more remarkable in view of his strong advocacy of State rights and his reputation as former head of the Ku Klux Klan in the State.<sup>67</sup>

In general Democratic editors in all sections of North Carolina who supported federal aid pursued essentially the same arguments as the Raleigh newspapers. Among the most vocal champions of the Blair Bill in the Coastal Plain were the *Wilmington Daily Review*, *The Rocky Mount Phoenix*, *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, the *Elizabeth City Economist*, and *The Smithfield Herald*.<sup>68</sup> In the Piedmont the leading advocates included the *Charlotte Daily Journal*, *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, *The Durham Tobacco Plant*, *The Greensboro Patriot*, and the *Statesville Landmark*.<sup>69</sup> Although many editorial supporters of the Blair project in the Mountain area were Republican, strong Democratic endorsement came from the *Danbury Reporter and Post*, *The Hickory Press*, and *Rutherfordton Mountain Banner*.<sup>70</sup> For

<sup>66</sup> *Raleigh Register*, March 12, 26, April 9, 1884; *The State Chronicle* quoted in *The Union Republican*, March 25, 1886; *The State Chronicle*, May 11, 1888.

<sup>67</sup> Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 257, 292-294; *The Wilson Advance*, January 19, 1883.

<sup>68</sup> *The Daily Review* quoted in *The Union Republican*, March 4, 1886, and in *The News and Observer*, April 11, 1886; *The Rocky Mount Phoenix* quoted in *The News and Observer*, February 2, 1888; *The Economist*, January 31, 1882, and quoted in *The News and Observer*, April 20, 1884; *The Smithfield Herald*, March 11, May 6, 1886; *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, May 22, December 25, 1884, January 1, 8, 15, December 24, 1885, January 14, February 18, 25, March 11, 18, 25, April 1, 8, May 20, 1886, December 29, 1887, January 5, 12, February 2, March 1, 1888.

<sup>69</sup> *The Daily Journal*, December 14, 21, 1882, January 18, 1883; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 26, April 4, 9, 1884, February 20, 21, 28, March 4, 6, 11, 25, May 2, 15, 22, 1886; *The Durham Tobacco Plant*, February 11, 1882; *The Greensboro Patriot*, March 6, October 20, 1884; *The Landmark*, quoted in *The Smithfield Herald*, July 1, 1886; *The Hillsboro Recorder*, February 2, 1886; *The Newton Enterprise*, January 26, February 23, 1888.

<sup>70</sup> *The Reporter and Post* (Danbury), February 2, 1882, January 28, 1886; *The Mountain Banner* (Rutherfordton) quoted in *The Union Republican*, February 9, 1888; *The Hickory Press* quoted in *The Morning Star*, February 25, March 10, 1886.

most of these newspapers a democracy required an enlightened electorate, and federal aid offered an expedient solution to the acute problem of illiteracy. A few, however, seemed to be primarily interested in federal aid as a device to prevent the increase in State school taxes advocated by Superintendents Scarborough and Finger.<sup>71</sup>

Although a majority of the Democratic editors endorsed federal aid to education early in the eighties, those who opposed it waged such an intense campaign that their influence was far greater than their number would indicate. The *Wilmington Morning Star* was the most influential opponent of federal aid in the east and probably in the entire State. Early in 1882 *The Morning Star* had cautiously endorsed the Blair Bill but within a few months reversed its position and waged a persistent campaign against the passage of any measure of "paternal pedagogy" for the remainder of the decade. The *Wilmington* paper repeatedly stated that "there are far greater evils than illiteracy and a breaking down of State barriers is one of them."<sup>72</sup> Such views were echoed by a phalanx of eastern journals including *The Tarboro' Southerner*, the *Scotland Neck Democrat*, the *Greenville Eastern Reflector*, and *The Fayetteville Observer*. In the Piedmont *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* and *The Carolina Watchman* of Salisbury were the most caustic critics of federal aid, while *The Asheville Citizen* led the opposition chorus in the Mountain section.<sup>73</sup>

Democratic organs hostile to the Blair Bill and similar measures consistently described such projects as unconstitutional and without historical precedent. In their opinion Congress had no authority "to vote away money for education that was put in the Treasury for altogether another purpose." These critics attempted to prove that the federal aid projects of the 1880's were in no way like the distribution

<sup>71</sup> See *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, December 17, 1886; *The Newton Enterprise* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 10, 1886; *The Person County Courier* (Roxboro) quoted in *The News and Observer*, June 21, 1887.

<sup>72</sup> *The Morning Star*, March 9, 10, April 10, 13, May 29, 1882, February 27, 1883, January 28, February 15, 18, March 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, April 2, 5, 1884, January 24, 30, 1885. By its own count *The Morning Star* had published 100 editorials on the Blair Bill by 1887, exclusive of numerous excerpts reprinted from other anti-Blair Bill papers. *The Morning Star's* bitterness toward Blair was demonstrated in its description of him as "the wildman in the Senate who is as full of crochets and vagaries as the bed-bug of an old-fashioned inn is of blood after it has feasted for an entire night upon a sleeping victim too maudlin to be a witness to the performance." *The Morning Star*, January 21, 1886.

<sup>73</sup> *The Tarboro' Southerner*, February 15, 1885, March 27, 1890; *The Democrat* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 9, 20, 1886, January 30, 1888; *The Eastern Reflector*, July 11, 1883, February 17, March 31, 1886, February 22, 1888; *The Fayetteville Observer*, January 19, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, February 12, March 5, 12, 19, 26, April 2, 23, 30, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman*, February 4, 25, March 18, 27, April 1, 8, 29, 1886, February 9, March 8, 1888; *The Asheville Citizen*, May 22, 1882, December 13, 1883, January 3, February 21, April 16, July 10, 1884, April 8, 15, 22, 1886, January 19, 1888.

of the surplus that took place under Andrew Jackson or the provisions for land grant colleges. Their contention was that both of these "so-called precedents" involved public lands which clearly came within congressional jurisdiction. The *Wilmington Morning Star* emphasized too that not only was the surplus under Jackson created by proceeds from public land sales, but it was distributed to the States as loans rather than gifts as envisioned in the Blair measure.<sup>74</sup> In short, newspapers such as *The Morning Star* believed that the federal surplus could be used more judiciously for purposes other than public schools. However, many journals which decried federal aid to education as paternalism urged that the surplus be spent for road construction or even the purchase of land and livestock "for poor people."<sup>75</sup>

The most severe criticism of federal aid to education by its editorial opponents concerned its so-called "sneaking invasion of state rights." Local control of public schools, they predicted, would be replaced by a national educational system supervised directly from Washington. Dark memories of Reconstruction were conjured up; North Carolinians were warned against providing any pretext for the return of "Yankee overseers in our midst." The federal aid panacea, according to *The Carolina Watchman*, was simply another "Freedman's Bureau scheme" spawned by designing Republicans. Such constant reminders of a past era which North Carolina Democrats considered as a hideous experience undoubtedly contributed to the decline in the popularity of the federal aid idea. The Democratic journals in the opposition camp described federal aid as an "insidious Republican plot" to gain control of the public schools, destroy State Rights, enhance the party's status in the South, and retain the tariff and internal revenue.<sup>76</sup> "A high tariff, a productive revenue, and the Blair Bill," *The Asheville Citizen*, observed, "all go together." *The Tarboro' Southerner* agreed that "if the Blair Bill becomes law, there and then ends all hopes of reforming the tariff or repealing . . . the revenue."<sup>77</sup>

The Democratic editors who opposed federal aid to education also argued that it would destroy the "self reliance and sense of respon-

<sup>74</sup> *The Clayton Bud*, May 28, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 27, 1883, March 20, 25, April 2, 21, 23, 24, 26, 1884, January 9, 24, 30, December 16, 1885, February 25, 26, March 10, April 21, 1886, November 26, 1887, January 6, 1888, February 19, 1890; *The Anson Times* (Wadesboro), April 1, 1886, hereinafter cited as *The Anson Times*; *The Rockingham Rocket* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 24, 1886.

<sup>75</sup> *The Carolina Watchman*, February 4, 1886; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, April 2, 1886.

<sup>76</sup> *The Eastern Reflector*, February 17, March 31, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman*, February 12, March 5, 12, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 18, March 20, 1884, December 16, 1885, February 24, 1888.

<sup>77</sup> *The Asheville Citizen*, January 19, 1888; *The Tarboro' Southerner* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 29, 1886.

sibility" of the Southern people. The *Wilmington Morning Star* insisted that "national help . . . means mendicancy."<sup>78</sup> *The Anson Times* claimed that "wholesale feeding from the public crib" stifled individual initiative. *The Times* presented an elaborate argument drawn from Roman history to demonstrate that federal aid to schools would mark the beginning of the decay of the American Republic.<sup>79</sup> Other journals asserted that the passage of the Blair Bill would lead to an immediate reduction in State school taxes and eventually North Carolina would rely solely on federal aid. Therefore, Democratic papers hostile to federal aid appeared as enthusiastic friends of an educational system maintained through local effort. They argued too that the increasing wealth of North Carolina eliminated the need for federal assistance. At any rate, a gradual improvement of school facilities through local initiative was vastly preferable to a more rapid advance with the help of the federal government. "We should rather see," *The Asheville Citizen* asserted, "our school system developed, slowly though it may be, by the honest efforts of our own people, than grow suddenly of a factitious splendor by the idea of a corrupting fund, distributed at the hands of a government not so much to enlighten the people as to buy a fresh hold on power."<sup>80</sup> The *Greenville Eastern Reflector* and the *Scotland Neck Democrat* added that a large portion of federal aid for schools would never benefit "the poor children of the state" because it would be squandered in "greasing the fingers" of various federal officers.<sup>81</sup>

Another, and somewhat contradictory, argument used by the hostile Democratic press was that federal aid would inevitably increase both State and federal taxes. A fertile source of propaganda on this point was the "matching principle" embodied in the Blair Bill which stipulated that a State must in time match federal money in order to share in the distribution of the national educational fund. The *Shelby New Era*, along with other journals, played upon the popular hostility to any increase in school taxes by predicting that North Carolina would have to double its current school tax in order to receive federal aid. If the State refused to levy additional taxes, they argued, it would not receive federal funds for education but its people would still have to contribute their portion of the federal revenues, a part of which would

<sup>78</sup> *The Morning Star*, March 11, 19, 27, 1884, December 16, 1885, January 14, 1886, January 14, 1887. See also, *The Fayetteville Observer*, January 19, 1888.

<sup>79</sup> *The Anson Times*, March 30, 1882.

<sup>80</sup> *The Asheville Citizen*, January 3, 1884. See also, *The New Era* (Shelby) quoted in *The Morning Star*, April 13, 1886, the *Shelby* paper will hereinafter be cited as *The New Era*.

<sup>81</sup> *The Eastern Reflector*, March 31, 1886; *The Democrat* quoted in *The Morning Star*, January 30, 1888.

be spent for schools in the North. Several journals argued that within two years the surplus would be eliminated by such costly projects as veterans' pensions and federal aid to education; yet the Blair Bill provided aid for ten years which meant that federal taxes would have to be increased within the near future. Such arguments were not without their influence upon a people who already considered their taxes burdensome.<sup>82</sup>

The journalistic critics of federal aid did not fail to utilize the racial prejudices of North Carolinians in an effort to discredit such measures as the Blair Bill. According to their view, Senator Blair suffered from "acute negrophobia," and North Carolina Republicans used his bill to attract Negro votes.<sup>83</sup> The *Salisbury Carolina Watchman* and *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* maintained that "the most dangerous features" of the Blair measure were those which required equitable allocations of school funds "without regard to race" and granted the Secretary of the Interior authority to investigate complaints concerning discriminatory divisions of such funds. For these newspapers such provisions meant the end of segregation in public schools. The *Wilmington Morning Star* agreed that federal aid would lead to "mixed schools" and considered it ridiculous "to violate the organic law . . . so that Sambo may be taught the three R's." *The Pittsboro Home* also warned against the "negro-social-equality" inherent in federal aid projects.<sup>84</sup> *The Montgomery Vidette* stoutly asserted that the Blair Bill "would force taxes from the people to educate the negro—which twenty years of experience shows only makes him indolent and a fit subject of the vagrant act." "White men," *The Vidette* warned "whether they are willing or not, are to be taxed to educate the negro."<sup>85</sup> In brief, the play on racial prejudices by critics of the Blair Bill undoubtedly cooled much of the enthusiasm for federal aid.

Not all newspapers took a clearcut stand on the federal aid issue. For a few journals it posed a serious ideological dilemma; they recog-

<sup>82</sup> *The Monroe Enquirer and Express* quoted in *The Carolina Watchman*, February 25, 1886; *The Pittsboro Home*, January 12, 26, March 22, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 19, April 30, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 19, November 20, 1887, January 13, February 18, 1888, January 15, 1890; *The New Era*, *The Gastonia Gazette*, *The Weldon News*, and *The Franklin Times* (Louisburg), quoted in *The Morning Star*, April 13 and May 12, 1886, May 6, 1886, February 15, 1888, December 8, 1887, respectively.

<sup>83</sup> *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 12, 26, April 2, 1886, February 9, 1888; *The Carolina Watchman*, March 18, 1886; *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 28, April 30, 1886.

<sup>84</sup> *The Carolina Watchman*, February 25, March 27, April 8, 29, 1886, February 9, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 26, April 2, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 2, April 3, 1884; *The Pittsboro Home*, December 22, 1887, January 12, March 22, 1888.

<sup>85</sup> *The Montgomery Vidette* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 25, April 21, 1886. See also, *The Anson Times*, April 1, 1886.

nized the financial needs of the public schools and the popular hostility toward additional State school taxes but feared the consequences of federal aid. This quandary resulted at first in noncommittal treatments of the Blair Bill. Editors who assumed such positions ultimately joined the enemies of the measure.<sup>86</sup> In fact, newspapers which changed their attitude toward federal aid almost invariably shifted from a position of lukewarm support to overt hostility. Notable examples included *The Rockingham Rocket*, *The Monroe Enquirer and Express*, and the *Kernersville News and Farmer*. There is no evidence that any journal moved from active opposition to endorsement of federal aid. This development indicated, among other things, that the foes of the project had executed their arguments skillfully.<sup>87</sup>

In North Carolina public interest in federal aid to education disintegrated rapidly after 1888. When the protracted discussions of the issue failed to produce congressional approval by that date, many people felt that the cause was lost and further efforts would be futile. This decline of interest pointed up significant weaknesses in the crusade for federal aid legislation in North Carolina. First, the Republicans constituted a minority party which suffered from its educational record during Reconstruction. Second, the educational profession lacked the coherence and organization to act as an effective pressure group. Third, the Negroes furnished relatively few articulate spokesmen for the cause and could not be counted upon for the political power that they had formerly wielded. Finally, the split within the State Democratic ranks was a serious detriment to the maintenance of a public opinion favorable to federal aid.

The failure of the Blair Bill to pass even the Senate in 1890 concluded another round in the struggle. For a decade North Carolinians had discussed their schools in regard to the possibility of federal assistance. Probably never before had public education undergone such a searching scrutiny by the people of the State. The discussion poignantly described the woeful inadequacy of the school system, the alarming rate of illiteracy, and the future consequences of the State's

<sup>86</sup> *The Lenoir Topic*, April 16, 1884, declared: "We are divided in our opinion as to this thing [federal aid to public schools]. The dark cloud of illiteracy would seem to make expedient almost any measure calculated to dissipate it, and yet we dread to see the General Treasury opened to alleviate local troubles. Let us hope it will not be an entering wedge that shall encourage the centralizers . . . and above all, let us make good use of it." For *The Topic's* ultimate opposition to federal aid see the issue of March 26, 1890. See also, *The Alamance Gleaner*, April 10, May 11, 1884; *The Chatham Record*, April 10, 1884, March 11, 1886.

<sup>87</sup> *The Monroe Enquirer and Express* quoted in *The Carolina Watchman*, February 25, 1886; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 12, 1886; *The Rockingham Rocket* and *The News and Farmer* (Kernersville) quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 24, 1886, and January 20, 1888, respectively.

intellectual backwardness. Even the most apathetic citizens must have been jolted and embarrassed by the exposure of educational conditions in their State. By 1890 the movement for educational reforms was gaining momentum in part because public opinion was becoming sympathetic to its goals. The lengthy discussion of federal aid contributed to this shift. The fading of prospects for such help meant that the State would have to continue to rely upon its own resources in the matter of public education. The opponents of federal aid now had adequate opportunity to validate their claims that North Carolina was able to improve educational conditions through its own efforts. Such spokesmen could scarcely afford to oppose greater State support for schools. At any rate, the diagnosis of public education during the debate over federal aid was a significant factor in setting the stage for the successful educational crusade of Charles D. McIver and Edwin A. Alderman between 1889 and 1891. Under the impetus of various forces the school ideal ultimately became integrated in a public opinion that expressed itself in increased taxation for educational purposes.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Rose H. Holder, *McIver of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 80-109; William K. Boyd, "Some Phases of Educational History in the South Since 1865," *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 264-266; Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid*, 160-162.

# CHAMPAGNE AT BRINDLETOWN: THE STORY OF THE BURKE COUNTY GOLD RUSH, 1829-1833

BY EDWARD W. PHIFER\*

The early 1830's are years to be remembered in Burke County. Andrew Jackson (Old Hickory) was in the White House, and although most local folk did not understand exactly what it was all about, there was a great deal of talk about nullification, high tariff, Calhoun, and State rights.<sup>1</sup> The county government became unusually extravagant and spent \$15,000 to build a fine new courthouse out of stone blocks.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, "Frankie" Silvers was tried for allegedly murdering her husband, was found to be guilty, and was hanged at Morganton.<sup>3</sup> Those who farmed (and that was almost everybody) recalled the summer and autumn of 1830 particularly, because of the drought—one of the worst they had ever seen. The locust and the weevil thrived, and there was not enough water in the streams to grind what grain the farmers did make.<sup>4</sup> Then in November of 1833, the stars fell—"a resplendent shower of meteorites" one word-happy local observer called it.<sup>5</sup>

But this was not all. In 1828 gold was found out in the far end of the county, and by late February of the following year it had been discovered "in at least 100 places in Burke." It was estimated that \$200 worth of gold had already been recovered in addition to undertermined amounts of "Native Sulphur, Copperas, and Quicksilver."<sup>6</sup> This news could not have come at a more auspicious psychological moment.

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\* Dr. Phifer, a practicing surgeon in Morganton, was recently appointed to the Executive Board of the Department. This paper was originally read in 1961 at the spring meeting of the Burke County Historical Society.

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Avery to Thomas I. Lenoir, January 12, 1833, in Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Lenoir Papers; A. C. Avery, *History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton from the Year 1780 to 1913* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1913), 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of Colonel Thomas G. Walton (a typewritten copy), 3, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Walton Memoirs.

<sup>3</sup> Clifton K. Avery (ed.), *Official Court Record of the Trial, Conviction and Execution of Francis Silvers, First Woman Hanged in North Carolina* (Morganton: The News-Herald, 1953), 3-12.

<sup>4</sup> *The North Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser* (Rutherfordton), September 3, 1830, hereinafter cited as *The Spectator*.

<sup>5</sup> Walton Memoirs, 42-43.

<sup>6</sup> Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, February 22, 1829, Lenoir Papers.

A nationwide and world-wide shortage of gold existed. The deficiencies of the national and State monetary systems, the frequent economic upheavals, and the "hard money" versus "paper money" political controversy had made the people of the country gold-conscious. They knew that gold had already been found in Cabarrus, Anson, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, and other western North Carolina counties prior to 1820, so that the news of the strike in Burke was not altogether unexpected.<sup>7</sup> But this much is certain. For a few frenzied years it convulsed the cultural, social, and economic life of this county. It provided the spark for a period of rapid industrialization, commercial activity, fiscal organization, and rife speculation such as has never been duplicated in this area since that day. The flame that was ignited lit the countryside, burned with great intensity and brilliant color for a quarter of a decade, settled to a quiet glow for a few years, and then smoldered on almost into the twentieth century.

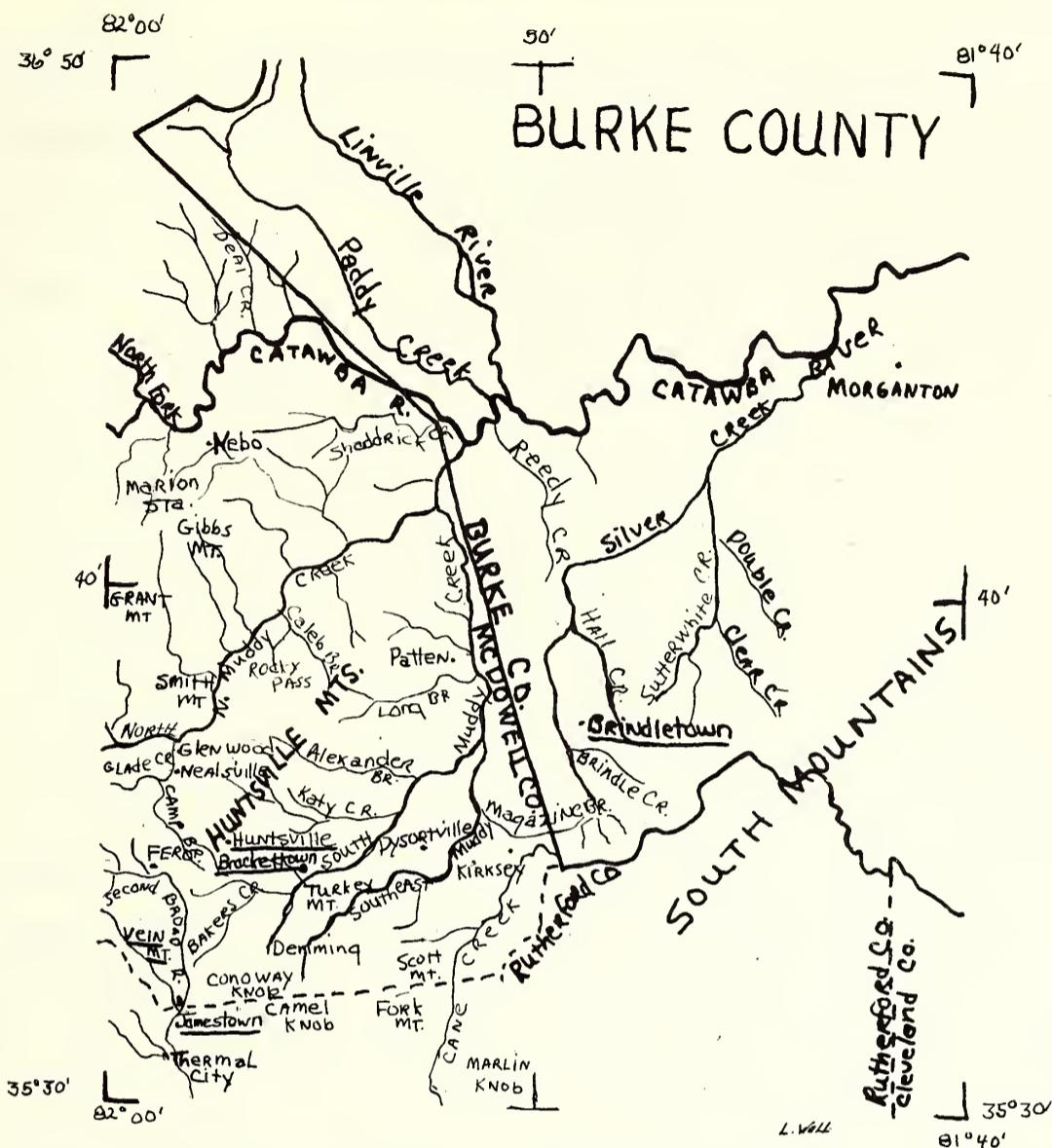
In so far as it is possible to determine, things did not begin to really crackle and pop until late spring of 1829. It was then that the Rush actually began with a rapid influx of large numbers of nonresidents who came for the sole purpose of mining gold. A local businessman wrote in late February of 1829, "The gold is here," and then added with a tinge of skepticism "but if we can make more by digging potatoes, they are the surest business. I have felt the symptoms and made some [land] entries, but as yet have escaped the fever."<sup>8</sup> A little more than four months later, however, he changed his tune entirely, and wrote:

I mentioned in one of my letters the Discovery of Gold in Burke . . . but just about that time, a disease called the Gold Fever, became, and still continues [to be], the most universal epidemic that ever visited our County. The sale of sweet Water lands, produced nothing like the excitement that has been witnessed here within three months past . . . indeed half the Citizens of Wilksboro and its vicinity are in Burke, either as actual operatives in Mines, or as Speculators buying Gold Lands. A single Mine has averaged from \$2,000 to 2,500 weekly since the first of April, and I do not hesitate to say, that there will be 2,000 men employed in Burke as Miners by the first of August. . . . I do not intend to try to inoculate [*sic*] you with the Fever but [I] do not know that it would be safe for you to visit the infected district.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Fletcher M. Green, "Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (January, 1937), 9, hereinafter cited as Green, "Gold Mining."

<sup>8</sup> Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, February 22, 1829, Lenoir Papers.

<sup>9</sup> Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, July 4, 1829, Lenoir Papers. The mention of "sweet Water lands" undoubtedly refers to the land boom in middle Tennessee.



NOTE: McDowell County had not been formed in 1829-1833. All of the area shown on the map west of this line was then in Burke County.

Map prepared by Linda Smith Wall.

The area in which these people “struck it rich” was situated in mountainous southwestern Burke County and the adjacent parts of Rutherford County. On the headwaters of Silver Creek and on its tributaries—Brindle, Hall, and Satterwhite creeks—lay the rich Brindletown district with Brackett town to the west on the headwaters of the South Muddy; beyond this lay Huntsville, Vein Mountain, and the fabulous James town where the land of James Jeans [Jaynes] bordered the Second Broad River. In Rutherford County miners began to work on the headwaters and tributaries of the First Broad as it ran through Golden Valley, and mining companies were active in the Whiteside Settlement.<sup>10</sup> Into this gold-rich district poured the great slaveholders of the North Carolina Black Belt and adjoining southside Virginia. From

<sup>10</sup> Clarence W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina, 1730-1936* (Asheville: Miller Printing Company, 1937), 195-208, hereinafter cited as Griffin, *Rutherford County*; Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, June 13, 1831; W. W. Avery to Thomas I. Lenoir, January 12, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

Granville County alone came ten miners bringing with them a total of 293 slaves. William H. Williams of Warren County brought 88; Hutchings G. Burton of Halifax, a former governor, brought 48; Cullen Capehart of Bertie County, and later one of the largest slaveholders in North Carolina, came with 42 slaves. Three physicians, Dr. Horace B. Satterwhite of Granville, Dr. William F. Thomas of Lincoln, and Dr. John S. Baskerville of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, were among the gold-hunters, as was the prominent Granville lawyer, Samuel Hillman. Others came from nearby counties as did Lawson H. Alexander of Lincoln with 26 slaves, Joel Vannoy of Wilkes with 6, and John Logan of Rutherford with 10. Innumerable Burke residents entered into the quest.<sup>11</sup> Among the more affluent of these were John E. Butler, John Carson, John Erwin Patton, Charles McDowell, Isaac T. Avery, and William Alberto Erwin. As one local optimist put it: "The fact that numbers of our most intelligent, wealthy, and enterprising citizens from the eastern and middle counties of the State, after personal examination, are withdrawing their slaves entirely from the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, and removing them to the deposit mines in this county, while it proves conclusively the importance they [the mines] are destined to assume, [yet it] prevents even an approximation to ultimate results."<sup>12</sup> And again he writes that "the Mines in this County have attracted hither, a body of Men who taken collectively will perhaps be found, to possess as much enterprize, and intelli-

<sup>11</sup> Microfilm copies (originals in National Archives) of Manuscript Population Schedules, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Census, 1820-1840, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, list the following slaveholders in Burke County Census of 1830, but not in 1820 or 1840 (number of slaves enclosed in parentheses following each name): Thomas J. Robards (116), Henry M. Clay (37), Thomas Jones (31), Zachariah Blackwell (29), Nathaniel W. Daniel (18), Daniel Jones (16), John L. Henderson (15), William D. Henderson (14), Solomon Allen (12) and John Blackwell (5), all probably from Granville County; William H. [enry] Williams (88) was from Warren County; Hutchings G. Burton (48) later of Lincoln County, James Allen (26), Oscar Willis (10) were probably from Halifax County; Cullen Capehart (42) was from Bertie County; John G. Wingfield (20), William A. Graham (10) and possibly William D. Womack were from either Mecklenburg, Dinwiddie, or Brunswick counties in southside Virginia; others listed who probably came from eastern or central North Carolina were William Herring (18), possibly from Duplin, Lenoir, or Sampson County, Green B. Palmer (15), Thomas Gibson (10), George Hill, Jr. (10), Zedekiah Robinson (10), John Queen (6). Other large-scale participants in gold mining industry of Burke County not noted in Fifth Census were: Dr. John S. Baskerville of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, see "Barnard Letters," 348 (cited in footnote 14, below); also see Table 1 for reference to following participants: Robert Hamilton, Patrick Hamilton, Thomas Turner, Joseph H. Bryan, William Robards, Nathaniel Robards, Samuel Henderson, Alexander Henderson, Thomas T. Hunt, Stephen K. Sneed and Dr. Horace B. Satterwhite all of Granville County, Kemp P. Willis of Halifax County and William H. Hodge of Southside, Virginia; others noted were James D. Johnson, Thomas Green, William J. Alexander, Sidney Haiskell, and Joseph Nelson who could not be further identified.

<sup>12</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Samuel P. Carson, *Report No. 39*, Twenty-Second Congress, First Session, 23, hereinafter cited as *Report No. 39*. This is also cited by Green, "Gold Mining," 12-13.

gence, as can be found among an equal population any where. . . .”<sup>13</sup> A Yankee traveler visiting the area in the spring of 1833 found the mines to be “spread over the whole country, south of this point [Morganton].” He was introduced to Dr. Baskerville, mentioned above, who immediately took him in tow and “introduced him to about 20 young men engaged in the mining business—and a fine set they were to [sic]. In the course of the evening,” our admiring visitor continues, “Champagne and Madeira were brought in and a right merry time we had of it. . . . This morning before I left I called upon several Ladies—and heard a very fine piano [played] in a log hut.” And then he added: “There are 5,000 slaves engaged in mining in this county.” Not all the mines were worked by these slaveholding grandees. As a matter of fact, this same visitor describes the mine of a certain “Mr. Mitchell” in this way: “His mining land is situated on a little creek—he employs 30 hands, who turn out a pwt [pennyweight] and a half a day per hand.” Here, he found men, women, girls, and boys all working together in the mines. At another spot he saw 60 men ditching in one field and over 100 in another. All the miners, rich and poor alike, lived in one-story log houses, many of which had two rooms.<sup>14</sup> Pleasure and patriotism were intermingled with hard work and fine wine. Such an occasion was the Fourth of July celebration held “near Col. Brian’s [probably Larkin B. Bryan of Rutherfordton] Store in Burke County.” The Fourth came on Sunday so the celebration was held on Saturday and began at noon: “The day was ushered in by firing a Hickory tree as a substitute for a cannon. . . . The Declaration of Independence was read by Mr. Daniel Jones, and followed by an Oration from Kemp P. Willis, Esquire. . . . A barbecue collation was then served by Mr. Thomas Jeans, Jr., of which about one hundred partook; Mr. Daniel Jones officiating as President, and Lawson H. Alexander, Esquire as Vice President. The assemblage of people was very great, and besides those of the neighborhood, were many gentlemen from different parts of the Union, drawn hither to gather the golden fleece.” Thirteen “regular” and twelve “volunteer” toasts were drunk and the newspaper account of this event closes by saying: “The day was fine and the company separated at an early hour.”<sup>15</sup> Several historians and contemporary observers have suggested that the miners were a motley group—“poor,

<sup>13</sup> Henry T. Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), II, 107, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Mangum Papers*.

<sup>14</sup> B. C. Steiner (ed.), “The South Atlantic States in 1833, as Seen by a New Englander (Henry Barnard),” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 346-348, hereinafter cited as Steiner, “Barnard Letters.”

<sup>15</sup> *The Spectator*, July 9, 1830.

ignorant and morally degenerate.”<sup>16</sup> In the case of Burke County, the records do not support this view. In fact, the editor of a regional newspaper denied contemporary indictments of this kind when he wrote in 1831 that such charges “will not hold good as to the mines in this neighborhood; it is very far from the truth, and a libel on the character of our miners. At the principal mines much system is pursued, and no more immorality exists than in any other pursuit of industry.”<sup>17</sup>

Technically speaking, the mining of gold in Burke County was a relatively simple operation in the early thirties. The source from which the gold was removed is referred to today as a placer but that term was not ordinarily used in contemporary accounts. The term that they did use was “deposit.” The gold removed by this method from the sand and gravel of a stream or old stream bed was aptly referred to as “branch gold” or “alluvial gold” and the manner of removal was called “deposit mining.” This method of mining was in contradistinction to so-called “vein mining” which required extensive excavating and rock crushing equipment in order to recover the gold from a vein in the rock and transfer it to a point where existed machinery for washing. Obviously “vein mining” required more capital, more equipment, and more technical knowledge; and it afforded opportunity for much greater reward, assuming that veins of gold were present. On the other hand, deposit mining required nothing more than pick, shovel, a stream of water, and a pan—or at most a rocker—with which to separate the heavy particles containing gold from lighter sand, gravel, and debris.<sup>18</sup> Hence there were many individual miners working alone in the deposit mines of Burke County—in 1829 the number was estimated at 1,000. At first the gold was recovered without the use of quicksilver, but since this substance was readily available, it was soon generally employed in the separation process. Here is a contemporary account of the mining process as it was carried out at Brindletown in 1833:

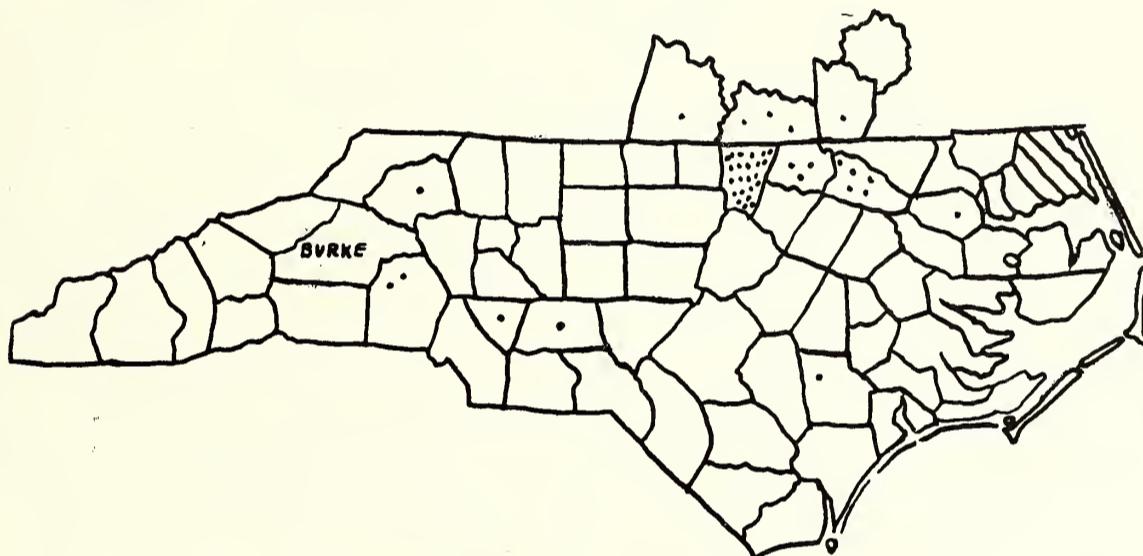
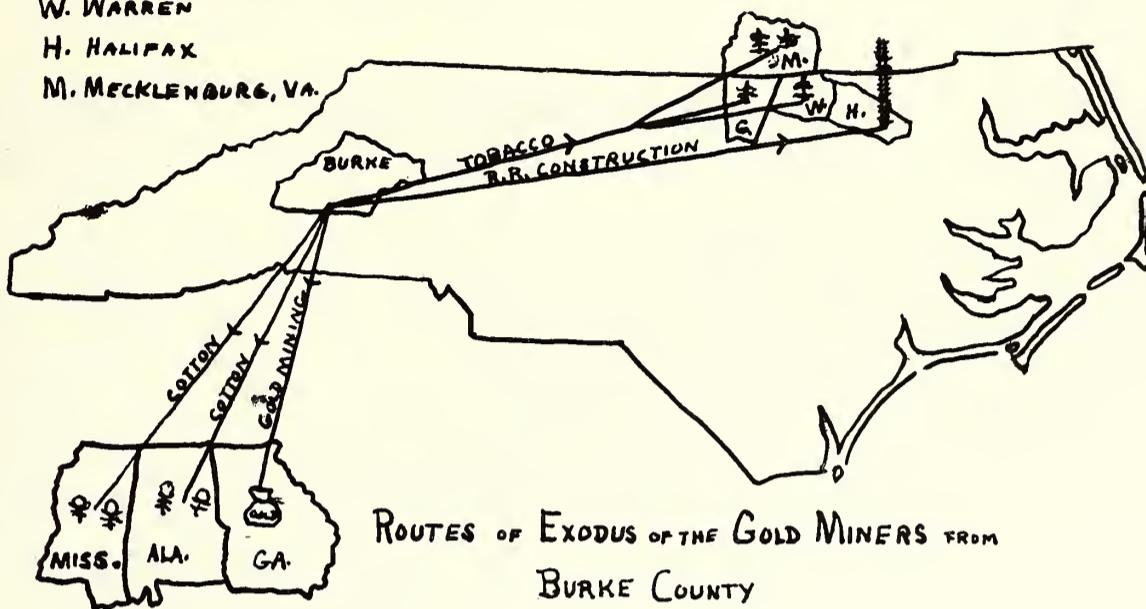
On the top of course is the soil and dirt varying from 4 to 8 feet, then comes a layer of gravel, which is found always upon a strata of slate, in this gravel, especially toward the bottom, the gold is diffused in very small particles. The top soil is removed—then the gravel is washed, by being thrown into what is called a rocker, or cradle, which is in fact a [*sic*]

<sup>16</sup> Green, “Gold Mining,” 15; Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 205.

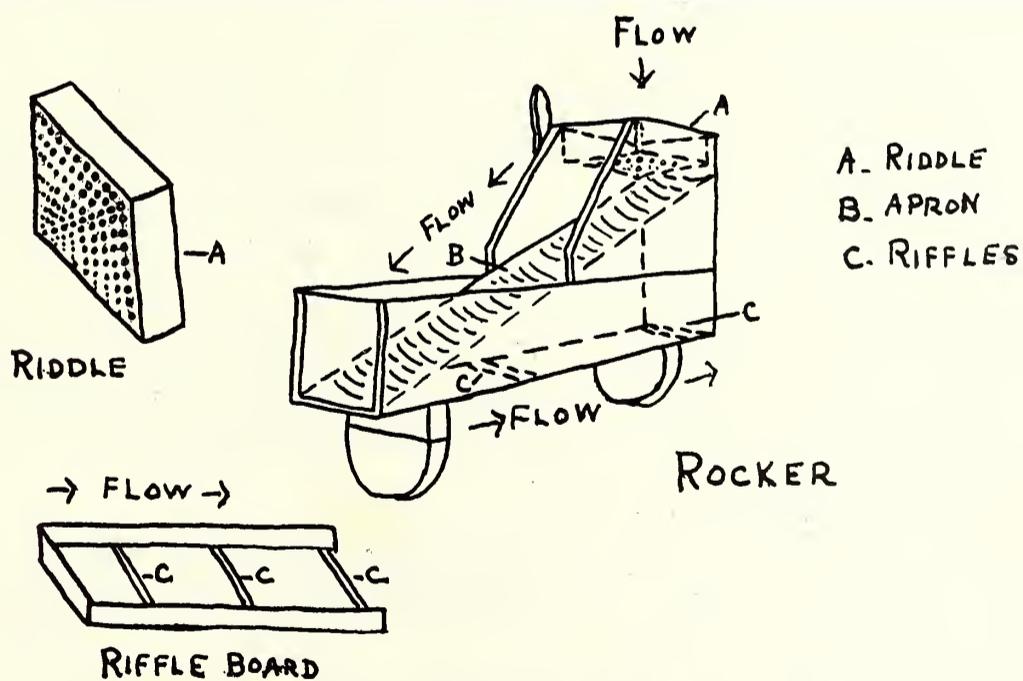
<sup>17</sup> *The Spectator*, June 11, 1831.

<sup>18</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Samuel P. Carson, *Report No. 39*, 23; Green, “Gold Mining,” 12-13; Walton *Memoirs*, 26-28; see also accompanying diagrams. For other technical information, see T. A. Rickard, *Man and Metals* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 2 volumes, 1932), II, 728-734 and Eros M. Savage, *Prospecting for Gold and Silver* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934), 1-62, hereinafter cited as Savage, *Prospecting for Gold*.

G. GRANVILLE  
 W. WARREN  
 H. HALIFAX  
 M. MECKLENBURG, VA.



AREAS FROM WHICH BURKE MINERS CAME



Mining machinery, adapted from Eros M. Savage, *Prospecting for Gold and Silver*, 40.

little more than a large cradle [...] about half way down is a sheet iron riddle. . . .<sup>19</sup>

The account goes on to describe the manner in which the rocker works, a process which can best be understood by looking at the accompanying diagram.<sup>20</sup>

Certain of the miners attempted to enrich themselves and, at the same time, improve their mining operations by designing new-model rockers or by modifying one or more of the devices which were incorporated in the basic washing contrivance. Green B. Palmer patented his "Improved Panning Rocker" and warned all other miners by newspaper advertisement to refrain from using it "without first obtaining written permission from his agents R. C. Pearson of Morganton and Henry M. Clay of Jamestown."<sup>21</sup> T. W. A. Sumter of Harrisburg in western Burke County claimed patent rights on the cast-iron sieve or riddle and forbade its use without his permission.<sup>22</sup> Oscar Willis of Brackettstown designed what he referred to as a "Railway Car Gold Riddle"<sup>23</sup> and proceeded to apply for a patent while John Woody of Jeanstown [Jamestown] issued a "patent warning" with regard to "The Gold Cradle."<sup>24</sup> One discerning student of local mining, however, was not too sanguine about Palmer's patented process and felt that Henry M. Clay, Lawson H. Alexander, and others had "made machinery superior to any thing that has been seen and with modifications, will superceed [*sic*] all others not only in the deposits [the deposit mines] but for working the sand, paste etc. in the vein Mines."<sup>25</sup> There is no way of knowing which of these principles survived but, out of it all, came the famous "Burke rocker" which was widely used by gold miners for many years thereafter.<sup>26</sup>

So much for mines, miners, and mining—but what were the effects of the Gold Rush on other aspects of community life? In the first place, it shifted the centers of population growth from the part of the County north of the Catawba River to the area south of the River. The great alluvial valleys on the north side of the Catawba provided a far greater total area of good farm land, and as long as farming and animal husbandry were practically the sole industries, here was the population concentration. But the Gold Rush changed all this. The

<sup>19</sup> Steiner, "Barnard Letters," 346.

<sup>20</sup> These sketches are reproduced from Savage, *Prospecting for Gold*, 40.

<sup>21</sup> *The Spectator*, December 10, 1830, September 24, 1831, December 29, 1832.

<sup>22</sup> *The Spectator*, April 9, 1830.

<sup>23</sup> *The Spectator*, September 3, 1830.

<sup>24</sup> *The Spectator*, October 1, 1830.

<sup>25</sup> Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, June 13, 1831, Lenoir Papers.

<sup>26</sup> Green, "Gold Mining, 18.

influx of miners not only increased the population south of the River through immigration from other counties and States, but it drew the native population to these centers of increased economic activity. The incoming tide of miners brought little with them except people. All had to be supplied with food, clothing, and mining supplies. Unfortunately, very few of these products could be obtained locally. Pork was imported from Kentucky; bacon and flour from Tennessee; iron casting, mining tools, shoes, and clothing for Negroes had to come from Philadelphia or other manufacturing centers of the North. Only corn, vegetables, and beef could be produced locally in quantities sufficient to supply the swelling population.<sup>27</sup> This put a great strain on the wholly inadequate system of currency and credit. If it had not been for the entirely fortuitous establishment of the branch bank at Morganton and the processing of gold by the Bechtlers at Rutherfordton, the monetary system would undoubtedly have collapsed in this area.<sup>28</sup> Even as it was, one of the mining combines from Granville County—Hamilton, Turner, and Robards—found it necessary to issue drafts on the house of James Hamilton and Son payable at the Chemical Bank of New York.<sup>29</sup> This commercial paper was pumped into the economy and was allowed to circulate as currency in an attempt to relieve the distressing scarcity of money. Finally, President Jackson's unfortunate handling of the national banking system added to the currency difficulties, psychologically if not otherwise.

In spite of all this hindrance, commerce and trade were most certainly stimulated in both Morganton and the mining areas by the Gold Rush. Large merchandising establishments such as William A. Erwin and Company, John Caldwell and Company, or Walton and McEntire monopolized the business at the county seat.<sup>30</sup> Sidney Stanhope Erwin operated stores at both Brindletown and Brackettown.<sup>31</sup> Felix W. Bracket and Albert G. Forney also had stores at Brackettown, while Charles Carson was in business at Brindletown.<sup>32</sup> Major John E. Patton also owned a store in the gold mining area.<sup>33</sup> The Rush provoked an

<sup>27</sup> Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 107-111.

<sup>28</sup> Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 173-174, 195-204. For a more detailed account of the local currency woes at this particular time, see Edward W. Phifer, "Money, Banking, and Burke County in the Ante-Bellum Era," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1960), 22-37.

<sup>29</sup> *N. Carolina Free Press* (Tarboro), November 15, 1833; Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, 108-109.

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of the Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, April Session, 1832, July Session, 1834, hereinafter cited as Burke County Court Minutes.

<sup>31</sup> Burke County Court Minutes, April Session, 1830, April Session, 1832.

<sup>32</sup> Burke County Court Minutes, July Session, 1831, April Session, 1830, January Session, 1831.

<sup>33</sup> Burke County Court Minutes, April Session, 1831.

inevitable and intensive speculation in some of Burke County's poorest farm land [See Table I]. Thousands of acres changed hands on several occasions and the number of land transactions increased markedly during this period. Larger mining companies were formed as the industry

TABLE I

Recorded Title Transfers of Burke County Land for Mining Purposes, 1830-1834  
[Incomplete listing]

Term of Court Recorded	Seller	Buyers	No. of Acres
April, 1830	Samuel Miller Job Upton William Marshall	Sidney Haiskel, Kemp P. Willis Kemp P. Willis, Oscar Willis Joseph Nelson, Samuel Henderson, Kemp P. Willis	
October, 1830	Joshua Hall, Sr.  John Sudderth	John Carson, Sr., Joseph McD. Carson, Charles Carson, Samuel P. Carson, Kemp Willis, Oscar Willis, James McDowell Joseph Brendie	50
January, 1831	John Pullum Nathaniel Robards James Dykes  Dr. Samuel Tate Stephen K. Sneed John Pullum Thomas Green James Mason William Murphy Israel A. Morrison and Hunt Stephen K. Sneed Carter Hedgepeth Cullen Capehart Samuel Henderson	Joseph H. Eryan William Robards Joseph H. Bryan, Nathaniel Robards, William Robards William A. Graham James D. Johnson William A. Graham William H. Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt William H. Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt Thomas T. Hunt, William H. Hodge Cornelius Welch James D. Johnson, William A. Graham William Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt Patrick Hamilton Alexander Henderson, William J. Alexander, Kemp P. Willis	7,580
September, 1831	William C. Butler	Joseph H. Bryan, William Robards	Interest in 30,000
January, 1832	James Harris Stephen K. Sneed James D. Johnson	William A. Graham William A. Graham	
April, 1834	Jesse H. Simmons	William McGeahee, Patton and Thomas, Erwin and Carson	
October, 1834	Isaac T. Avery	Robert Hamilton	1,050

began to mature, such as the Burke County Gold Mining Company incorporated in 1834 by Kemp P. Willis and Oscar Willis with a capitalization of \$100,000, shares having a par value of \$100 each.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at the Session of 1834-35, c.XXXIX.

There is no possible way to determine the amount of gold that has been recovered in Burke County from first to last, for the desultory and intermittent mining of this metal continued for many years after the Gold Rush was over. In 1841, for example, it was estimated that \$12,000,000 worth of gold had been removed from the mines of Burke and Rutherford counties. On the other hand, another authority estimated on the same date that \$6,000,000 was nearer the correct figure.<sup>35</sup> Ordinarily, during the Rush years, a hand could produce one and a half to two and a half pennyweight of gold per day. One of the new mines opened at Jamestown in 1830 was reported to produce four pennyweight per hand.<sup>36</sup> The Bank at Morganton bought fluxed gold for eighty-four cents a pennyweight. This gold was transported to the United States Mint at Philadelphia where it was coined for general circulation. The Bechtlers claimed that the miner saved about six cents a pennyweight if the coinage was performed in their mint. Undoubtedly some of the gold was exported in bullion form or utilized in the arts and trades, but there is no reason to believe that this method of disposal was any more profitable to the miners.<sup>37</sup> According to tradition, the Golden Valley gold brought five cents a pennyweight more than that which was mined at Brindletown, Brackettown, and Jamestown.<sup>38</sup>

By autumn of 1833, mining activities had begun to diminish and it was estimated that one-third to one-half of the labor force would leave before winter.<sup>39</sup> A local enterpriser, who had been among the most optimistic during the height of the Rush, now furtively admitted that he was "trying to dig out as much gold between pulling fodder, and gathering corn as will pay for my salt, sugar, coffee etc." And then he added pessimistically, "I don't know whether I shall accomplish it."<sup>40</sup> In late summer of 1835, he again wrote that he was "mining some on Little Silver Creek. Hope to raise enough by cold weather," he continued "to pay for my sugar, coffee and salt."<sup>41</sup> By the following spring, the "smart money" had gone and the Gold Rush in Burke County was a thing of the past.

It is interesting to speculate as to why the miners gave up when

<sup>35</sup> *American Almanac* (Boston: David H. Williams, 1841), 216, quoting John H. Wheeler, who in turn cites a letter of Isaac T. Avery who includes an estimation by Albert G. Forney in his report.

<sup>36</sup> *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, April 15, 1830; *The Spectator*, May 14, 1830; Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 205-206.

<sup>37</sup> Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 198.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Neal, in an interview with Edward W. Phifer, February, 1961. Mr. Neal, inhabitant of the Brindletown area, has always been interested in this subject.

<sup>39</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

<sup>40</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, August 30, 1835, Lenoir Papers.

they did. The traditional reason given is that the discovery of gold in California depressed the price of gold so that it was no longer profitable to mine in this section. Yet the real Rush had burnt itself out in this county as least twelve years before it actually began in California. Why, then, did the more discerning entrepreneurs abandon the mines of Burke County at this particular time? There is no single answer to this question but a complex of them. In the first place, smart operators believed that the future of gold mining lay in the realm of vein mining rather than in deposit mining, and vein mines were being discovered with encouraging regularity in Habersham, Hall, and Carroll counties in Georgia.<sup>42</sup> In the second place, the price of cotton was skyrocketing, and slave labor was better adapted to agriculture than to any other pursuit. Furthermore, railroad building was beginning in eastern North Carolina, which in turn greatly increased the demand for slave labor and insured a more stable return on slave investment. Finally, some miners decided to return to their home counties to raise tobacco, an occupation with which both slave and master were well acquainted.

Consequently, it can be said with assurance that some of the miners migrated to Georgia to try their luck in another gold field, some were lured to the cotton belts of Mississippi and Alabama, and others retraced their steps to the North Carolina border counties of southside Virginia, there to hire their slaves to a railroad contractor or to utilize them on tobacco plantations.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *The Spectator*, June 18, 1830; John A. Jones to Thomas Foster, *Report No. 39*, 24.

<sup>43</sup> Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Poets of North Carolina. Edited by Richard Walser. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1963. Index. Pp. xvii, 142. \$4.00.)

For *Poets of North Carolina*, the latest addition to a growing list of North Carolina-centered anthologies, both the poets and the editor, Professor Richard Walser of North Carolina State College, are to be commended. The volume may take its place without apology alongside Mr. Walser's earlier collections of North Carolina drama, short stories, articles, and poetry. Unlike his *North Carolina Poetry* (1941), which spanned two centuries of poetic composition, the current volume includes the work of only twenty poets, all either native-born North Carolinians or now "apparently permanent residents" here and all "active in North Carolina during recent times." The anthology thus in no way supersedes, but rather supplements, the earlier volume, last revised in 1951 and now out of print.

To his editorial task, Professor Walser comes admirably prepared to deal effectively with his twenty poets. His own North Carolina background, his keen critical insights, and his responsiveness to both the old and the new in poetry serve him well as he selects from and introduces, with comments biographical and critical, the work of each poet.

The selections themselves offer the reader a varied fare. The poets range from traditionalists to experimenters for whom no category has yet been devised. Their forms range from the oft-used sonnet and blank verse to the seldom-seen cinquain and the "pulsing jazz meters" of one young poet. As do the poets of all times and all places, "the composite North Carolina poet" finds his materials in the age-old but perennially new issues of life. Here is death, poignantly caught, starkly terrifying, or stoically borne. Equally pervasive is the theme of love, many-faceted and variously known. The weary sigh of one lyric deepens into the anguished cry of another; the good-natured chuckle at some human frailty in one bit of light verse sharpens into the sardonic quip of another; the ancient wisdom of the earth-bound philosopher finds its counterpart in the musings of the academic mind steeped in the poetry of the ages.

Less ambitious in scope than some of this regional anthologist's earlier ventures, *Poets of North Carolina* does more than fill a gap on the North Carolina shelf. Here is proof incontrovertible that many a "wordsmith" is currently and successfully at work in The Old North State.

Norma Rose.

Meredith College.

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The North Carolina Portrait Index, 1700-1860. Compiled by Laura MacMillan. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, descriptive text, and indexes. Pp. x, 272. \$15.00.)

Several years ago the Historic Activities Committee of the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames in America, with Mrs. Roger Gant as Chairman, decided upon a project of great intrinsic worth but seemingly impossible of execution: to locate and photograph and catalog all of the "old portraits" in the State. As the project took shape, assistance came from several sources. The National Society of Colonial Dames offered a grant to help with expenses. The Frick Art Reference Library in New York, which has been engaged for many years in this work on a national scale, offered its facilities and staff. Thus the "Portrait Project," now under the leadership of Mrs. James O. Moore, got underway. The accumulation of information was of course the major task, involving the related research facilities in the State and, one can imagine, endless rumor, hearsay, disappointments, and unexpected treasures. For the Frick teams, itineraries had to be set in advance and owners' permissions obtained. Other portraits outside the field of the Frick's interests had to be located, photographed, and documented.

After this great mass of material was assembled, the current Chairman, Mrs. Laura MacMillan, and her committee undertook the job of selecting the works to be presented in the volume under review. Many factors were involved in each decision; the criteria for eligibility are given in the Preface. The Committee wisely included portraits now owned within the State regardless of origin of subject, as well as portraits of North Carolinians even if owned outside the State.

The resulting volume is a handsome book. There are 500 portraits illustrated, each with full descriptive information and location, given alphabetically by subject. In a separate index, the artists are listed with short but comprehensive biographies and with page references for their works—a most useful feature that is surprisingly often omitted in other works of this kind. Another section of the book gives an

extensive list of portraits not illustrated. And in a final section, the reader will be surprised and delighted to find the portraits indexed by location.

As for the main body of the work, the 500 North Carolina portraits, there can be very few North Carolinians, no matter what their interests, who will not find them totally engrossing on many levels, for here is a record of history, of art, of people. The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames has made a major contribution to the history and culture of the State, presented in an attractive and useful format.

Catherine G. Barnhart.

State Department of Archives and History.

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William Swaim, *Fighting Editor: The Story of O. Henry's Grandfather*. By Ethel Stephens Arnett. (Greensboro: Piedmont Press [Distributed by Straughan's Bookshop, Greensboro]. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xi, 401. \$6.95.)

William Swaim was Editor and owner of the *Greensborough Patriot* from May 23, 1829, until his death at the age of thirty-three on December 31, 1835. During this short time, he made the *Patriot* one of the leading newspapers in ante-bellum North Carolina, a reputation continued by his cousin and successor Lyndon Swaim.

Mrs. Arnett, known for a previously published history of Greensboro, as well as a biography of O. Henry, begins her study of Swaim and the *Patriot* with a brief history of Centre Community, the largely Quaker area in southern Guilford County where Swaim was born December 16, 1802. Here she establishes the relationship of Swaim with Jonathan Worth, later Governor of North Carolina, whose sister Ruth became the paternal grandmother of William Sidney Porter (O. Henry). Swaim's only child, Mary, married the eldest son of Ruth Worth Porter, thus making William Swaim the maternal grandfather of Greensboro's distinguished short story writer.

The greater part of this book is devoted to the editorial career of Swaim. Mrs. Arnett not only describes the positions taken by the *Patriot* on the leading issues in North Carolina politics during the six years of Swaim's editorship, she also reprints long excerpts from the paper which expressed the editor's opinions; thus, in effect, making her book important as a primary source. In this connection, Mrs. Arnett organizes her material along topical lines. Of particular interest to a student of early newspapers are the reproductions of examples of lay-

out employed by Swaim in making the *Patriot* one of the more attractive newspapers published in ante-bellum North Carolina.

Mrs. Arnett has written a substantial account of one of North Carolina's early newspapermen. It is based on an earlier biography written by Will L. Scott which appeared in the *Greensboro Patriot* in 1866. This is supplemented by extensive use of extant files of the *Patriot* and other contemporary newspapers. A rather full Index makes her book of considerable value to a student of this period.

Robert N. Elliott.

North Carolina State of the University  
of North Carolina at Raleigh.

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The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume II, 1817-1818. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1963. Frontispiece, bibliography, and index. Pp. xciv, 513. \$10.00.)

This second volume of the John C. Calhoun papers was edited by W. Edwin Hemphill who succeeded the late Professor Robert L. Meriwether as editor of the papers. In his Preface the new editor informs his readers that he has made many independent judgments and decisions as to the handling of the papers. This is evident in the internal details of editing, and in the somewhat differing philosophies concerning the arrangement and abstracting of letters and documents.

Dr. Hemphill has no less admiration for his subject than did Professor Meriwether. In an extensive essay the editor evaluates to a large extent the qualities of John C. Calhoun but likewise the quality of judgments made by his many biographers. In this connection Dr. Hemphill and all the other editors and sponsors of the important papers editing projects, must raise questions as to how worthwhile to historians and biographers are the papers. The basic assumptions are three: First, new papers will be found in the far more intensive searches which are made by the federal archival agencies, by private collectors, institutional archivists and librarians, and by the several editorial staffs than were ever possible for individual scholars. Second, a competent editing of the papers would supply an astronomical amount of identification which is an impossible task for the individual scholar. Third, the editors could both select and abstract papers which should be considered by scholars. In making their judgments editors have been faced with the task of determining what to include and what to leave out, how deeply to cut into papers they abstract, but

most important of all is the evaluation which they make of the papers. Some scholars now complain the projects are too expensive, and the editors do not make extensive enough appraisals of their subjects. All of these criticisms can largely be classed as both pertinent and carping.

In this second volume of the Calhoun papers Dr. Hemphill attempts to give a value appraisal of John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War. At the same time he makes some interesting observations on the manner in which biographers and historians have treated this phase of Calhoun's career. The essay greatly amplifies the importance of this part of Calhoun's official career. His prefatory essay is an exceedingly useful part of this volume. It is competent, critical, and analytical.

Papers included in this volume are almost altogether War Department documents dating from November, 1817, to July, 1818, a period of approximately seven months. The nature of the correspondence is almost completely official. It pertains to all sorts of problems ranging from personnel and supply problems of the Army to reports and observations on domestic and border problems, including those provoked by the Seminole War. All of this documentary material reflects the monstrous task which fell on the energetic young South Carolinian. Perhaps the multitudinous staff of the Pentagon today would have greater difficulty imagining how Calhoun operated with such meager staff than Calhoun would have in imagining how the Pentagon works.

The quality of this volume is to be appraised in four areas; the selection of documents, the scope of the period, the abstractions, and the editorial notes. All of these have been achieved with scholarly expedition. One shudders to think of the monstrous task yet to be done, if the future volumes are confined to such short chronological periods.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky.

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The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period. By William P. Cumming. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Preface, table of contents, listings of maps, index to the introductory essay, and supplement. Pp. ix, 284. \$12.50.)

*The Southeast in Early Maps* is again available in a welcome reprint edition from the University of North Carolina Press. Professor Cum-

ming has added a small supplement containing corrections to the original text and a few additional manuscript map listings.

This valuable work, the result of Professor Cumming's long interest in the field of cartography, contains reproductions of the principal pre-Revolutionary maps, both general and local, of the southeastern United States. The author has written an excellent introductory essay which details the history of maps and mapmakers through the three centuries of discovery, settlement, and expansion.

The list of known maps of the period, which comprises the bulk of the text, is a tribute to the author's thoroughness. Each map is described and discussed carefully. References are specified and the location of copies given.

This book provides the kind of information that is indispensable to a thorough study of early American history. It illustrates the gradual, painful accumulation of knowledge of the southeastern "New World," from the first recorded soundings of the coast to the relatively sophisticated survey maps made prior to the war with England. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this study is the wealth of misinformation that was propagated through the use of "mother" maps from which subsequent cartographers borrowed without any particular concern for new findings.

The map plates themselves are excellent and show no perceptible deterioration in quality from the first edition.

Roger Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

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Four Years on the Firing Line. By James Cooper Nisbet. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xxi, 267. \$5.00.)

Originally published in 1914, Colonel Nisbet's narrative of his experiences in the Confederate Army has been re-edited with both scalpel and axe by Professor Wiley and livened up with the addition of interesting pictures and editorial comments. At the beginning of the War Nisbet, who had graduated from Oglethorpe University in 1858, was engaged with his brother in running a large stock farm in Lookout Valley, in the northwestern corner of Georgia. He was well connected with influential people in his native State and was a young man of poise, who was unawed by great names.

Nisbet entered the Confederate Army as a captain in the Twenty-First Georgia Regiment and arrived with his men in Virginia just after

Second Manassas. From that time on he always seemed to be where the fighting was. In four years "on the firing line" he was bruised by one bullet and hurled into the air by an exploding shell but never sufficiently injured to require hospitalization. He was in Ewell's division in Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign. He was at First Cold Harbor and was closely associated with General Lee at Sharpsburg. On one occasion he was called to confer with President Davis concerning recruiting. Promoted to full colonel, Nisbet went to Georgia, where he was successful in enlisting a regiment. He took his recruits, whose number included a large number of veterans, to Chattanooga, where he served in Hardee's corps of General Bragg's army. He was in the thick of the Confederate defensive campaign from Missionary Ridge to Atlanta, under Joe Johnston. He served under General Hood in the Battle of Atlanta and was captured. Nisbet spent the rest of the War in captivity on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. Describing the sufferings of the prisoners there, he blames the Federal government and suggests that it was also responsible for the much advertised sufferings of Federal prisoners at Andersonville.

The book's style is matter-of-fact, and the evaluation of men, both friends and foes, is terse and judicious. Few emerge as all hero or all villain. Nisbet's language is not that of a man under the stress of danger and responsibility, and the narrative was obviously written long after the events in which the author participated. Quotations from other authors and frequent digressions fill out the train of thought but bore a sophisticated reader. The editor has pruned heavily and edited vigorously, but the narrative still lacks freshness. Oh, what a story Nisbet could have told if he had kept a day-to-day diary of his observations and emotions!

James F. Doster.

University of Alabama.

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Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South. Edited by Eric L. McKittrick. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. [A Spectrum Book]. 1963. Contents and footnotes. Pp. viii, 180. \$1.95, paperback; \$3.95, cloth.)

This little volume of selected essays on the pro-slavery argument covers every aspect of the argument. There are fifteen of them, written by the familiar figures of the day—John C. Calhoun, J. B. D. DeBow, George Fitzhugh, James Henry Hammond—and by several less familiar, but still prominent defenders of slavery. Each essay is selected

because it represents a different aspect of the argument or because of its historic importance, like the Mud Sill speech of Senator Hammond.

These essays cover the familiar pro-slavery arguments—economic, political, social, religious, physiological, anthropological—and they are well chosen.

The author's purpose in reprinting these selections is to give modern readers an opportunity to discover anew in convenient form the intellectual quality of the southern mind. He finds the pro-slavery argument more intriguing than that of the abolitionist because more difficult and more complex. As he says, "Nothing is more susceptible to oblivion than argument, however, ingenious, that has been discredited by events." But the unfortunate fact is that these ideas have not been discredited by events except insofar as they relate to legal, chattel slavery. As arguments, however spurious, for maintaining white supremacy and Negro servitude, they are as prevalent today as the day they were written. The parallels with the arguments of today's leading segregationists are complete. Here in this little booklet is proof that the roots of the modern-day white supremacy philosophy are solidly grounded in the pro-slavery argument of the ante-bellum South.

Philip Davidson.

University of Louisville.

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Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1960-1962. Edited with an Introduction by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. (Washington: Columbia Historical Society. 1963. Contents, illustrations, introduction, and notes. Pp. xx, 496. \$9.00.)

Again Mr. Rosenberger has come forth with a handsome triennial volume of the records of the Columbia Historical Society, an organization devoted to the preservation and publication of the kind of history which is usually neglected, that is, local history. As might be expected in a work dealing with the history of the nation's capital, the articles mention figures and events of national as well as local significance. The report of the *Chronicler*, however, is devoted, as always, almost exclusively to events seldom referred to in national news coverages.

In his Introduction Mr. Rosenberger identifies in some detail each of the contributors. Following the articles and the chronicles are the report of the Recorder, lists of officers and members, and the necrology. Scattered through the volume are almost a hundred illustrations. An index will appear later in the fourth volume of the General Index to the Records.

The articles range in subject matter from the visit of Baron Alexander von Humboldt to Washington in 1804, through the origin of "capital" and "capitol" as names for seats of government and legislative buildings, respectively; Georgetown between 1812 and 1871; Washington during the Civil War, including an account of the work of the United States Sanitary Commission; the career of German brewer Christian Henrick, whose mansion is now both a museum and headquarters for the Columbia Historical Society; and seven other organizations, the National Presbyterian Church, Arlington National Cemetery, Providence Hospital, 1861-1961, the Cosmos, Metropolitan, and Capital Yacht clubs, art in the Capital, and Bolling Airfield.

As the title suggests, this volume is principally a reference work. Considering this fact, it is well that in the writing of the papers details were not sacrificed for smoothness of style. Some of the authors, though, have been more skillful than others in weaving numerous data into their accounts.

Mattie Russell.

Duke University Library.

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The Road to Independence: A Documentary History of the Causes of the American Revolution, 1763-1776. By John Braeman. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1963. Pp. 314. \$6.50.)

Formerly historians compiled collections of documents, useful but dull and static works (Commager's *Documents of American History*, Morison's *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution*); now historians write documentary histories, with the sources and expository narrative smoothly interwoven, useful but fascinating and dynamic works (Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats*, Lefler and Klingberg, *A History of the United States*). John Braeman, assistant professor of history at Brooklyn College, has happily added a volume to this new breed.

After a succinct and informative chapter on the changing interpretations of the coming of the American Revolution, Braeman in five chapters covers English colonial policies and American reactions from the end of the French and Indian War through the Declaration of Independence. His arrangement of material is chronological, but, since the book lacks a list of cited documents, a topical though incomplete inventory of his sources may be helpful.

On the English side his documents include: royal proclamations (Proclamation of 1763, Proclamation of Rebellion); acts of Parliament

(Sugar Act, Stamp Act, Declaratory Act, Townshend Revenue Act); speeches, debates, and testimony in Parliament (Grenville, Pitt, Barré, Franklin, Burke); and letters by colonial executive officials (Bernard, Hutchinson, Gage, Colden, Dunmore).

On the American side his documents include: speeches against English writs and taxes (Otis, Henry, Samuel Adams); resolutions and petitions (Boston town meetings, Massachusetts and Virginia assemblies); nonimportation agreements (New York, Philadelphia); pamphlets (Dulany, Dickinson, Wilson, Jefferson, Paine); letters by colonial agents (Franklin, Garth); newspaper excerpts (*Providence Gazette*, *Massachusetts Gazette*); and Continental Congress State papers (Galloway Plan of Union, Declaration of Rights, Continental Association, Declaration on Taking Arms, Olive Branch Petition, Declaration of Independence).

The leaders of the American Revolution were constructive conservatives who anxiously insisted that the righting of wrongs must not degenerate into an enraged crusade for vengeance, who invariably emphasized that liberation must be accompanied by order, and who dogmatically demanded that liberty must be linked with property. Unlike the leaders of the later French Revolution, they did not connect freedom with elimination of economic exploitation, so they lacked the passion of compassion.

Any anthology is an act of faith, and Braeman's credo stresses political, economic, and constitutional articles. He tells a familiar story, but he makes it exciting.

Unfortunately, this nation born in revolution often seems to forget its revolutionary heritage. The speeches of Truman, Ike, and JFK hardly match those of Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams. Braeman's book proves that a drink at the revolutionary spring is more delicious and refreshing than Coca-Cola.

Frank W. Ryan.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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Independent Historical Societies: An Enquiry into Their Research and Publications Functions and Their Financial Future. By Walter Muir Whitehill. (Boston, Massachusetts: The Boston Athenaeum [Distributed by Harvard University Press]. 1962. Footnotes and index. Pp. xxviii, 593. \$12.50.)

To those who labor in the vineyard, it is a well-known fact that historical societies never have enough money. "Lack of hands, lack

of space, and lack of funds for acquisitions, cataloguing and binding" is as true today as it was in 1791 when the Reverend Jeremy Belknap founded the Massachusetts Historical Society and thus began a movement which spread throughout the United States.

In 1958 the continuing financial crisis facing the independent historical society prompted the Council of Library Resources, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, to make a grant for the study of independent historical societies and their problems. Walter Muir Whitehill, the distinguished librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, was selected to survey the situation and report his findings. This exceptional study is the result.

Dr. Whitehill's research has been meticulous and thorough. He visited three-quarters of the fifty States and corresponded with knowledgeable people in the States he could not visit. He was impressed with what he found in the collections, which often contain priceless materials, and also with the guardians of the collections, those "highly intelligent, energetic and amiable people" who keep the societies going, with or without money. Dr. Whitehill has not confined himself to the independent historical society. He has ranged over the whole field of historical endeavor, including the public supported societies and commissions, the archival collections of religious bodies, the rise of professional historians' associations, the preservation of buildings, and the work of museums. He has labored and brought forth a work of infinite variety and factual perfection, which bears the mark of an erudite man of wit and charm. Who can forget the chapter headings: "The Shinto Temple," "The Ship of Theseus," "The Virtuoso's Collection," or "The Tombstone with a Footnote." North Carolinians may be dismayed that "The Tombstone with a Footnote," which so well describes the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, neglects to mention the Moravian Archives in Salem.

Dr. Whitehill concludes that independent historical societies should retain their independent status, and that their support should come from individuals and foundations. He states further that the independent historical society is "as reliable and suitable a recipient of such funds as a university or a laboratory." He suggests that foundation support, which would provide for the services of competent scholars to arrange and calendar manuscript collections belonging to historical societies, would be of immeasurable service to the historian and also to the Library of Congress, which is now at work on a national union catalog of manuscripts. Along with this he recommends the wide availability of manuscript material in microform.

Publication, which is a natural function of the historical society (and sometimes its only function), would be greatly aided if there were better means of selling the finished product. Dr. Whitehill suggests a co-operative effort in setting up a common warehouse where publications could be sent on consignment by individual societies for distribution and sale.

This is a big book, well designed and well printed, and with an adequate Index. It is a book to be read and enjoyed, and it is also a book to be kept at hand for ready reference.

Margaret L. Chapman.

University of South Florida.

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Early American Homes for Today: A Treasury of Decorative Details and Restoration Procedures. By Herbert Wheaton Congdon. (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1963. Illustrations, glossary, and index. Pp. xi, 236. \$12.50.)

This book with long and curious title is intended for the do-it-yourself man who has an early American home and who wants to restore and adapt it for his use today. The author, a photographer and an architect of "homes in the old style," organizes his book into a series of chapters on windows, fireplaces, stairways, and other decorative details. The text gives restoration procedures—how to repair chimneys, foundations, and so on—and there is advice on the planning of improvements, additions, and a new home in the old style.

The do-it-yourself man will be delighted in looking into this book. A limitation, however, is that the illustrations show only Vermont houses, not featuring all types of them, and not providing models from other regions of America. Then, in general, the author's concept of Our Heritage is that it consists of homes from a good, early period which was brought to an end by a bad Victorian period with its porches, towers, and meaningless and fussy design. He does not present the house as a whole changing from decade to decade and gradually turning into one or another kind of Victorian house.

Thus, in improving an old house, strip off the Victorian porch; however, the author admires the recessed doorways on certain Vermont houses of the nineteenth century, and suggests them as a little change to make a notable composition. He holds two ideas on embellishment which open the way for the home craftsman to operate freely: One, some early houses are too plain; they never were given decoration to make them beautiful; they are "never-was-its." Two, it is all right

to add to an early house the embellishment from a "later period in colonial style." Thus, if inside trim or a gable end is too plain, add moulding strips, and other additions. Such embellishment would be debated a long time by an expert, a student of old architecture who would not want to impress his personal taste on a house of another personality. The serious home craftsman should somewhere be told about experts and how they could help him.

The book has no special chapters on the design of an addition or of a new house in the old style, but here and there suggestions are offered. For example, in planning an addition be harmonious, avoid combination of brick and clapboard—even though photographs of such houses appear in the book. During a discussion of stairs and halls the author says: It would be good to design the stair first. It would be well if he suggested that the craftsman see an architect, a good architect who understands and admires the old architecture of his region.

In the book are many good things: The charm in the photographs of old Vermont houses, the sensitive and loving comments about these old homes which the author knows so well, the pictures he paints of colonial builders at work, his sound instruction on restoration, and the many procedures he outlines for the home craftsman.

John Allcott.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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#### OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The White Oak Scene*, May 17, 1963, a small news sheet which is published in Swansboro, has been received by the Department. It contains news items from the local library and a number of brief articles on local history. Subscriptions are \$2.00 for six months and are available from the Onslow Print Shop, Box 98, Swansboro.

*North Carolina Hurricanes: A Descriptive Listing of Tropical Cyclones Which Have Affected the State* was recently issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce of which former North Carolina Governor Luther H. Hodges is Secretary. The study was prepared by Albert V. Hardy, U. S. Weather Bureau State Climatologist for North Carolina, and Charles B. Carney, U. S. Weather Bureau Meteorologist in Charge, Raleigh. Most of the tropical storms (known to the authors) have been identified by date and description. The pamphlet is for sale

by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for 20 cents.

Dr. Joseph L. Morrison has presented to the Department a reprint of his article, "Josephus Daniels—Simpatico," which appeared in the April, 1963, *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. Dr. Morrison, the author of the recently published volume, *Josephus Daniels Says . . . An Editor's Political Odyssey From Bryan To Wilson and F. D. R., 1894-1913*, is Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

*The Fabled Doctor Jim Jordan: A Story of Conjure* by F. Roy Johnson is available for \$3.00 from the Johnson Publishing Company, Murfreesboro. The 136-page book, which is illustrated with pen and ink sketches, tells the fascinating story of one of North Carolina's most famous "faith healers." Dr. Jim, a Negro, had a large and varied clientele and prescribed many unorthodox remedies. Nonetheless, his practice grew and the traffic to his store and office included all types of vehicles, many bearing out-of-state license plates. Before his death in 1962 he had amassed a large fortune, much of which he gave away or lost through poor investments. Many of his descendants live near Como, but Dr. Jim did not leave them the secrets of his cures and magic powders.

Miss Margaret Carroll, former Wake Forest resident and alumna of Wake Forest College and the University of North Carolina, recently aided in presenting her new book, *Historic Preservation Through Urban Renewal*, to President John F. Kennedy in ceremonies at the White House. Miss Carroll is an urban planner with the Urban Renewal Administration, Washington, D. C. Wilmington, North Carolina, is one of the fourteen American cities described in the book as having a federally-assisted program of urban renewal to preserve historic sites and structures.

The Department has received a reprint of an article, "Source Materials for the Geography of Colonial America," written by H. Roy Merrens, San Fernando Valley State College, California. It appeared originally in *The Professional Geographer*, XV (January, 1963).

The recently-published *Directory: Historical Societies and Agencies In the United States and Canada* contains information for more than 2,200 historical organizations. Addresses, membership figures, found-

ing dates, number of staff, publications, and library and museum hours of publicly and privately supported historical societies, associations, commissions, and departments of archives and history are included. The *Directory*, published biennially by the American Association for State and Local History, will be invaluable to historians, librarians, genealogists, and others interested in the field of history. Copies may be ordered from the Association, 151 East Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin, for \$2.00.

Number 154 of *Preliminary Inventories*, published by the National Archives, is entitled *Records of the Office of Territories*. The 117-page booklet was compiled by Richard S. Maxwell and Evans Walker. Copies are available free upon request to the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

The Department recently received Volume LXXII of *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, covering the period October, 1957, through December, 1960. Published by the Society, the *Proceedings* include papers on a variety of subjects in the field of history. Additional information may be obtained from the Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

## DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

### *The 1963 General Assembly: Legislation Enacted in the Field of History*

The General Assembly at its regular 1963 session was more generous in its appropriations for historical purposes than any General Assembly in the past. The total amount appropriated in this field amounted to more than \$5,000,000. The principal items are as follows:

#### A. *Capital Improvements*

Building for Department of Archives and History and State Library		\$3,000,000
Security Vault (for records or microfilm of records)		50,000
Fort Fisher (Visitor Center-Museum), New Hanover County		96,000
Brunswick Town (Visitor Center-Museum), Brunswick County		80,000
James K. Polk Birthplace (Visitor Center-Museum, reconstruction of Birthplace, etc.), Mecklenburg County		67,000
Historic Bath (various improvements), Beaufort County		12,500
Museum of the Albemarle (subject to approval of Historic Sites Advisory Committee), Pasquotank County		43,600
Daniel Boone Homestead (subject to approval of Historic Sites Advisory Committee), Davidson County		15,000

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\$3,364,100

B. <i>Department of Archives and History: Maintenance and Operations</i>	<i>1963-1964</i>	<i>1964-1965</i>
Total Requirements	\$653,307	\$686,167
Less Estimated Receipts	23,545	24,145
General Fund Appropriation	629,762	662,022
C. <i>Other Agencies: Maintenance and Operations</i>		
Tryon Palace, Craven County	\$124,892	\$126,825
North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission	60,432	60,432
Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission	36,476	
D. <i>Grant-in-Aid</i>		
Old Salem	\$ 50,000	\$ 50,000

The appropriation of \$3,000,000 for a new building represents the successful termination of a ten-year campaign conducted by the Department, together with various allied groups and individuals. As of the

present writing (July 2), work is proceeding on the selection of a site and the drawing of plans. It is expected that token groundbreaking ceremonies will be held on October 3, during the annual joint conventions in Raleigh of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History.

The Security Vault (\$50,000) is intended for the storage of security microfilm copies of essential records.

The Fort Fisher Visitor Center-Museum (\$96,000), New Hanover County, will be erected as soon as practicable so that it can be opened to the public in time for the one-hundredth anniversary of the bombardment and Union capture of that Fort, December-January, 1864-1865. There was difficulty in acquiring the necessary land, but the required authorization has now been given and the requisite funds have been provided, by action of both the Governor and the Council of State.

The Brunswick Town Visitor Center-Museum (\$80,000), Brunswick County, will provide a much-needed facility at this Historic Site which is arousing a great deal of public interest.

For the James K. Polk Birthplace Visitor Center-Museum (\$67,000), Mecklenburg County, the land has not yet been acquired, but it is expected that this will be done and steps taken to develop the property within the near future. As is indicated below, funds are available for maintenance as a State Historic Site.

For Historic Bath, Beaufort County, \$12,500 is available for various Capital Improvements. Funds are also available for maintenance of Historic Bath as a State Historic Site (see below).

For the Museum of the Albemarle, Pasquotank County, \$43,600 was appropriated, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee. The Committee had previously considered this proposed appropriation but had postponed a recommendation until further study could be made.

For the Daniel Boone Homestead, Davidson County, \$15,000 was appropriated, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee. The bill making this appropriation was introduced subsequent to the only meeting of the Committee to date (May 7), and therefore the Committee had made no recommendation on this subject.

The total budget of the Department of Archives and History for Current Operations, \$653,307 for 1963-1964 and \$686,167 for 1964-1965 may be compared to the Department's total budget for 1962-1963 of \$657,041. Actually, the budget for 1962-1963 included a number of nonrecurring items, including Salvage Expense—Confederate Ships (off Fort Fisher), \$13,277; Mobile Museum (gift from the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and General Motors Corporation), \$35,000; Hodges Letter Book, \$15,127; and land purchase (at Fort Fisher), \$14,100. When these four items, totaling \$77,504, are subtracted from the budget given above, there is a net remainder of \$579,537. Viewed in this light, the budget of \$653,307 for 1963-1964 and of \$686,167 for 1964-1965 represents a considerable increase over that for 1962-1963.

The Department's new budget includes funds appropriated in the General Appropriation Act and also in several special acts.

The Department's total budget will permit continuation of its program on about the same scale as before, with no reduction or diminution. The following points are worth noting (most of them marking some expansion of the Department's program) :

1. The amount for Repairs and Alterations at Historic Halifax is increased each year from \$2,000 to \$10,000.

2. For Maintenance and Operations of the Cupola House and Barker House in Edenton, there is a new item of \$12,030 each fiscal year, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee.

3. For Maintenance and Operations at Historic Bath, there is a new appropriation of \$17,528 the first year and \$15,828 the second year. Historic Bath thus becomes a State Historic Site.

4. For the Polk Birthplace for Maintenance and Operations \$6,828 is appropriated for the first year and \$14,028 for the second year. The Polk Birthplace thus also becomes a State Historic Site—or at least will do so when the necessary land is acquired.

5. The Colonial Records project, now conducted by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, effective January 1, 1964, will be transferred to the Department of Archives and History. For this purpose \$6,364 is appropriated for the first year and \$17,528 for the second year. Actually, the first year's appropriation is only for a six-month period, January 1-June 30, 1964. The total appropriation for this purpose is far less than had been requested and than will be required. In order to supplement State funds, the Carolina Charter Corporation is now seeking contributions from private sources.

As for other appropriations for Maintenance and Operations, there is no material change in the appropriation for Tryon Palace.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission will continue operations on the previous scale.

The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission received an appropriation to operate only through December 31, 1963.

The Grant-in-Aid for Old Salem was increased from \$35,000 to \$50,000 each year of the new biennium.

In addition, the General Assembly enacted certain measures that require no State appropriation:

A George Washington Statue Commission was authorized, to raise from private sources funds for sculpting a copy of the Canova Statue of Washington.

The placing of plaques was authorized in the Capitol and State Legislative Building commemorating the first and last sessions of the General Assembly in the former and the first session in the latter (funds to be provided from the Contingency and Emergency Fund).

An act established procedures and limitations for making State funds available by special act for Historic Sites. Notably this act required the approval of a new Historic Sites Advisory Committee for all such expenditures.\*

\* For more complete details on the Historic Sites Advisory Committee, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XL (Summer, 1963), 402-403.

A Historic Hillsborough Commission was authorized.

A Historic Swansboro Commission was authorized.

### *North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission*

One of the most ambitious undertakings of the Centennial in North Carolina has been that of the Lenoir County Centennial Committee to salvage and restore the Confederate Ram "Neuse."

The "Neuse," which was built at Whitehall, now Seven Springs, North Carolina, in 1862, was scuttled by her own crew in 1865 to prevent her capture by Union troops marching toward Kinston.

Efforts to raise the vessel from the Neuse River have been underway since October, 1961. Until May of this year all attempts at salvage were blocked by rising river waters and depleted funds.

Through the intercession of the Lenoir County Committee, approximately \$20,000 was raised through city and county appropriations and local contributions. This money was used to establish ownership of the Ram and to purchase artifacts recovered from her. A portion of the sum was also set aside to be used in removing the vessel to a permanent site once the actual salvage had been completed.

The raising of the "Neuse" took place in early May. A Rose Hill house mover, Mr. D. C. Murray, used jacks and house rollers to do the job that "couldn't be done." Now that the vessel is on dry land, there is danger that it will dry out too rapidly and deteriorate. To insure her safety until permanent preservation can be effected, a sprinkler system has been installed.

Once installed at a permanent site at the Richard Caswell Memorial Park, the "Neuse" will undergo a slow drying process, after which she will be injected with preservatives. Mr. Samuel Townsend, Chief Preservationist at the Fort Fisher Laboratory, will head the preservation aspect of "Operation Ram 'Neuse.'"

Governor Terry Sanford, members of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, members of the North Carolina congressional delegation and the General Assembly, and a number of other distinguished Tarheels participated in the three-day commemoration of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3.

In Gettysburg specifically for the rededication of the North Carolina monument on July 1, many remained to witness a two-mile long parade on July 2 and the re-enactment of the Pickett-Pettigrew Charge on July 3. Rededication ceremonies of the Gutzon Borglum monument, which were sponsored by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, began with a band concert by the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band of Winston-Salem followed by the invocation by Dr. Donald Heiges.

Presentation of the battleflags of all 41 North Carolina units participating in the Battle was made by the reactivated Sixth Regiment of Burlington. After the flag ceremony Governor Sanford, who spoke briefly, Governor Donald Russell of South Carolina, and Governor Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota placed wreaths at the base of the memorial in honor of the men who died at Gettysburg.

Senator Hector MacLean of Lumberton, whose father, former Governor Angus W. McLean, made the original dedicatory address in 1929, was principal speaker for the occasion. He was introduced by Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, widow of the former Governor of North Carolina under whose administration funds for the monument were appropriated. After a program of Civil War music by the South Rowan High School "Rebel" Band of Landis and China Grove, Dr. Heiges gave the benediction. Immediately following the ceremonies, a reception for some 250 guests was given by Governor Sanford and the North Carolina Commission.

#### *Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission*

The Honorable Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce and member of the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission, and Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations and Chairman of the federal Tercentenary Commission, were the guest speakers at a Tercentenary commemorative observance held in Boone, June 27-29. On June 29 a prologue to the opening of the famed outdoor drama, "Horn in the West," was given in honor of the Tercentenary. A three-day simulation of "Daniel Boone Crossing the Blue Ridge" was enacted by wagon train as a part of the celebration.

Mr. Andy Griffith, North Carolina-born actor, officially launched the twenty-sixth season of "The Lost Colony" at Manteo and presented remarks in honor of the Tercentenary. The opening performance on June 29 was dedicated to the three-hundredth anniversary observance.

The Rhododendron Festival at Bakersville on June 22 featured Dr. Henry W. Jordan, Charter Commission member, as the guest speaker at a program honoring the Carolina Charter.

On July 11, 12, and 13 the Parkway Playhouse in Burnsville presented performances of "The Prince of Parthia" by Thomas Godfrey, the first play written and professionally produced in America, in commemoration of the Tercentenary.

The Charter Commission now has a number of souvenir items available for purchase, including a commemorative plate, coffee tile, ashtray, and key tags bearing the seals of the eight Lords Proprietors, the State of North Carolina, and the symbol for the Tercentenary.

A new leaflet in the series of free literature on life in Colonial Carolina is available from the Tercentenary Commission. The illustrated leaflet is entitled *Colonial Carolina Crafts*. It discusses briefly furniture and weaving, but the major portion of the text is devoted to pottery making in North Carolina.

Many other events have been held in commemoration of the Tercentenary, and speeches have been made to various organizations by members of the Charter Commission and staff.

#### *Director's Office*

Construction of a Visitor Center-Museum at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Park will begin in late 1963, according to Dr. Christopher

Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History. The building will cost approximately \$30,000 and will house exhibits depicting the life and times of Caswell, a Revolutionary leader and the first constitutional Governor of the State. Of the funds currently available \$24,000 will be spent for site development and landscaping, with \$17,558 of the amount being used specifically for landscaping. The 22-acre Caswell Memorial Park was purchased in 1955 for \$43,000, of which \$25,000 was appropriated by the State with the remaining \$18,000 being raised locally. An additional \$25,000 in 1957 and \$30,000 in 1961 was appropriated by the State. A request for \$23,856 was refused by the House during the 1963 session of the General Assembly. These funds were to have been used to maintain the grave site and museum and to employ personnel. Access roads to the Park are already under construction. Dr. Crittenden; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Mr. Loddie Bryan, Jr., landscape architect of Raleigh, met on July 3 with the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission in the Lenoir County Courthouse in Kinston. The Commission voted to permit the placing of the Confederate Ram "Neuse" on a part of the Caswell grave area. Those present heard Mr. Bryan outline plans for landscaping the Caswell grave property.

Dr. Crittenden on June 17 made a talk, "North Carolina History in a Nutshell," at the new cafeteria at the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. He spoke to college students from nine institutions who are participating in the North Carolina State Government Internship Program. Participants were assigned to work in different departments for a period of ten weeks. During this period they had one weekly luncheon and two weekly evening seminars dealing with governmental, social, and economic aspects of North Carolina.

On June 22 more than 400 persons gathered in the Snow Camp Community at the Cane Creek Meetinghouse, the oldest Friends (Quaker) church in the State, to observe the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. The principal address was made by Dr. Holt McPherson, Editor of *The High Point Enterprise*. He noted the significance of the settlement of the community in 1750 by Simon Dixon, a Pennsylvania Quaker. Others participating in the program were the Rev. C. Kenneth Wood, Mr. Seth B. Hinshaw, Dr. Algie I. Newman, and Dr. Clyde A. Miller. Following the program the gathering examined exhibits of historical materials relating to the Cane Creek community and participated in an old-style picnic on the meetinghouse grounds.

Dr. Crittenden attended the dedication of the Gaston Dam in Halifax on June 26. On the same date he inspected the condition of the Person's Ordinary in Littleton and the grave of Annie Carter Lee, daughter of General Robert E. Lee, which is in Warren County.

On June 28 Dr. Crittenden spoke at Cook's Gap in Watauga County, near the Blue Ridge Parkway, to a large audience including the group arriving by wagon train in re-enactment of the pioneer crossing of the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1773. This event has become an annual affair and was one of the highlights in a three-day celebration in Boone. Other persons who participated in the Watauga County Carolina Charter Ter-

centenary Celebration included Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations; Dr. W. H. Plemmons, Dr. Cratis Williams, and Dean D. J. Whitener, Appalachian State Teachers College; Mr. Fred Kirby, of WBTB in Charlotte and Tweetsie Railroad; Mr. Jeff Wilson, Editor of *Tar Heel Wheels*; Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges; Mrs. Roscoe McMillan, President of the North Carolina Garden Clubs; Dr. I. G. Greer, President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association; Her Majesty's Minister, Hon. Denis A. Greenhill of Great Britain; and Congressman James T. Broyhill. Mr. Herman W. Wilcox of Boone served as General Chairman.

The Coastal Historyland Association met at Fort Raleigh, site of the Lost Colony, on July 12 to adopt bylaws and to discuss plans for the spring of 1964. The Association, which represents 34 counties, was chartered in April. State Senator P. D. Midgett of Engelhard serves as President and Mr. Glenn Tucker of Carolina Beach was Chairman of the Committee on Constitution and Bylaws. Those present responded favorably to the suggestion of Mr. John Fox, Vice-Chairman and General Manager of "The Lost Colony," that the Association offer package tours beginning in the spring, 1964.

Members of the Advisory Committee of the Department held their first meeting on July 17 with Mr. F. Carter Williams, architect for the new Archiving and History-State Library Building.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist (State Records) were married in September.

#### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke to a meeting of the Association of State Librarians in Chicago on July 13 in connection with the Association's adoption of standards for State library agencies. During the following week he represented the Society of American Archivists on the Survey and Standards Committee which developed the standards. On July 14 Mr. Jones met with the Planning Committee for the Third Assembly of the Library Functions of the States to prepare the program for the assembly scheduled at the Library of Congress on November 13-15. On July 15 and 16, respectively, he observed the historical programs in Madison, Wisconsin, and St. Paul, Minnesota. Mr. Jones attended the annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Morehead City on June 9 and on July 3 he addressed the Burlington Kiwanis Club.

The *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900*, edited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant in co-operation with the Newspaper Committee of the North Carolina Library Association, was released on July 8 in a ceremony in Governor Terry Sanford's office at which time the first copy was presented to the Governor by Miss Mary Canada of Duke University, chairman of the Committee. In addition to the editors and Miss Canada, participants were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hughey, State Librarian; and Mrs. Jane C. Bahnsen of the University of North Carolina Library and Miss Sangster

Parrott of the North Carolina State Library, Committee members. The publication, containing place of publication, title, inclusive dates, frequency, and location of issues of every known newspaper published in North Carolina through 1900, is available for \$3.00 per copy from the State Archivist's office. The 152-page offset publication lists an estimated 2,500 newspapers, including an estimated 300 titles that had never appeared in previously published lists.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, all titles of Raleigh papers published to 1900 which had not heretofore been filmed were completed. These papers totaled 17 reels. The remaining Goldsboro, Rutherfordton, and Beaufort papers filled eleven, five, and one reels respectively. Work continued on the *Wilmington Messenger*. A second edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History* (processed, 31 pages), edited by Mr. Julius H. Avant and Mr. T. G. Britt, has been issued and is available for fifty cents per copy.

In the Microfilm Processing Laboratory, 1,084 reels of microfilm were processed during the quarter ending June 30. Of these, 814 reels (79,355 linear feet) were negative film and 270 reels (26,350 feet) were positive film—most of the latter being positive copies of newspaper film. In all, 26,057 pages of deteriorating records were laminated by the Barrow process in the Laminating Shop, plus 7,068 pages of materials laminated outside office hours for other institutions and individuals.

Mr. C. Fred W. Coker joined the Archives Section staff on August 1 as Archivist III. After a period of orientation, Mr. Coker will succeed Mr. Cyrus B. King as Assistant State Archivist (Archives). Mr. King resigned effective June 30 to accept the position of Acquisitions Librarian at the D. H. Hill Library at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Mr. Coker is a history graduate of the University of North Carolina where he did additional graduate work in history and is now completing requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Library Science. He also studied at Oxford University in England and was a Marine Corps officer for five years. Mrs. Frances T. Council served as acting head of the Archives Section for July and August.

Mr. F. Carroll Fraker, formerly of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, was attached to the Archives Section through June 30 when he joined the staff of the Confederate Centennial Commission. Mr. Fraker was engaged in an inventory of the Civil War materials in the Archives.

For the quarter ending June 30, 609 visitors registered in the Search Room and 892 persons were given information by mail. Photocopies furnished totaled 773, plus 35 prints from microfilm, 57 typed certified copies, and 225 feet of negative microfilm.

In the program of inventorying, repairing, and microfilming county records, the one-third mark has been reached. With the completion of work in Pitt County, section microfilm camera operators have completed 30 counties, and are now working in Surry and Martin. In addition, Alamance, Gaston, and Mecklenburg counties are doing their own microfilming with Department advice and assistance.

Original records recently received include:

*Gaston County*: Marriage registers (1865-1905), official bonds (1868-1889), State grants (1845-1891), tax lists (1847-1859, 1863-1868), and 1 box of deeds and real estate mortgages (1860-1944).

*Surry County*: Rough minutes, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1800, 1802, 1805, 1823, 1836, 1843).

Positive microfilms processed and filed in the Search Room include:

*Orange County*: Deeds (1755-1961), marriage registers (1851-1862), indexes to vital statistics (1913-1961), minutes, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1752-1766, 1777-1868), minutes, Superior Court (1867-1944), equity partitions (1859-1938), records of estates (1869-1962), wills (1752-1946), incorporations and partnerships (1878-1962), maiden names of divorced women (1941-1962), inheritance tax records (1921-1962), records of elections (1857-1960), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1962), military discharges (1918-1962), federal tax lien index (1928-1962), minutes, board of county commissioners (1868-1962), minutes, board of education (1872-1962).

*Rowan County*: Deeds (1753-1962), land entries (1778-1925), marriage registers (1753-1962), index to vital statistics (1913-1962), minutes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1753-1768), minutes, Equity, Probate, and Superior Courts (1787-1848, 1904-1942), records of estates (1764-1959), wills (1761-1959), incorporations and partnerships (1904-1962), discharges (1922-1962), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1879-1962), tax lists (1778-1895), federal tax lien index (1925-1962), minutes, board of county commissioners (1872-1958), minutes, board of education (1847-1962).

*Churches*: Minutes and other records of the following churches: Brown Creek Baptist Church, Anson County, 1840-1936; Piney Grove Baptist Church, Polkton, 1853-1902; Calvary Episcopal Church, Wadesboro, 1840-1935; St. John's Lutheran Church, Concord, 1797-1820, 1800-1847; St. Stephen's Lutheran Church, Cabarrus County, 1837-1891; Rocky River Presbyterian Church, Cabarrus County, 1827-1859; First Baptist Church, Fayetteville, 1848-1962; St. John's Episcopal Church, Fayetteville, 1817-1954, 1837-1919, 1905-1962; Hay St. Methodist Church, Fayetteville, 1809-1941, 1822-1871, 1919-1952, 1838-1949, 1888-1928; The Bluff Presbyterian Church, Wade, 1784-1802, 1859-1904, 1915-1963, 1903-1963, 1958; McPherson Presbyterian Church, Fayetteville, 1867-1962, 1832-1838, 1960; Sardis Presbyterian Church, Linden, 1816-1819, 1835-1931, 1913-1962; Jersey Baptist Meeting House, Davidson County, 1784-1852; Johnston Baptist Church, Duplin County, 1922-1961; Kenansville Baptist Church, Kenansville, 1837-1958; Magnolia Baptist Church, Magnolia, 1890-1953; Groves Presbyterian Church, Duplin County, 1848-1890; Teachey Baptist Church, Teachey, 1885-1960; Warsaw Methodist Church, Warsaw, no dates; Alamance Presbyterian Church, Guilford County, 1829-1885; Brick German Reformed Church, Route 4, Burlington, 1857-1912, 1927-1945; Buckhorn Baptist Church, Murfreesboro, 1835-1963; Mt. Tabor Baptist Church, Hertford County, 1839-1932; Murfreesboro Baptist Church, Murfreesboro, 1842-1950; Union Baptist Church, Union, 1885-1922; Bas-

night Memorial Methodist Church, Ahsokie, 1897-1963; Murfreesboro Methodist Church, Murfreesboro, 1908-1945, 1945-1962, 1859-1963; St. John's Episcopal Church, Winton, 1907-1954; Bethany Presbyterian Church, Iredell County, 1829-1872; Union Presbyterian Church, Carthage, 1839-1904, First Baptist Church, Hillsboro, 1853-1962, 1958-1962; Hillsboro Presbyterian Church, 1816-1882; New Hope Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill, 1820-1859; St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Orange County, 1839-1901; St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Hillsboro, 1889-1893, 1824-1839; Bethesda Presbyterian Church, Ruffin, 1819-1961; St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Rowan County, 1840-1880; Ursinus Evangelical and Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1935-1953, 1900-1915, 1938-1962; Organ Lutheran Church, Rowan County, 1774-1882; St. John's Lutheran Church, Salisbury, 1857-1906, 1954-1962; St. Peters Lutheran Church, Rockwell, 1855-1875; St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Route 2, Salisbury, 1880-1962; First Presbyterian Church, Salisbury, 1828-1905; Thyatira Presbyterian Church, Route 4, Salisbury, 1826-1962, 1858-1962, 1946-1961; Lowerstone Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1782-1797; Grace (Lowerstone) Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1874-1962, 1859-1883, 1923-1956, 1889-1895, 1893-1894, 1905-1915, 1910; Zion Reformed Church, China Grove, 1838-1916; Meadow Creek Baptist Church, Meadow Creek, 1811-1881; Bethel Lutheran Church, Stanly County, 1817-1913; Poplar Grove Church, Stanly County, 1862-1899; Church of Colonial Period in Rowan County, by Adelaide Fries; Diaries of Rev. Samuel Rothrock, Salisbury; Early Church Records of Rowan, Davie, Iredell, and Stanly counties, 1790-1843.

On June 3 Mr. Nash A. Isenhower joined the staff as Clerk III (Microfilm Camera Operator). Mr. Connis O. Brown, Jr., county records microfilm operator, resigned effective July 26 to accept appointment as Public Records Examiner in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), Mr. J. H. Hawley, and Mr. C. O. Brown, Jr., attended the eleventh annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds, June 9-11, at Morehead City. On June 12 Admiral Patterson, a member of the Sesqui-Centennial Committee, Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, attended the 150th meeting of the Synod and the dedication of a historical marker at Alamance Church, Guilford County. Admiral Patterson and Mr. Hawley also attended the fifty-fifth annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Clerks of Superior Court, July 5, at Durham.

Most of the personnel time in the State Records Section was devoted to erecting shelving and rearranging records holdings in the Records Center to fully utilize available space and to streamline reference servicing.

The electrical work required before the new shelving could be erected was completed early in April. The shelving was delivered late in April, and erection was completed late in July. The rows of new shelving were inserted between rows of existing shelving, which meant that all records had to be handled and rearranged.

Many of the more active groups of records in the Records Center were placed to make them more accessible for reference servicing. In addition, the Employment Security Records which were formerly in filing equipment

in the rear storage area were boxed; and for the first time in the history of the Center all records holdings were boxed and shelved.

The records management workshops continued. The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop has been given seven times to 132 persons representing three agencies. It is being given to all supervisory personnel of the Prison Department. The Files and Filing workshop was given one time to 22 persons representing ten agencies.

The paperwork procedural survey of the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education has been approved by the Executive Committee of the Board. The survey of the license renewal and examining procedures of the Board of Cosmetic Art was deferred until the effect of legislation passed by the General Assembly that affects the Board is fully determined.

The files of the Accounting Section, Budget Division, Department of Administration, have been revised. The revised filing system for the Board of Architecture has been approved by the Board. A study of the feasibility of converting the existing name index in the Registration Division, Department of Motor Vehicles, to a "batch" arrangement resulted in a recommendation that the file remain in telephone book order.

The State-wide survey of fiscal and budgetary paperwork and records has been completed and an extensive report drafted. The report includes proposed standards for the disposition of fiscal and budgetary records and is being reviewed. A standard for the disposition of State college and university records has been drafted and is being considered by a special Advisory Committee on College and University Records.

The third of the Records Management Handbooks, *State Records Center*, was published in August.

New records retention schedules for North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, Department of Tax Research, State Board of Barber Examiners, State Board of Cosmetic Art, State Library, and State Board of Architecture have been approved. Schedules of the Real Estate Licensing Board and the Board of Pharmacy are awaiting approval of the respective Boards. The Laboratory of Hygiene schedule is in process. Amendments to the Department of Archives and History and State Board of Health schedules have been approved.

In the Records Center 932 cubic feet were accessioned in the quarter ending June 30 and 768 cubic feet disposed of, resulting in a new gain of 164 cubic feet. Total holdings of the Center are now 26,745 cubic feet.

The Records Center staff performed 9,979 reference services for 23 different agencies in the three months ending June 30. In addition, 46 visitors from 12 agencies visited the Center to consult records.

Separate groups of High School Principals' Annual Reports and Elementary Principals' Annual Reports were each merged into a single series, and records of the Department of Public Instruction were reviewed to remove non-archival material prior to their transfer to the Archives.

In the Microfilm Project 80 reels containing 306,819 images were filmed, and 133 reels of film of paid warrants were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Milton S. Sims, Clerk II (Microfilmer) resigned effective June 30 and was replaced by Mr. Leland T. Jones.

*Division of Historic Sites*

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, recently prepared three "history tours" outlining places of interest to tourists using Greensboro as a base. The first, from Greensboro to Charlotte, includes the Quaker Meeting House, High Point City Park, Jamestown, the Daniel Boone Cave, the Setzer School, the Old Stone House, the Mint Museum, and the Hezekiah Alexander House. The second, from Greensboro to Wilmington, includes the House in the Horseshoe, the Shaw House, the Richmond Literary and Temperance Society Hall, the old Market House, the Oval Ballroom, Moores Creek National Military Park, the Cornwallis House, the New Hanover Museum, and the Battleship "North Carolina." The second tour also includes Fort Fisher State Historic Site, Orton Plantation, and Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site. The third, from Greensboro to Morehead City, includes the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, the Greensboro Historical Museum, Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, Bennett Place State Historic Site, the Duke Homestead, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Hall of History, the Capitol, the birthplace of Andrew Johnson, Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site, Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial, Tryon Palace, the Attmore-Oliver House, the Firemen's Museum, and Fort Macon State Park.

The site of Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site was graded by the State Highway Commission in preparation for the Visitor Center-Museum to be constructed there. The Johnston County Historical Society is furnishing one bedroom in the Harper House, located on the site, appropriate to the 1860 period. Hand-woven curtains, made by Mr. George W. Coggin of Raleigh, have been hung and furnishings are being placed. The Jaycee Clubs of Smithfield, Benson, Clayton, and Selma have joined in an effort to pay the \$3,600 note outstanding on the Visitor Center-Museum.

Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist, spoke to the Jaycee Clubs mentioned above on July 12 on the subject "Bentonville, the Past, Present, and Future." He made the same talk to the Wendell Rotary Club on July 9.

Mr. R. O. Everett, Chairman of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, announced on July 11 the gift of \$3,000 from Mr. Samuel Tate Morgan, Jr., of Richmond, to be used in the Bennett Place restoration. Mr. Morgan is the son of the donor of the land. This sum will be added to \$500 willed by Mrs. Blanche Morgan Gourmajenko and will be applied to the cost of the Visitor Center-Museum to be erected in the future. Improvements have recently been made to the ceilings in two rooms of the main house; plans have been made to complete the smokehouse and make minor alterations in the kitchen.

Mrs. A. C. Hall, Secretary-Treasurer of the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., arranged a "Rock Party" at the site of the Calvin Jones house on July 16. Boy Scouts and others picked up rocks so that weeds could be mowed. The town of Wake Forest furnished a truck to move the rocks. Mrs. Hall, Mrs. George Mackie, and Mrs. A. C. Reid furnished cold drinks to the volunteers.

Mr. N. B. Bragg met with Mr. Ray Wilkinson of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association in Rocky Mount on July 1 to make plans for continuing the restoration of Colonial Halifax. Legislative appropriations, totaling \$10,000 for each year of the 1963-1965 biennium, are making definite plans possible. The master plan provides for the completion of the Dutch Colonial House, the restoration of the Constitution House, and improvements at the Gaol, which is used as a museum.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town, spoke at a luncheon meeting of the Woman's Club, Whiteville, on May 14. He spoke on Brunswick Town, illustrating his talk with artifacts, as part of the Club's celebration of the tercentenary year.

The work at Brunswick Town during May and June has concentrated on preservation of the thousands of iron objects recovered from the ruins during the past several years. The objects were taken to the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory where they were cleaned by sandblasting, made chemically pure by boilings in distilled water, dehydrated in an infrared lamp oven, and dipped in wax or covered with a coating to prevent further oxidation. They were then stored in study collections for use in analysis of the Brunswick Town artifacts.

The colonial anchor recovered from the river in front of Brunswick Town by divers was processed, as was the 15-inch, 350-pound shell also recovered by divers in front of Battery B at Fort Anderson.

One of the Mullane shells found and donated by Mr. Hugh Zachary of Long Beach was found to be too dangerous to be disarmed as others had been, and the decision was made to disarm it through detonation. The shell was buried over three feet deep and armed with a dynamite cap. When the cap was exploded the one hundred-year-old shell exploded with a tremendous blast, opening a hole five feet deep and six feet across and throwing fragments over 150 feet. The entire project was filmed, and the fragments of the shell were recovered for future use in an exhibit. This procedure illustrates dramatically the need for persons to turn over to experts for deactivation shells from battlefield sites.

Excavations at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site are progressing satisfactorily. Plans were made to delimit the southern margin of the Plaza by the end of the summer and to begin secondary excavation of important areas of the Plaza. This work will lead to the reconstruction of the Squareground, an important ceremonial structure found in most southeastern Indian centers. The reconstruction of this center, believed by the Indians to be the dwelling of the Talwa or soul of the tribe, will be a colorful and much needed addition to the site. Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist at the Site, is currently working with several Catawba potters on the South Carolina reservation in an effort to obtain traditional pottery for sale to visitors.

Plans for the reconstruction of Davidson's Fort in Old Fort by the McDowell County Historical Society are continuing. Assistance will be

given by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist, Division of Historic Sites, and Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist, Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace. Mr. Conway announces the completion of preliminary sketches of the new Visitor Center-Museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site by the architect, Mr. J. Bertram King.

A meeting of the staff of the Division of Historic Sites was held on July 10 at the Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site. All of the historic sites specialists; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Miss Mary Cornick, Budget Officer; Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., Tour Guide at Brunswick Town; Mrs. Stanley South; and Mrs. J. Barry Shannon, staff member at the Aycock Birthplace, were present. Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission, welcomed the group. A proposed educational program was presented for discussion and comment. Reports were made on all historic sites in the State.

#### *Division of Museums*

A collection of materials from the "Modern Greece" was presented to the Navy History Section on June 25, as the second installment of artifacts to be given in appreciation of the Navy's work in recovering the materials.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Administrative Assistant, spent the first week in June in Kinston inspecting the hull of the Ram "Neuse." He prepared a report on the preservation of the hull and artifacts from the ship, and sent it to Mr. Dan Lilley, Chairman of the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee. Mr. Townsend also gave a talk and slide program to the La Sertoma Club in Raleigh on June 5, on the subject, "'Modern Greece' Operations."

Construction of the Transportation Room and the Colonial Room in the Hall of History is almost complete.

Mr. Bob Jones, Education Curator, and Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, were in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 1-3, covering North Carolina's participation in the re-enactment of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Recent additions to the staff are Mrs. Peggy R. Hopson, who replaced Mrs. Ruth Drake as secretary to the Museums Administrator; and Mr. Samuel Earl Erwin, who is in charge of the Mobile Museum of History.

#### *Division of Publications*

During the second quarter of 1963 sales in the Division of Publications totaled \$4,791, with \$3,018 being retained by the Division and \$1,773 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 47 documentary volumes, 22 letter books of governors, 104 small books, 8,863 pamphlets, charts, and maps, 65,940 leaflets and brochures, and 2,806 copies of the list of publications available from the Department. Including distribution of 1,937 copies of the Department's biennial report, the total was 76,839. Also mailed were 1,819 copies of the Summer, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and

2,571 copies of the May issue of *Carolina Comments*. There were 150 new subscriptions and 376 renewals to *The Review*. Because of the increase in circulation, the order for *The Review* has been changed from 2,000 to 2,200 copies.

First copies of Volume I of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, edited by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, were delivered in August. Copies may be ordered from the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C., 27602, for \$5.00 each. Galley proof for the Ellis Papers was received and page proof of Volume IX of the Moravian Records was supplied by the printer.

The manuscripts for two new pamphlets were submitted during the summer and will be published in the fall. These pamphlets will discuss North Carolina's role in World War II, written by Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, and the history of colleges and universities in the State, written by Mr. W. S. Powell.

A subject-title-author index to the first 40 volumes of *The North Carolina Historical Review* (1924-1963) will be available by the first of the year. Though the index will not be the complete, cumulative index planned for the future, it will be of great help to persons wishing to use *The Review* for reference purposes. Copies will be available from the Division of Publications at the above address for \$5.00 each.

A report on the Andrew Jackson birthplace problem, written by Mr. Max F. Harris, is being prepared for distribution in the early fall.

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

North Carolina Wesleyan College received in June a wide assortment of books and memorabilia of the former Methodist Protestant Church. The collection, including portions of the private libraries of several distinguished Methodist Protestant ministers, all of the published histories of the denomination, and significant correspondence and records, was presented to the College by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of East Carolina College.

Professors William H. Cartwright of Duke University, Wendell H. Stephenson of the University of Oregon, and William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin are American members of the planning committee for the Indo-American Congress on American History and Institutions. Temporary headquarters of the Congress are at the University of Allahabad.

Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, announces that applications may still be made from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for grants-in-aid, providing up to \$1,000 each for travel and living expenses while at the Library. The Institute favors grants to promising students and young scholars working on projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the Presidency. Application forms may be obtained from the Director at Independence.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History, Duke University, announces the promotion of the following persons to the rank of Associate Professor: Dr. Frederic B. M. Hollyday, Dr. William E. Scott, and Dr. Charles R. Young. The effective date of the promotions was July 1.

### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Spring, 1963, issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin*, published by the Gaston County Historical Society, includes articles on the first woman doctor in Gaston County, Dr. Bess Puett; the revision of the Society's constitution and bylaws; Gaston's churches in 1890; and Gaston communities in the 1890's. An index to the 1962 issues of the *Bulletin* is also given in this number.

The Beaufort Historical Association heard Mr. W. B. Chalk of Morehead City speak on May 20 at a meeting at the Duke Marine Laboratory on Piners Island. He discussed the Historyland Trail. Mrs. Gilbert Potter reported on plans to open the Old Jail on May 26. The jail, now used as a museum, was built during the 1830's. The Association invites those interested in joining to communicate with Mr. John Costlow, President.

Mr. Robert Campbell, Editorial Page Editor of the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, spoke at the May 27 meeting of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association in Boone. Dr. I. G. Greer, President of the Association, reported on plans for the production of "Horn in the West" Progress reports were also given on the Daniel Boone Botanical Garden and the Daniel Boone trail across the Blue Ridge.

The Cumberland County Historical Society on May 26 toured part of Harnett County. President Jack Crane announced the itinerary to include visits to Old Bluff Presbyterian Church (1758), Averasboro Battleground and the site of the town of Averasboro, and Chicora Cemetery. Mr. Malcolm Fowler, President of the Harnett County Society, served as host to the group. One of three old Smith homes, used as hospitals after the Battle of Averasboro and now owned by Mr. Jim Byrd, was also open to touring guests.

The Chatham County Historical Society met on May 16 at the Chatham County Courthouse in Pittsboro. Mrs. Edwards S. Holmes, President, presided; Mrs. Jessie R. Seagroves, Mr. Lemuel Johnson, Mr. John London, and Mrs. E. B. Hatch spoke briefly.

At its thirteenth annual meeting of Old Salem, Inc., Mr. Ralph P. Hanes was elected as Chairman of the Board. Mr. James A. Gray, formerly Vice-President, was elected President and in this capacity will continue as the organization's salaried executive. Other officers elected were Mr. W. K.

Hoyt, Vice-Chairman of the Board; Mr. Emil N. Shoffner, Secretary; Mr. Dalton Ruffin, Treasurer. Trustees elected to three-year terms were Mrs. A. L. Butler, Jr., Mr. John Fries Blair, Mr. Archibald Craig, Mr. Howard Gray, Mr. Gordon Hanes, Mr. Frank L. Horton, Mr. Charles N. Siewers, Mrs. Earl Slick, Dr. R. Gordon Spaugh, Mr. Edwin L. Stockton, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and Mr. Wallace Carroll. Honorary trustees chosen were Miss Grizzelle Norfleet, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Whitaker, Mrs. Robert McCuiston, Mr. Ralph M. Stockton, Mayor M. C. Benton, Representative Dan Drummond, Representative Claude Hamrick, Mr. Bert L. Bennett, and Bishop Kenneth Hamilton. The Executive Committee is composed of Mr. Hanes, Mr. Hoyt, Mr. Shoffner, Mrs. Slick, Mr. Ruffin, Mrs. Frank Forsyth, Mr. Alex H. Galloway, Mr. Dale H. Gramley, Mr. R. Arthur Spaugh, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and Mr. Frank F. Willingham. Outgoing President Archie K. Davis presided. Miss Mary Weaver, who retired as director of interpretation for Old Salem on July 1, was recognized for her four years of service. Mrs. Edna Crews was made acting tour director.

As part of the observance of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Carolina Charter, the Daughters of the Revolution sponsored a historical tour of the southern part of Rutherford County on June 1. Those planning the event were Mrs. Ray Stallings, Mrs. Fred Hamrick, Jr., Mrs. A. S. Harrill, Mrs. W. O. Geer, and Mrs. Grover Haynes.

The Wake County Historical Society sponsored a walking tour of the Capitol Square area on July 4. Approximately 150 persons visited the Capitol, churches in the vicinity, the Marshall DeLancey Haywood house, and the Treasurer John Haywood house. The tour was conducted by Miss Beth Crabtree and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, both members of the Society.

The annual meeting of the Littleton College Memorial Association was held at North Carolina Wesleyan College on July 13. Approximately 100 persons attended, and over \$200 was added to the Littleton College Memorial Loan Fund at Wesleyan College. Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of East Carolina College was the principal speaker. Mrs. Dora Hornaday Stephenson is President, Mrs. Lula McCall Usher was elected Secretary, and Miss Mary Shotwell, was elected Treasurer.

The fifth annual reunion of the Alston-Williams-Boddie-Hilliard Society, North Carolina's First Family Society, was held June 8-9. Mr. Byron Hilliard of Rocky Mount is President of the Society.

The Swansboro Historical Association met on July 20. Following the program, the members enjoyed watermelon.

*The Perquimans County Historical Society Year Book* for 1962-1963 was recently received by the Department. A record of the activities for the period covered by the publication, a list of items given to the Society, and a drama presented in connection with the Carolina Charter Tercentenary celebration give some indication of the scope of the *Year Book*. Illustrations add to the interest. Mr. Silas M. Whedbee served as President of the Society for 1962-1963.

The Hyde County Historical and Recreational Association recently held its final organizational meeting at New Holland. Mrs. Allen Bucklew, President, announced plans for an intensive membership campaign.

An outgrowth of the Cleveland County Civil War Centennial Commission, the Cleveland County Historical Association held an organizational meeting in Shelby on June 6. Mr. John Brock, Chairman of the Commission, announced plans for the establishment of a historical museum, the publication of a booklet on the County, and the production of a Civil War pageant.

Announcement has been made of the hours for the Orange County Historical Museum, which is open daily from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 2:00 to 4:00, week end hours are 2:00 to 5:00.

On June 8 the Catawba County Historical Association met in Newton. Mr. G. Sam Rowe, in the absence of Mr. Thomas Warlick, presided. Mr. Rowe gave a talk on the early history of Conover; Dr. J. E. Hodges reported on a book by Mr. Wright W. Frost on Frost genealogy and stated that the Catawba County Historical Association had furnished information for the book; Mrs. Marguerite May spoke briefly; and Dr. V. A. Coulter of the University of Mississippi talked on the milling industry in Catawba County. Gifts to the Association have been made by Mrs. D. A. Butts and Mrs. George Sigmon of Hickory. The Rader property, a recent gift to the Association, has been cleared of debris and underbrush. The museum hours are Wednesday and Sunday, 2:30 to 5:30, and Friday, 7:00 to 9:00.